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THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE*

By

THE HON'BLE MR. M. AZIZUL HUQUE, C.I.E., B.L., M.L.A.,
Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University

We meet this evening in memory of the occasion of the death of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee who breathed his last this day fifteen years ago. Born in the early morning of the 29th of June in the year 1864 at a period when the social and political life of India was shaken to its very foundations as a result of the great Mutiny, Sir Asutosh passed his early life and career at a critical period of the history of India. He had his early lessons as a student of the South Suburban School under a famous scholar—the late Pundit Sib Nath Sastri—and was for some time under the private tuition of Srijut Madhusudan Das, M.A., B.L., C.I.E., later the distinguished Minister of the province of Bihar and Orissa. He had seen the late Pundit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar at the height of his fame. In college days he had his education under some of the distinguished professors of the time—one of them being Professor Booth, whose scholarship and erudition in Mathematics is still remembered in academic circles. After taking his degree in Arts and in Law he was articled to the world-renowned jurist, the late Sir Rashbehary

* Delivered on the occasion of the 15th Death Anniversary of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee at the Darbhanga Building, Calcutta, on 25th May, 1939.

Ghose. He enrolled himself as a Vakil in the year 1888. Appointed a Fellow of the Calcutta University in the same year, he was elected as a Syndic of the University towards the end of the year, then a young man of only 24 years. He had created by that time a name for himself for his erudition and scholarship. In 1892, he moved his famous resolution in the Senate of the Calcutta University for the adoption of Bengali language and literature as a subject for all examinations up to the M.A. standard, but was defeated at the time. In 1899, he became a member of the Bengal Legislative Council and in 1901, a member of the Imperial Legislative Council. In 1904, he was co-opted a member of the Indian Universities Commission presided over by the Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh. In agreement with the policy of reforms visualised by Lord Curzon he threw himself whole-heartedly into the reform of the Calcutta University, even though the measures proposed were then opposed by the public in general led by the late Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, another distinguished Indian leader of world-wide reputation. It was a singular trait in the life and character of Sir Asutosh that he was never daunted by fear or frown from any quarter; he never hesitated to face the consequences of his vision or to stand against public fury if he thought himself to be in the right. Criticism and agitation that the University reforms were intended to cripple the University life did not appeal to him; possibly he was then dreaming the future and planning his model. A great man hardly ever quarrels with his opponents or with his tools. Wherever he may be, he utilises his opportunities and shapes and formulates his schemes accordingly. Sir Asutosh was a member of the Committee to draft the original Regulations under the new Calcutta University Act which came into force soon after 1904. About this time he was called upon to be a judge of the

Calcutta High Court. Soon after, he was appointed the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta. Modern Bengal knows full well about his activities since he came to be the Vice-Chancellor ; and how he almost entirely moulded and gave effect to the new Regulations is a matter still too near to us to be forgotten by anybody. A Fellow and a Syndic of this University from 1888, called upon by His Excellency Lord Minto to be its Vice-Chancellor in 1906, Sir Asutosh served the University and the cause of education till the end of his life, and even though he ceased for a time to be the Vice-Chancellor he was a force to reckon with ; he shaped, cut and chiselled as he liked. A genius or a patriot never loses anything. A great man hardly suffers by comparison even if he is placed in what we might say a humbler rank ; he never waits for a place. Sir Asutosh, even when he ceased to be the Vice-Chancellor of this University for a time, did not suffer in any way in reputation nor did he fly away from the battle of life even though he had to sit as an Ordinary Fellow of the University. His interest and work retained the same strength and vigour. Once again, during the waves of the Non-Co-operation Movement, when the student community was almost going to be swept off its feet and the whole country was seething with other feelings, he was called upon to take the office of the Vice-Chancellor and he never hesitated to raise his trumpet voice against any inroad within the sacred precincts of the University. His clarion call to the students left the University safe. Once again he demonstrated to the public that when occasions demanded he would not hesitate to stand against the popular ebullitions and outbursts of feelings. He always called a spade a spade and stood by its consequences. In his address to the members of the Lucknow University Union almost

a year before he breathed his last he spoke with emphasis :

“ Let me pass on to a line of argument, which I am free to admit did not appeal to me. That argument took this force : the bureaucracy which we have been accustomed to meet has been composed of foreigners and consequently bureaucracy is bad. The democracy which we have now to face consists of our countrymen and consequently democracy is good. We Indians are all good—foreigners are all bad. It will take me a long time to convince myself that this is the whole truth and nothing but the truth.”

As I have said before it is yet too early to appraise properly all that has been done by Sir Asutosh in the various domains of our intellectual and educational life and particularly in the University life of the province. We are still too near the scene to judge him in a dispassionate manner which is very much necessary for a true historical perspective, but whatever might be the future of the province, whatever might be the future developments of the University of Calcutta or of its educational institutions, Sir Asutosh's name will go down to posterity as one single man who made the University of Calcutta what it is now and will possibly be for many years to come. The fullest expansion of the University as dreamt by him has not yet materialised. If by the grace of God a day ever comes when the University of Calcutta attains its fullest expression, it will be the realisation of the dream dreamt by this great soul. It was he who conceived, planned, regulated and measured his great work. I mean no disparagement or disrespect to those who have worked after him or who are still working or may work in the future. I mean no exaggeration and no overestimate that possibly for many years to come the Calcutta University

will bear the impress of the crucible designed by Sir Asutosh.

Presiding over the condolence meeting of the Senate Lord Lytton spoke of this great man as one "who in the eyes of the world represented the University so completely that for many years Sir Asutosh was in fact the University and the University was Sir Asutosh." In paying our homage to such a man, we honour ourselves. Flowers, as was said by Sir Ewart Greaves, will fall and fade and we who stand here will pass away but his memory will remain. I look forward to the present generation of students getting all the best inspirations and ideals from the life history of this great man. Long after we are dead and gone, the sacred memories of this man, his ideals, his inspirations and his works will remain as the model for the guidance of the future generations of students.

I consider myself honoured and fortunate in associating myself with the ceremony of this evening—a ceremony which behind its flowers and garlands intends to preserve the memory of this great man. Twenty-two long years have rolled by but I still feel as if it were only yesterday when I was sitting on the bench of the University Law College, as its student in the law classes and attending the lecture delivered in a stentorian voice by Sir Asutosh in the Moot Court classes. Amidst pin-drop silence in a class of about five hundred I almost hear his lucid, clear and brilliant exposition of the Law of Mortgage. I still feel the marvel at the lucidity with which this most intricate subject was being exposed before ourselves in a most simple language. I almost remember his exhortation to the students towards the conclusion of his lecture, when quoting the precedence of Harvard, he hoped for a day when his students might be leaders of thought

and action in every walk of life. Later in my University life while a post-graduate student, I was about to be cut off from the University of Calcutta on the ground that I had been joining political movements, when I was elected the Assistant Secretary of the Bengal Muslim League. Nervous, anxious and worried, I approached this great man and I was encouraged with his usual sympathy for students, and I never heard again about the matter.

I, therefore, join to-day whole-heartedly in the functions of this evening when the memory of this great man is remembered. Amidst the hard problems of life and in the glamour of surroundings, we are apt to forget the debt we owe to our ancestors and to our past history. In keeping the memory of this great man we preserve a noble example of heroic pursuit after an ideal. We also project an inspiration, a model and an example before the rising student community. No other province in India can boast of that strong unity between the people and its University life. The University of Calcutta is now intimately connected with the intellectual life of Bengal. We have not yet reached, as I have said before, the fullness of its expansion. If the expansion comes, I am sure it will be by our following in the footsteps of a great man who was a devoted and ardent nationalist and a patriot in the true sense of the term—a world-renowned jurist and an educationist of the highest order—and above all, a typical Bengalee.

The University in all its branches and in every department still bears the stamp of his word and his individuality. He saw "on all sides the unmistakable signs of pulsation of new life,"

of new hopes, of new aspirations in all spheres of human activities." In his unbounded enthusiasm for the University interests, he expressed himself in the following words :—

"Dynasties may come and go, political parties may rise or fall, the influence of men may change, but the Universities go on for ever as seats of truth and power, as free fountains of living water, as undefiled altars of inviolate truth. "Your University—my University—will go on for ever."

In bringing this function to a close, I cannot do better than quote another famous extract that sets up his ideals :

"But in whatever sphere your lot may be cast, whatever your hopes and fears, turn back to your *Alma Mater* with filial piety and attachment. Councils will come and go, Ministers will blossom and perish, parties will develop and disappear or change their nature and survive. But your University, my University, will live on for ever, if her children by thousands and ten thousands stand by her with steadfast loyalty and devotion alike in her days of triumph and affliction. Unalterable is my faith as to her bright future, because I feel she must be a national organisation, self-reliant though bound in service to the nation, adapting herself to the manifold and varying wants of the community from generation to generation. I call upon you, Fellow Graduates, to join with me in the words of the warrior poet, in a solemn pledge of eternal devotion to the spirit of our Motherland, the protecting divinity of our *Alma Mater*."

On this occasion and at this moment when the day is slowly passing into the evening and the sun is going below the horizon but to brighten another

hemisphere, let us meet together in all sincerity and purity to pay our homage to this great departed soul, now lying in eternal peace, but whose ideal is still invigorating the life of this University and is even giving rise to newer pulsations and movements, but in the great path chalked out by him decades back.



THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JULY, 1939

CHEMICAL WARFARE*

DR. J. C. GHOSH

Professor, Dacca University

FROM the dawn of antiquity up to the initial phases of the last Great War, men have fought their battles by physical blows. A new era dawned in the history of warfare, when firearms were invented in the middle ages which enabled soldiers to strike fatal blows from a distance. The attention lavished upon various types of guns has made the fire power of these weapons so great that modern armies are forced to seek protection in trenches, deep and strong, so that tactical movement in a war between first class powers becomes eventually paralysed. The battlefield in the West in 1915 extended from the Swiss mountains to the sea. The British fleet were effectively preventing the entry of essential raw materials into Germany. In their desperate attempt to break through this cordon in land and sea, the German High Command decided to launch indiscriminate submarine attack at sea and chemical warfare on land.

* Report of a Lecture at the Rotary Club, Calcutta, on May 16, 1939.

It was hoped that by the use of toxic chemicals, movement would be restored in battle, and thus again permit tactical manoeuvre and fire power to open the way to victory. Germany was in a specially favourable position to initiate this new kind of warfare. Her basic chemical industries were in a position to manufacture acids, alkalis and chlorine in unlimited quantities; while her fine chemical industry could easily produce, in tons, any chemical of great military value. The novelty of chemical warfare consists in the fact that the chemicals pervade the atmosphere over an area. When a high explosive shell bursts, a flying fragment may kill a soldier, but his comrade, standing by, may escape unhurt. But when poison gas is released, every one within its compass becomes equally exposed to its effect. A hastily dug hole may afford shelter from machine gun bullets; a copse of trees may protect a company from artillery fire. But in gas warfare, the molecules themselves are the fatal bullets which permeate the air, overcome all obstacles of terrain and stalk their quarry relentlessly.

The effect of the first gas attack at Ypres on 22nd April, 1915, has thus been described by Sir John French:—

“Aircraft reported that thick yellow smoke had been seen issuing from the enemy trenches. What followed almost defies description. The effect of these poison gases was so virulent that the whole of the line held by the Division became incapable of any action at all. Thousands of men were thrown into a comatose and dying condition, and within an hour, the whole line had to be abandoned with about 50 guns.”

The poison gases can generally be compressed into the liquid state. Into thin shells are charged these liquids which, by the use of a small amount of high explosive in the shell, are converted into fine mist when the shells burst. Since gases can diffuse into a wide area, the gas shells need not be fired from guns with the same accuracy of aim as high explosive shells. Guns of simple mechanical design could be used. These shells proved so effective that, in the last phase of the Great War, about 50% of the shells fired were gas shells.

The combination of poison gases with aircraft is responsible for a new type of warfare almost as revolutionary in nature as the introduction of firearms in the middle ages. The actual hostilities need no longer be confined to the battlefield alone; the extensive use of poison gas and incendiary bombs against civilian population has now

become common practice. Italy won the war in Abyssinia chiefly with the aid of this weapon. They say that Germany had no difficulty in swallowing up Czechoslovakia because of the terror inspired in her neighbours by her air power. Britain no longer enjoys the immunity from attack which was her greatest asset for centuries; and new methods of defence including conscription are being hastily evolved. The cruising distance of aeroplanes is rapidly increasing and destruction of enemy headquarters even at a distance of 2,500 miles is not outside the range of probability. Air raid precautions have, therefore, become necessary in the cities of India which are within the striking zone of powerful aircraft operating from hostile bases in Africa and China.

Poisonous gases may be classified in terms of their physiological action or in terms of their tactical value in military operations. The simplest gaseous poisons have asphyxiating properties. Thus hydrocyanic acid directly poisons the tissues which are prevented from using oxygen and is rapidly fatal in concentration of 800 per million. The French used this gas in large quantities, but the results were not satisfactory, as the gas being lighter than air soon disappeared in the higher reaches of the atmosphere.

The irritant gases produce lesions in the respiratory system and cause death by suffocation. Chlorine, phosgene, cyanogen chloride, chlormethyl chlorformate, brombenzyl cyanide are some of the powerful irritants whose deadly efficiency in war has already been demonstrated. Brombenzyl cyanide, for instance, is fatal in concentration of one part in 100 million parts of air.

Another type of gas which has great military value is known as lachrymators. They produce temporary or permanent blindness by weeping. Typical examples of these poisons are mustard gas, bromacetone, xylylbromide, chloracetophenone and many complex bromine compounds. The first mustard gas attack by Germans in July, 1917, produced awful results. It had no immediate effect on the eyes, but next morning, almost everyone in the British line was absolutely blind. . .

Mustard gas has also another property which revealed the possibilities inherent in chemical warfare. It produced skin-burning effects which, although rarely mortal, were sufficient to put a man out of action for several months. The Americans now claim to have

prepared a liquid, which they call "methyl," which is so powerful that a drop anywhere on the skin would cause death in a few hours.

The chemicals which produce sneezing came into use in the later phases of the Great War when the mask had become a part of the soldier's normal equipment. Typical examples are diphenylchlorarsine and diphenylcyanarsine—one millionth of a gram of the latter in a litre of air would cause a casualty for an exposure of one minute. These are solid substances, but are transformed into ultramicroscopic dust when the shell bursts. This dust was expected to penetrate the protecting materials in the gas mask which are meant for absorbing gases and vapours. Once a speck gets into the nose, violent sneezing begins, the protective mask has to be taken off, and then the other lethal gases have full play on the victims.

The general protoplasmic poisons are now receiving special attention. Tetraethyl lead is now in common use as an antiknock which is blended with petrol. Largely diluted, it is harmless; but its vapours may produce acute poisoning, the patient becoming violently maniacal and often committing suicide. Dichlormethyl ether puts in disorder the semicircular canals of the ear, and a patient cannot keep steady or maintain his balance. The great surprise of the next war may be the large-scale use of compounds which will derange the nervous system of the combatants and throw entire armies into confusion.

Lastly we come to camouflage chemicals. They are extremely malodorous compounds like butylmercaptan and dimethyl thiocarbonate, which are useful to conceal the presence of lethal gases. They enforce the continuous use of the protective mask which is extremely disagreeable, or in the alternative, encourage fatal carelessness.

From the point of view of military operations, the poison gases may be divided into two classes—the persistent types and the non-persistent types. The latter are relatively volatile substances which are useful in attack as it entails little risk to occupy the ground vacated by the enemy a few hours after the gas attack. Towards the concluding phases of the Great War, the allied attacks were mostly supported by the free use of chlorinated vinyl arsines which have got multiple physiological effects—irritation of the lungs, eyes and skin, and also sneezing effects are produced.

The highly persistent, highly lethal compounds have introduced a new type of strategic obstacle. Mustard gas is *par excellence* the war

chemical of this type. Its extensive use would convert open areas into absolute obstacles against the movement of huge masses of men owing to the certainty of a high percentage of casualties. It is well-known that the German High Command believe more in chemical barrages temporarily put up, than in permanent costly fortifications which often become death-traps.

Devices for the protection of the individual against these poisonous chemicals have tried to keep pace with progress in attack. The gas mask is made of rubberised fabric and is fitted with eyeglasses and with inlet and outlet tubes fitted with valves. The inlet tube is joined by rubber tubing to a canister which contains absorbing materials through which the air must pass during inspiration. The canister is fixed on the chest of the wearer. The resistance to breathing becomes less as the thickness of the absorbing material decreases. Intensive researches are in progress with a view to increasing the efficiency of these absorbants. For protection against sneezing compounds, a disc filter of specially prepared cotton is fitted on to the canister. In Table I are given the types of canister recommended for use in U. S. A.

It is very difficult to counter the effect of poisons which are absorbed through the skin. An oilskin undergarment and rubberised fabrics for outer garments appear to be the only solution. The physiological effect of such apparel which absolutely prevents ventilation of the skin, specially in tropical countries like India, has not yet been properly studied. In any case, the mask and this kind of protective clothing must be very disagreeable devices to the wearer; and there is no denying that the physical and mental efficiency of the soldier goes down very considerably.

The measures to be adopted for the protection of civil population against aerial gas attack far behind the battlefield may be summarised as follows:—

Provision of protective equipment ; arrangement for sheltering facilities ; organisation of degassing squads, and provision for medical aid.

Air attack is so costly that it would naturally be confined to cities of industrial or strategic importance, or to centres of communications. The people of rural areas need not worry much in this respect. The first line of protection in big cities is the use of defence

air squadrons and anti-aircraft guns. If the air attack takes place at night, black-outs should be arranged so that enemy airplanes cannot spot the target of attack. There should be free distribution of gas masks and, immediately on notice, each non-combatant should put on the gas mask which should be always ready at hand. Each building, whether residential or commercial, should provide sheltering facilities for its inmates; for residential buildings, a room in the basement which can be air sealed is best for the purpose. Underground tunnels are expensive, but wherever possible they should be provided and made easily accessible.

After the air attack is over, the grounds and narrow streets should be degassed by well-trained special brigades. Artificial winds may be created by motor trucks fitted with sails and moving through the streets with great velocities. Persistent gases like mustard one should be removed by washing streets and faces of buildings with water from hydrants mixed with bleaching powder.

It is essential that public utility service stations, like water reservoirs, pumping stations, electric power stations, should be in future located and designed in such a way as to be immune from air attack. The reservoir at Talla is a prominent object which can be put out of action in a minute by a stray enemy plane passing over Calcutta.

Preparation for gas defence must include plans for the mobilisation of all medical men, nurses, medical attendants, and ambulances, and for their assignment to first-aid stations which should be established in large numbers all over a city.

But the preparatory measure of paramount importance is the instruction of the general public. The less panicky the civilian population, the smaller the number of casualties. The advice—you must keep your heads cool—is nowhere more effective; and public instruction should be put into effect through all publicity agencies, press, pamphlets, cinema and radio-broadcast.

TABLE I

	Conditions	Contents of Canister	Colour of Canister
1	Protection against organic vapours, such as aniline, gasoline, benzene, ether, toluene, and the like (when not over 20% in air).	600 cubic millilitres or more of activated charcoal.	Black
2	Protection against acids such as hydrochloric, sulphur dioxide, nitrogen peroxide, chlorine and the like (not over 1% in air).	600 cubic millilitres or more of soda lime or fused caustic soda.	White
3	Protection against ammonia gas not over 3%. The 3% limit cannot be long endured by the wearer because of the skin irritation from the gas.	Copper sulphate and charcoal	Green
4	Protection against carbon monoxide (not over 3%).	A mixture of metallic oxides known as "hopcalite" which catalyzes the combustion of carbon monoxide with oxygen from the air and produces carbon dioxide.	Blue
5	Protection against all of the above gases; the "all-service mask."	All of the absorbents mentioned above, but only small amounts of each.	Red
6	Protection against a combination of organic fumes and acid fumes.	Activated charcoal and soda lime	Yellow
7	Protection against ammonia and smoke.	Copper sulphate and charcoal with a filter pad for smoke.	Brown
8	Protection against hydrocyanic acid gas (not over 2%).	Caustic soda impregnated on pads	With a green stripe

TEACHING ENGLISH IN INDIA

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(*Visva Bharati*)

VERY few teachers and professors of English in Indian colleges are aware of the fact that to teach a foreign language to students implies the teaching of foreign attitudes, conceptions, and ways of life as well. The mere attempt to supply the student with the plain meaning of a word very frequently fails, because the psychological associations connected with that particular word are essentially different in the case of an average Englishman and of an average Indian student. This discrepancy in the different ways of association seems to be the stumbling-block to the teaching of English in Indian colleges.

In terms of psychology there is no "plain" meaning attached to a word ; whatever the writer wants to communicate by it, its meaning will be distorted by associations emanating from the readers' attitudes, conceptions, and ways of life. Furthermore, there are many words in English which do not evoke any associations at all in the mind of an Indian student. Let us take such a simple and common word as "church" : while reading or pronouncing it, an infinite number of associations of an emotional as well as intellectual kind will spring up in an Englishman's mind—associations connected with his childhood, his parents, his education, his religious convictions, and so forth ; a relevant combination of all these associations will constitute what we call the "plain meaning" of the word "church." In the case of an Indian student no relevant associations will be forthcoming. His mind will remain blank, and if asked for an appropriate definition of the word "church," he will have to be satisfied with some kind of abstraction disconnected from his own personal experience, such as "a church is a building erected for the purpose of religious worship."

If the teacher of English in an Indian college considers the language problem in its psychological implications, he cannot help realizing the utter impossibility of substituting some kind of "new" meaning for the old and irrelevant abstractions. It seems somehow that the "plain" meaning of a word which is in no way related to the student's

reality, cannot be taught. And as only a very small number of Indian students have the opportunity of visiting England, it seems that this problem cannot be possibly solved by the old methods of teaching. The real difficulty of the teacher of English, however, begins only when he is asked to explain not one word alone, but a whole combination of words, for instance, a poem.

Realising that fundamentally the explanation and analysis of a poem is nothing but a problem of communication, he will try to explain and to analyse the meaning of this particular communication. On the back of everything that a writer thinks worth while to communicate, is an experience, and the words he uses will be either sensory stimuli or symbols. As long as they remain sensory stimuli, they may be understandable to anybody ; their sound-effect will be purely musical, for instance, and in terms of psychology no discrepancy in association will be found to exist. But when these same words become symbols for some definite experience, the meaning and significance of this experience will be unintelligible to most of the Indian students, partly because their associations will be different ones from those of the writer of the poem, partly because the same symbols in their own vernacular represent experiences of quite a different kind. They may be able mentally to " understand," to grasp the experience, but it will again be disconnected from their own reality—a " meaningless " abstraction or a commonplace.

The teacher will experience an even greater difficulty when explaining to Indian students a poem in which words are no longer direct symbols of the poet's experience, but in which he has used figurative language of a highly complex kind ; many such poems are included even in the curriculum of Intermediate college-classes in India. If the " plain " meaning of a word cannot be made clear to a student, how can he be made to understand the essentially figurative language of Milton, for instance ? Yet, " critical " questions on Milton still occupy the first place in the Calcutta Intermediate examination. The student will again take recourse to some kind of " intuitive " reading hoping that his own emotions and feelings will be strong enough for a proper understanding of Milton's figurative speech, or he will indulge in a prosaic " over-literal " reading with special emphasis upon points of grammar, syntax, and construction. He will undoubtedly fail in both his methods. Neither the intuitive nor the over-literal approach will bring him nearer to the writer's original experience, and even if he

catches the "sense" of it (usually with the help of some annotation), its significance will get lost in this unnecessarily elaborate process.

The teacher of English in India will come across a great number of other difficulties of a no less disconcerting kind. The poet's imagery will evoke an entirely different set of images in the young Indian's mind. The Indian student, especially when reading English poetry, will be subject to mnemonic irrelevances, erratic associations in his mind, emotional reverberations which have nothing whatsoever to do with the original poem. He will continually suffer from stock-responses misinterpreting the views and emotions expressed by the poet. He will lose himself in the poet's images, metaphors, symbols, and his response will in most cases be irrelevant.

It is hardly possible to expect anything else. If the meaning remains ambiguous, the reader's "feeling" cannot be the "right" one: he will either fall back into sentimentality or inhibition, or take refuge into some kind of emotional commonplace. There is an intimate relationship between "understanding" and "response" which is not sufficiently clear to many teachers of English in India, and which, it seems, can be made clear only if the teaching of a foreign language be first of all considered in terms of psychology.

Considering the fact that Indian students very rarely leave India, and that, on the other hand, they have to go through a fairly large number of English books in order to secure a University degree, some new and more adequate methods should be found out, which will make a proper understanding of English language and literature possible and at the same time train their literary sensibility and their critical awareness. Emotional and intellectual stimuli should be grasped by the students in their entirety and their response should adjust itself to this new set of stimuli. Until now the quantity of reading matter was the decisive factor in the teaching of English in India. An appalling number of frequently irrelevant books had to be gone through at a tremendous speed. If there was any response at all to these particularly strong stimuli, they were those of an automaton.

Very few attempts have been made to supply the student with a proper historical background. The social, political, and economic background has been completely neglected. As for the psychological approach to literary matters, it seems to be altogether outside the scope of University training in India. By means of an historical background the student will be enabled to find a proper historical setting for

words, expressions, images, similes and so forth. If, on the other hand, he knows something about the social, political, and economic life of England, he will gain access to an entirely new set of ideas, new implications, possibilities and vistas with regard to literature as well. If, finally, the writer's character, personality, and "style" have been subjected to a close scrutiny, the words he uses will lose their conventional meaning and they will appear altogether new in this essentially personal context. In order to reach this goal a new course of study will be necessary. Books will have to be more carefully selected and especially with a view to training the student's sensibility and critical awareness.

But how can the student's critical awareness be trained, if he remains ignorant of the most elementary principles of literary appreciation? By means of these various cultural "back-grounds" it should be possible to substitute a "new" meaning to the stereotyped and abstract ones. If the "background" will give meaning to the context, the word itself will be revitalized. The background will give rise to new associations whenever the "plain" meaning of a word is questioned.

The problem of communication will also be solved to a considerable degree. If the student be able to understand what exactly the writer wanted to communicate, the significance and relevance of the writer's experience will become clear to him. And his response to these stimuli will no longer be out of proportion, but in keeping with the writer's own feelings, his attitudes, conceptions, and ways of life. Such a process would, indeed, be a test for a well adjusted and conditioned literary sensibility.

In a book devoted to the teaching of English in India we find the following interesting statement: "Poetry, more than prose, needs to be visualized, to be appreciated, and this means that in the teaching of it the right association of ideas is more important than mere 'meanings.' If the pupil is to appreciate a poetical metaphor, 'we must supply him with experience that will make it meaningful,' i.e., we must call up images similar to those in the poet's mind."¹ Unfortunately no method is suggested how to supply the student with an experience which by its very nature is entirely foreign to him. The question which a teacher of English has constantly to ask himself is, whether

¹ M. S. H. Thomson and H. G. Wyatt: *The Teaching of English in India*, Oxford University Press, 1935.

the various "backgrounds" will be a sufficient help for true literary appreciation. Experience has shown that the advanced Indian student when studying English poetry will concentrate first of all upon the "meaning" and will only later on attempt to deduce from the meaning the original experiences of the poet.

He will, therefore, indulge in speculative elaborations divorced from experience. Vague and abstract entities will take the place of the poet's mental attitude which after all is something pretty definite. His appreciation will be "standardized" and inhibited. He will draw irrelevant conclusions from the meaning of words as to the "ideas" of the poet; and the literary appreciation of a poem will become (as it so frequently does in India) a question of belief or disbelief. To believe or disbelieve in Wordsworth's "ideas" is merely a matter of stock-responses and preconceived convictions. If the teaching of English poetry in India is to be of any value whatsoever, the philosophical or metaphysical or ethical aspect should be given less prominence, in favour of a more critical and discriminating approach.

This approach to poetry, after the different "backgrounds" have been given, should then consist in a gradual awakening of the student's literary sensibility and sense of discrimination. If the teacher will make it clear to the student that "the artist is concerned with the record and perpetuation of the experiences which seem to him most worth having,"¹ abstract entities of a moral kind will once for all vanish from the student's mind and he will consider the poet's experience (as expressed in a poem) not as something which he has to believe or disbelieve, but as a piece of living reality to which the poet attaches a certain value; he will also be brought to understand what experiences seemed to the poet most valuable, and this will give him a deeper insight into the poet's mental and emotional attitudes than the preconceived moral ideas of "vice" and "virtue." A theory of value as applied to the poet's experiences will not only supply the student with a knowledge of the creative process in the poet's mind, but will also help him to grasp the cultural setting in which experiences of that kind were considered to be most valuable.

A similar consideration should be applied to so-called aesthetic "standards." Modern psychologists and educationists have realized the necessary drawbacks of a purely aesthetic approach to literature,

¹ I. A. Richards: *Principles of Literary Criticism*, 1925, p. 53.

especially in the case of a foreign literature. How can a professor of English in India take upon him the responsibility of moulding the student's aesthetic apprehensions by means of abstract formulas? Yet, whenever he opens one of the more popular "help-books" or Annotations, he will find there a great number of those pseudo-aesthetic statements entirely unintelligible to an average Indian student, such as "this poem is *marvellously beautiful*," "here the poet has expressed the *harmony* of his soul," "classicism makes for *unity*, romanticism for *variety*," and so forth. In India, the student of English is almost daily confronted with statements of that kind, either in books or through the mouth of his teacher. And yet he is far from comprehending the implications of these aesthetic terms—"beauty," "harmony," "unity," "variety." Here again preconceived ideas will influence his attitude, as it was the case with matters of moral interest. He will call a poem "beautiful," because he *feels* it to be so, and another will be "bad," because no response of a personal kind will be forthcoming. If, however, the *value* of the poet's experience is made clear to him, if, furthermore, his mind has been opened to the fact that experiences as such are beyond "good" and "evil," he will also realize that the "beauty" or "badness" of a poem does not depend on his own personal response, but on an ultimate value which cannot be possibly expressed in terms of aesthetic judgment.

"Harmony, unity and variety" are such other aesthetic terms that should be used in India only with extreme care. Their meaning has become part of the cultural heritage and evolution of the West from Aristotle to Benedetto Croce and T. S. Eliot. There is a natural continuity and evolution in European culture which could be studied for instance in terms of "harmony, unity and variety." The Indian student is not supposed to be in touch with this cultural continuity; in fact, many aspects of Indian art seem to show that these concepts are of an altogether different order in Indian cultural evolution. It is not possible to "teach" tradition, and all the attempts of reducing the cultural continuity of the West to such abstract terms as "beauty," "harmony" and "unity" will necessarily fail to produce any appreciable result.

What then is the ultimate value of a poet's experience? And how can it be taught to the student in India? If we neglect the moral and aesthetic side of a poem, there still remains the experience itself and the way it has been communicated to the reader. The very fact that a

poet's experience has been made available to others should supply the teacher with enough teaching material. And the first thing he will have to teach to his students is to respond to this experience *as a whole*, in a coherent way, without an undue consideration of the moral or aesthetic aspect of this experience. The teacher will, furthermore, have to draw the student's attention to the way this experience has been organized. Any discriminating student of average intelligence will then be able to distinguish between what is purely personal and impersonal in the poem. He will, for instance, realize that all personal emotions must first be organized, that is, "impersonalized," before being expressed in poetic form. He will also become aware of the fact that rhyme, rhythm and metre are nothing but such impersonal expressions of the poet's emotional and mental attitude when depicting his experience. The student will, furthermore, be enabled to inhibit his own personal stock-responses and will suppress irrelevant personal details for the sake of an appreciation of the whole. This kind of appreciation will be unbiased and free from moral or aesthetic prejudices.

Even if, as we have seen, the response of an Indian student to the native element in English poetry has naturally to be limited, he will by this method of discrimination and dynamic response be brought nearer to communication involving attitudes foreign to his own, and his mind will be opened to the meaning of experiences and their ultimate value. He will, finally, see that the important thing in an appreciation of a poem is not the "expression" (aesthetic form), the images and symbols, or the cultural setting, but the poet's own mental and emotional attitudes.

POLITICS AND EDUCATION

HUMAYUN KABIR

I should at the outset like to convey to the organisers of the Delhi Provincial Students' Conference my deep and sincere appreciation of the honour they have done me in asking me to preside over their deliberations to-day. I am fully aware that there are many whose claims to this distinction are greater than mine, and nobody can be more keenly conscious than myself that it could not be mere personal considerations that are responsible for my being in the position in which I find myself. I take it that your selection is symbolic and in conferring upon me this honour, you have sought to express your recognition of certain forces and ideals that are silently working for the transformation of our social, political and economic outlook.

We have met to-day in the historic city of Delhi, a city rich in its culture and traditions, a city where the fate of India was for more than once decided for good or worse. Here have met various forces which have shaped our destiny and made India the land of rich, complex and often contrary modes of life. To-day again, we have met at a time when crisis faces not only the culture and civilisation of India, but of the world as a whole. Rival schools of thought and opposed ideals of life divide and distract the energies of those who want to build up the foundations of a new society and bewilder the minds and intellects of thinkers and workers alike. At such moments and on such occasions, we must undertake a re-examination of the foundations of our accepted beliefs, and I shall consider our Conference justified if it helps us to understand more clearly the nature of the problems with which we are faced and the solutions we must attempt if we are to rescue the world from the anarchy from which it suffers to-day.

What I have said makes it unmistakably clear that students should not, even if they could, keep aloof from politics. This is a point which I have often discussed and which once needed discussion, but to-day the force of circumstances has brought us to a pass where no discussion on the point is necessary any more. It was only a misunderstanding, a misunderstanding only too natural in a politically

unfree country, of the organic connection of student- and after-life that led people to suggest the abstention of students from participation in politics. But where would such a suggestion lead to if followed to its logical sequel? In the true sense, one's student life never ends, for increase of experience brings with it increase of knowledge and this is a process which must continue to the end of life. On the other hand, devotion to a cause, the instinct and the power to sacrifice one's personal interests for the sake of an ideal are qualities as necessary in after-life as in the days of studenthood. The attempt at artificial division of life into compartments which have nothing to do with one another has been the bane of our fate and the sharp distinction we try to make between student- and after-life is only one of its expressions. That is why our student life is so often restricted and cramped and our worldly life frustrated and vain. As students we try to deny the demands life makes upon us and as grown-up men we lose the emotional urgency and selflessness of student days.

It is, therefore, a happy sign that students in our country are to-day taking an active part in politics. And this they must, when we remember the crisis in culture and civilisation under whose shadow we constantly live. From the point of view of practical necessity as well, the participation of students in politics is inevitable. Open the paper in the morning and every column is full of political news and political views. Is there any one who will say that in the attempt to avoid politics, students must give up reading papers and shut themselves up as recluses in a scholastic paradise? And once they read papers and form their views, how to draw the line between theory and its application? Is discussing politics among friends a crime? Does it become one the moment, instead of an audience of a dozen friends, you expound the same views before an audience of a few hundreds or thousands, some of them not friends? Again, students have their own problems and yet when they attempt to solve them, they find that it inevitably takes them into the regions of what we call politics. The system of education which obtains in our country is bound to evoke criticism. Shall we not try to change it simply because the attempt may lead us to the borders of the forbidden land of politics?

Students must prepare themselves for future participation in social life, and what is politics but the organised expression of social life? The sense of unreality in modern Indian politics and the lack of discipline and well ordered thought in many of our politicians have often

attracted attention. Our politicians often behave like schoolboys, and spoilt ones at that, in their lack of sense of discipline and responsibility. Have we tried to find out the cause of this phenomenon? To me it seems that they behave as schoolboys in politics, because as schoolboys they never took any interest in politics, not even the schoolboy politics which serves as the training ground for future citizens and leaders in free and independent countries. Trial and error are the instruments through which life teaches us its most important lessons and it is better that the experiment of trial and error should occur in a sphere where error may not involve in disaster the fate and future of thousands of men and women. As social beings we cannot thus avoid politics; is it not better then that our mistakes in politics should occur in the restricted sphere of student life where error will not bring in its train tragedy and disaster for millions?

Yet in a politically unfree country like ours, it is not strange that attempts should be made to divorce students from politics, for participation in politics inevitably breeds the attitude of criticism and enquiry. If this attitude grows from early youth, it is bound to undermine the basis of authority on which alone political domination can last. Properly understood, this is also the aim of education, for the purpose of education is acquisition and increase of knowledge and this requires curiosity and inquisitiveness. Students, if they are true to their vocation, must ask questions about everything, and must examine and criticise whatever comes to them in the garb of authority. Acceptance must be based, not on compulsion but intellectual conviction, but the moment such a mentality grows, the blind appeal to authority would go. With the rejection of authority and the growth of freedom of thought and mind, imperial domination would be imperilled. Education in imperial regimes is, therefore, based upon the idea of unquestioning acceptance. Freedom of thought and freedom of the intellect are definitely at a discount. Indian society based upon the conception of authority, and Indian religions emphasising revelation and sanction tried to induce in the minds of young men reverence for status as immutable and unchanging. In consequence, the general policy of our education has always emphasised authority, not criticism, blind faith, not free and unfettered enquiry, and that is why our education has so often defeated its own purpose.

The revolt of our youth must, therefore, be more fundamental and far-reaching than that of youth in other countries need be. They

fight a political or social system, but here our fight is against the accumulated tradition that is in our blood itself. We have to learn anew the distinction between non-conformity and disrespect. Difference of opinion is here regarded as disobedience and very often our elders demand our acceptance, not because of the reasonableness of what they say but just because it is they who say it. Against this blind acceptance of authority, a new mentality of defiance has grown in recent years. A new spirit of criticism is surging throughout the land. To older generations and persons in power, rejection of authority is tantamount to turbulence, and mere indiscipline. Turbulence and indiscipline also there may be, at times, but it is only to be expected as a reaction from the blind acceptance of the past. But shall we, because of occasional excesses, forget that the so-called indiscipline of the students of to-day is only the emergence of a new consciousness and of the urge towards the eradication of the evils from which society suffers to-day? The question which I want to ask is a different one. The spirit of criticism is here to-day but does this criticism go far enough and deep enough? Do we merely talk of criticism and accept blindly social customs which are out of keeping with the spirit of the times? Do we look at society and government, at education and religion, at rights and duties with the eyes of questioning, critical, rebellious, revolutionary youth? Or, do we merely luxuriate in a vague emotional satisfaction of the spirit of enquiry and allow it to degenerate into a mere intellectual pastime?

This raises the question of discipline in student life. We have seen that students cannot avoid politics even if they want, and also that they should not even if they could. But at the same time, they must remember that if they exhaust themselves in the demands of day-to-day politics, if they do not carefully prepare themselves for the future when the task of guiding the destinies of their people shall be theirs, they will have to answer to future generations for their failure. Politics to-day is a matter of complex calculations and wide familiarity with the history of many countries and many races. If in the impulse of the moment the student forgets that action must be based on theory, that statesmanship is the result of much experience and much thought, how shall he shoulder the responsibility when his own turn comes?

Besides, impulse, however powerful it may be, can never lead to success unless there is behind it a cold and calculating brain.

Mrs. Naidu told you yesterday of Kemal Ataturk and told you that the secret of his success lay in the combination of enthusiasm and discipline, impulse and order, fervour and iron control. Often in our country we hear it said that there is no time for thought during a conflagration, but those who say it forget that it is then that thought is most necessary. How to husband our resources—how to save what we may from the destruction which will otherwise overtake all we have? Mere running about does not put out a fire, nor is the enthusiasm of a child of much help there. There must be true discipline and control, volunteers must line up and work in co-operation to fight the flames. This control, this discipline makes a fire brigade of a dozen of far greater value than a mob of twelve hundred: it is again this discipline that makes a small handful of soldiers prevail against the fury and the onslaught of infuriated mobs. That is why the student movement in India and elsewhere, while it keeps in close contact with politics, must also remember that it must not waste its energies, it must not squander the substance of its soul in merely achieving the momentary, in meeting those demands which at the moment seem important but dwindle into insignificance before the day is out.

Such abandon, such wild enthusiasm could perhaps be understood if it flamed up and solved once and for all the problems of the world. If you could be sure that a conflagration will never repeat itself, perhaps you could justify everyone's making one supreme effort to master it. But what about a fire that is eternal and must burn so long as man is man? The problems of politics are not such that you may solve them here and now: they are problems inherent in the nature of man himself. Like men who live by the sea and fight its might day in and day out, year in and year out, we stand by the shores of human destiny. Would it do for the dwellers by the sea to exhaust the energies of all, of men and women, of boys and girls and even infants, in making one supreme effort? They must garner their resources, they must prepare to carry on the fight till the end of time. For us, the solution of one political problem will create a hundred new ones. The destruction of British imperialism will only open the path to new effort and new endeavour, to the solution of the problem of rehabilitating Indian life, which is far more stupendous, far more arduous than fighting a foreign enemy. For that future task, students must preserve their strength, their enthusiasm, their discipline and their faith.

There is another thing we must never forget. Youth is not a function of physical age alone, for there are young men whose minds have already ossified with the weight of ages and there are men, old as years go, whose vitality, whose spirit of enquiry and constant adventure into new modes of life have led them to new discoveries and new realisations of truth. Shall we forget that Immanuel Kant, often regarded as a typical pedantic philosopher, formulated his transcendental theories at an age when most men think of retiring from the struggle of life? Shall we forget that Karl Marx, when he worked out his revolutionary theories in politics, economics and philosophy, was a man well past his prime? Coming nearer home, can we forget that we have among us to-day Mrs. Sarojini Naidu who seems to grow younger with every passing year? Youth, we must confess, is a quality of the mind, not of mere physical age.

The spirit of criticism in the youngmen of to-day is then a happy sign. It indicates an awaking from the torpor and lassitude of spirit from which we in India have suffered for ages, but to revive the question I have once already asked, Do our criticisms go far enough? Are we aware of the nature of the problems which cry for a solution and cannot wait? Do our minds revolt against the injustice of the social and political system which keeps nine men out of every ten illiterate and ignorant in our country? Agriculture is the foremost industry of the country and yet hardly eighty rupees per thousand of the population per annum is spent against the thousands spent in primarily industrial lands like America and Great Britain, but how many of us care to know these facts, and of those who know how many pause to think of the reasons for such absurd disparity? Even in the matter of life and death of the people, do we realise why it is that men of our country hardly live for thirty years, when the average expectation of life in England is fifty-four years or more?

We look at the injustices of our social system and see a spectacle of appalling stupidity and lack of sense. We even break the heads of men in order to save the heads of cows and bullocks. But the same spectacle of stupidity, though with local differences and variations in degree, meets our eyes when we look at the world outside. Everywhere in the world, social extravagance and social wastage lead to social frustration and unhappiness. One man toils and another enjoys the fruits of his labour. One is overwhelmed with abundance and knows not what to do with

his superfluities while another struggles for a bare subsistence and cannot find it. Can social stupidity go further than what we find in modern capitalistic civilisation, if civilisation it can be called, where millions go hungry and yet thousands of tons of wheat are burnt in order to secure a sufficient margin of profit to those who already roll in wealth? Thousands lack clothing and men and women have nothing to cover their nakedness, and yet factories are closed and millions of workers sit idle and unemployed. Do we search in our hearts to find whence results this tremendous wastage of human material with all its acquired efficiency and skill? Men's wants are legion and the conquest of the powers of nature has placed in our hands the key to their satisfaction, and yet social stupidity and social inertia will not allow a solution in which every human being may find the field for a fruitful and happy life.

Our ingrained habits of thought and life are startled and disturbed when these questions are raised. The spectre of socialism and communism haunts our imagination and we think that to talk of organising the resources of society in the interest of society is to open the door for these to walk in. But how to conceal the fact that every one of us want organisation when it suits our purpose? The millowner wants that the State through its organisation and machinery should protect him from the demands that his labourers make, or better still, so organise the life and training of the labourers that they may not think about undesirable questions like a human standard of life at all. During the height of *laissez faire*, millowners fought for the maintenance of laws that guaranteed the freedom of young workers, boys and girls of twelve or less, to work for sixteen hours a day for six days in the week. Do not the landlords of our country want such social and political organisation as will guarantee to them the privileges they have usurped and want to pass as rights inherent in their status? Is not the very demand for the maintenance of the *status quo*, whether it be with respect to caste among Hindus, purdah among Muslim women or imperial domination by the British—a demand for organisation of society in a particular way? Is not the recent phenomenon of fascist organisation of society in the interests of capitalism in itself a recognition of the urgency of organisation and an attempt to prostitute it in the interest of finance capital? In a word, do not all objections to social organisation and social control in the end boil down simply to an objection to organisation in which

social interests are exalted instead of the personal interests of the exploiting classes in society?

We often hear of the problem of unemployment to-day, but in our country at least, we mean by it only the problem of educated unemployment, *i.e.*, unemployment among the middle classes. This attempt to divide the problem of unemployment itself shows our secret sympathies, for how can one who really thinks of society as an organism refuse to think of the unemployment or half employment of agriculturists and labourers? The essence of unemployment is the inability of society to utilise the different social units, and it is immaterial whether these units are educated or uneducated, belong to the middle or the working classes. I would here draw your attention only to the curious fact that if you really believe in *laissez faire*, if you really think that social control should not operate on the lives of the members of society, you have no right to worry about the problems of educated unemployment as well. I have already referred to the anarchy which prevails in the fields of industry and commerce. Men go without the essentials of life and yet luxuries are produced in a constantly increasing stream. Iron and steel works in England were closing down, cotton factories were shut, but the distilleries and the cinema industries flourished even during the darkest days of economic depression. Uncontrolled and suicidal competition goes on in these fields, and if you hesitate to apply social control there and determine in what ways the energies and the resources of the community should be used, you must in all logic also refrain from interfering in the question of unemployment of the educated middle class. You must, in order to be consistent, there also say that it is a matter for individual concern as to who finds employment and who does not and the State can or ought to interfere in it no more than it can or ought in the governance of industry.

But not the most hardened capitalist or imperialist dares to say so. Not the most fanatical upholder of individualistic anarchy in the economic and political field dares to say that society has no responsibility towards the individual and his happiness. England dare not suspend her unemployment benefit even if she wants and even Fascist Germany must provide winter relief to those who cannot provide for themselves. America with all her individualism must yet think of New Deals and other methods to soften the rigours of unemployment among her workers. The moment this fact is realised, there is no way of denying

the supreme importance of social control and the only question becomes, "In whose interest shall society be controlled, in that of a handful of those who enjoy all the good things of life or in that of those whose history till now has been one unredeemed record of service and suffering?" With the idea of social control comes the prospect of a society in which each man may have a function and a purpose in his life.

In the anarchic world of to-day, there are men who can and do spend millions to satisfy a moment's whim and there are millions who have not the means for maintaining even a merely animal life. Unsatisfied demands face unemployed labour and unused intellect and skill. Pool them together under the control of society and in the social interest, and there will be neither poverty nor nakedness. According to official and semi-official estimates, in India alone seven crores of men and women live on the verge of perpetual starvation and another fourteen crores live permanently on half rations. If these twenty-one crores of men and women consumed an additional handful of rice per day, think of the profound social consequences. The demand for food will increase manifold, prices of agricultural commodities will go up and thousands will find employment in a rehabilitated agriculture. If these twenty-one crores of men and women could afford proper clothing—for without proper food, how can they even think of covering their nakedness—the demand they would create would provide work not only for all the mills of India but also for those of Lancashire, and perhaps even then, without fresh development in the industry the demand could not be met. If this vast mass of humanity, living a famished, hungry and naked life, received proper medical attention, if the terrible infant and maternal mortality among them were sought to be checked, if proper educational facilities were brought to them, a demand would be created for thousands of doctors and nurses, thousands of hospitals and pharmacies, thousands of teachers and schoolmasters and writers and libraries, and employment would be created for millions of men and women. And the exploited and the hungry are not to be found in India alone. Their number is legion in China and Central Asia, in the depths of Africa and even in the heart of the so-called civilised countries like England, France and America. The exploited all over the world constitute the vast majority and it is one of the wonders of history that they have not seen through the exploitation from which they suffer and risen in revolt to create a new order and a new society out of the ruins of the old.

We live to-day in a world where civilisation and culture are faced with imminent disaster. Conflicting ideas confuse our minds and the prospect of a collapse of world civilisation haunts our imagination. The conquest of nature has placed infinite resources at our disposal, and yet in the midst of plenty and abundance, men and women go hungry and naked. Men starve and yet foodstuffs are destroyed every year. Men and women have no clothing to cover their nakedness and yet mills remain idle, and the acquired skill of operatives is allowed to go to waste. War under modern conditions has become a danger not only for the attacked but also for the attacker, and yet in spite of a guarantee of universal destruction, nations think and act in terms of war alone. In a word, we live in a world which seems to have gone mad and where men and women act out of a combination of distraction, fear and perplexity.

In this mad world of to-day, it is inevitable that young men must think afresh of their fates and their future. Those who have seen better days and lived in more prosperous times may have memories which bring faith and courage to them, but what of those whose future is still before them? What prospects do they have and what hopes can they hope? Politics has, therefore, become the life blood of young men and women all over the world, and the spirit of enquiry and restlessness is only one manifestation of their troubled searchings after an uncertain future.

It is not without significance that the student movement has developed in its present form and with its present intensity in the post-War years. Not that students in the past have not taken part in the revolutionary up-surfing of the peoples of the world. They were, as young men, in the vanguard of the American War of Independence and in the revolutionary struggles of eighteenth century France. But though they have shared and struggled and suffered in such revolutions, they have not done so as a conscious student body. It was the Great War that brought consciousness to them and forged the great movement of which you here form a part.

The Great War came as a great shock and a great liberator of the spirit. Everywhere young men were told that they were fighting for honour and truth, for justice and liberty, for the right of self-determination of nations and the value of the plighted word. Everywhere people believed that this was a war to end war, that they were fighting for self-defence against unjust and unjustified aggression, and yet when

the war ended, they found a peace imposed which ended even the hope of peace.

During the anxious years of War and ever since, these questions have troubled the consciousness of young men everywhere. How could every one fight in self-defence? If every one wanted peace, how could there be the hideousness of war? If every one wanted justice and was prepared to render justice to others, why the horrible nightmare through which the world is passing even to-day? Through searching of heart and the education of suffering, young men all over the world learnt the bitter lesson. They realised that conflict was born of repression and injustice, that war was caused by the desire of one people to conquer and subjugate a fellow race, and the motive of domination could only be found in the desire for economic and other exploitation. One nation desired to exploit the resources of another and thus increase its wealth, but this it could do only if it had political control over the other. Thus empires are built for the purpose of creating, capturing and retaining markets, and contrarily, conquered countries find that they can never solve the problems of poverty and frustration without first achieving political freedom. National glory and imperial pride may have contributed to the wars of peoples; but the fundamental cause behind such manifestations is economic. Markets for one's produce and the desire to maintain a higher standard of life at the cost of less fortunate races have caused more wars and more misery than any other factor in human history.

Suppressed nationalities struggle for independence, for without independence they cannot realise their own potentialities. Conquering nations resist that claim, for once these achieve their independence, there will be no possibility of exploiting them. Hence, exploitation and resistance to it supply the central core round which conflicts rage and the bitterest struggles are fought, though high-sounding phrases and ideas are used to cover the nakedness of such exploitation.

But there is a fundamental contradiction in such imperial exploitation. The classes which enjoy the fruits of empire have to delude their less fortunate countrymen and this they can do only by playing to their national vanity. Emphasis upon national dignity inevitably evokes a reaction in the conquered nation, and develops a sense of nationality there. Soon the two nationalities face one another and a conflict becomes inevitable. Not only this, but imperial exploitation tends to raise the standard of life in the imperial country. Costs of production go up and

finance capital there seeks new fields of expansion and exploitation in the backward countries. New capitalism develops there and soon the two capitalisms engage in a mortal fight. In a word, where there is imperialism, there must be war and where there is capitalism, there must be imperialism, whatever the covering it may adopt to hide its real nature.

Freedom is, therefore, the first principle of the student movement of the world. Young men all the world over realised that there can be no peace and, therefore, no progress till freedom is realised for every nationality in the world. But this freedom cannot and does not mean mere political freedom. If the history of nineteenth century Europe has taught us anything, it has taught us that political liberty without economic equality is a mere mockery. Political democracy is meaningless without economic and social equality, and history has further taught us that economic and social equality cannot be achieved except in terms of a classless society from which the motive of private acquisition and profit has been eliminated. The freedom for which the student movement stands is freedom in the political, economic and the social field, for it is only on the basis of such freedom that the structure of peace and progress can be built. That is why the student movement has adopted freedom, peace and progress as its motto, and made peace and progress the superstructure based on the fact of freedom.

In India to-day the identical problem faces us. Without the achievement of freedom, we cannot realise our inmost purposes and that is why the student movement has linked itself to the struggle for political independence. But that is only the beginning of our endeavours. Once political independence is achieved and the problem of poverty faced, new perspectives open before us and the student movement must be equally alive to them. Other politically free countries have not solved the problem of their unemployment. They have not solved the problem of social inequality and social injustice. How can we then hope that by the mere achievement of political liberty we can solve them in India ?

The student movement must, therefore, act in terms of realizing political liberty in India, but it must think and dream in terms of a new order of society in which the accidents of birth and wealth shall not blind our vision to the fundamental solidarity and brotherhood of all mankind. The fact of society is the evidence of man's interdependence and in the modern world, where space and time have shrunk

and are continually shrinking, there can be no stability, no freedom, no peace and progress unless we can achieve them for the whole of the world.

Therefore we must work for achieving them within society in altering the basis of relationship of individual to individual and we must also work to make them the guiding principle of the relation of community to community, of race to race. Complete economic, political and social freedom of the individual and the race must be the guarantee of world peace and world progress.

McDOUGALL'S CONTRIBUTION TO PSYCHOLOGY

PROF. ANJILVEL V. MATTHEW

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WILLIAM McDougall, the psychologist, has passed away, according to a press report issued towards the close of the last year (December, 1938). It is a sad commentary on the poor interest that the general public takes in the most human of sciences that his death has been so little noticed in newspapers. It is rather difficult to believe when we think of the many famous works on psychology that he wrote—and his most famous work was published as early as 1908—that he was not even seventy when he died. He was born in 1871, and he wrote his *Social Psychology* when he was thirty-six years old. The book met with immediate recognition. That the interest the discerning public gave it was not of an ephemeral character can be gathered from the fact that more than twenty editions of the book have since been published.

McDougall was not a specialist in the sense that Charles Myers is a specialist in Industrial Psychology, that Thorndike is a specialist in Educational Psychology, or Spearman is a specialist in cognitive principles. On the other hand he surveyed the various aspects of psychology and made valuable contributions in different directions. One of his earliest publications was on the body and the mind, and until the end he maintained a lively interest in the intimate and inevitable relation between the two. He wrote one of the ablest and most comprehensive books on the group-mind ever written by an Englishman. His *Outline of Abnormal Psychology* is one of the clearest and most reliable introductions available to an English general reader to the manifold and intricate problems of abnormal psychology such as dissociation, suggestion and hypnotism, day-dreams and dreams, obsessions and phobias, and paranoia and schizophrenia. His greatest and best recognized contribution to psychology, however, is his insistence on the human being developing and functioning as an integrated, self-directing, dynamic, purposive self.

The dynamic aspects of life were vividly portrayed through his description of the instincts. The Behaviourists of America consider

that an instinct as described by McDougall is too vague and general a term, that what he calls an instinct is on the other hand made up of hundreds of reflexes which alone should be considered by scientific students of animal and human behaviour as units in behaviour-patterns. No one asserts to-day that an instinct is a prime element beyond which we cannot go in analysing behaviour; for, an instinctive behaviour can be still split into further units or elements of activity. But life is something that is organised—not at one level but at different levels, and what is called an instinctive activity shows life organised at a certain level round a certain life-impulse. To understand life as a whole fully and in clear perspectives, the side-views of life provided in the minor organisation-levels called instincts are of eminent value. It is to the credit of McDougall that he drew attention to the important rôle of the various instincts in life, and all later British works on psychology, especially on educational psychology, have been profoundly influenced by his teachings on instincts. His enumeration of instincts has varied from time to time. In the first edition of his *Social Psychology* he clearly recognized only eleven instincts; in his *Outline of Psychology* published fifteen years later he admitted thirteen and the possibility of a fourteenth. These are usually accepted by all British psychologists, and are worth mention. They are pugnacity, flight, curiosity, sex, parental instinct, repulsion, food-seeking instinct, construction, acquisitiveness, gregarious instinct, positive self-feeling, negative self-feeling, appeal and laughter. In his *Energies of Men*, published in 1932, he held that three more tendencies can be brought into this list—migration, rest and comfort. It is remarkable, however, that in the last named work he has dropped the name *instinct* and adopted in its stead the word *propensity* to designate what he till then called an instinct. Though the innate tendencies of man are much more modifiable than those of the lower animals and his reactions are, therefore, much less stereotyped than theirs, there does not seem, as I have observed elsewhere (*Psychology and Principles of Education*, Ch. V), to be much valid reason why a word that draws attention to the biological nature of man as having much in common with lower organisms should at last have been dropped by an author who, more than any one else, gave a lead to votaries of psychology in this particular direction. McDougall takes pains to point out, however, that his views and exposition of the subject are practically unaffected by

the change in terminology. We shall, therefore, be pardoned even by his spirit if we are not enthusiastic in employing the term *propensity* wherever the more familiar term *instinct* can be used.

An instinct according to McDougall is a tendency to reaction in a particular kind of situation to a particular kind of stimuli, and is, therefore, distinguishable from such general tendencies as imitation, sympathy, suggestion and play. These latter tendencies also are innate and unlearned, but neither the stimuli which give rise to them nor the reactions that arise in answer to them are of a particular or specific kind to the extent that is true of the instincts of say sex, flight or fight. The tendency to reaction occasioned by an instinct is, as in all other situations where mental operations are concerned, a threefold tendency. It comprises a tendency to take note of a situation (cognition), to react to it in a certain way (conation) and to feel a certain stirred-up condition (affection). Without cognition the last two aspects cannot function, but in an instinctive reaction the emphasis is laid more on the conative and affective aspects. Hence the dynamic urge, the drive, the motivation or motive-power associated with an instinct. It is this dynamic aspect of life that McDougall untiringly and unceasingly insisted on in his most useful career of forty years of psychological observation, lecturing and authorship.

The instinctive tendencies are not only dynamic, they also help in the integration of life. In the case of animals it is these natural tendencies and drives alone that help to make a unified whole of their varied movements and activities. Man's life is more completely and systematically organised and his instincts are so capable of modification (both in the kind of stimuli that call forth reactions and in the manifold forms that the reactions take) that there are many who believe that to speak of man's instincts is to do him scant justice. It is McDougall's glory that he did trace the great rôle that instincts—or as he later called them, natural propensities—play in man as well as in the other animals, and at the same time indicated in an unambiguous manner how in the case of man life evinces a higher integration than that of the various instincts.

This higher integration is made possible through the development of sentiments—sentiments for one's family, school, country, religion, community, and so forth. But even the sentiments themselves may conflict with one another, and we get men and women of divided loyalties. In spite of the working of the

numerous sentiments which not rarely conflict with one another, ordinary persons are able to get on with a fair amount of unity in their individual life as unified integrated personalities. How is this possible? McDougall has, to answer this question, postulated the existence of a master-sentiment, a major sentiment round which all other sentiments are gathered and to which they all are subordinate. The existence of master-sentiments was first mentioned by him in his *Social Psychology* and the subject was further developed and elaborated in his *Character and Conduct of Life*. Most British psychologists, especially educational psychologists, who discuss the development of character, have either acknowledged McDougall's lead in his line of thought or have taken it for granted. McDougall's name for the most important master-sentiment in life is the *self-regarding sentiment*—sentiment for one's own self (what is called in ordinary language self-respect). But whether the term self-regarding sentiment does enough justice to the attitude of those noble, unselfish men and women who "hate brothers and sisters, wives, husbands or children, nay life itself" in their devotion to a cause which they consider to be more worthy of their service than natural and family affections—men and women of the spirit of Buddha, St. Paul, Mirabai and Tukaram—is something which the present writer has always doubted.

McDougall's view was thus a dynamic view of life, and as such he was always up in arms against the new school of psychology known as the Behaviourist School. Out of fairness to the Behaviourists it may be said that they do not so much deny as ignore the purposiveness of life. Whether they deny it or ignore it, however, the effect is the same—they have no place in their system for those needs and goals which drive the organism as a whole to find satisfaction for general life-purposes. They contend that given certain stimuli, certain reactions are sure to follow in the mechanism of living things. What is true of a finely adjusted man-made machine is true, according to them, of the machinery within man or any of the other animals, *i.e.*, certain stimuli set in motion certain parts of the machinery, such as the nerves, and these latter conduct the energy to all other necessary parts of the body and cause certain reactions. Regular passage of energy through the same nerves causes favoured pathways to be established, which in their turn lead to habits which again account for most of our regular and routine activities. This doctrine is all right so far as it goes, but it does not go far enough. For the mechanists

cannot account for the creation of energy from within the system itself, nor can they account for the ability in the case of man to work against long-established habits when he makes a new decision or resolution regarding his ways of life, as for example when religious conversions take place. They cannot even account for the audacity of a mother-hen to chase a much bigger animal such as a dog when she is with her chickens, though at other times she dares not quarrel with him. Again, as McDougall points out, a chased rabbit does not necessarily run until all its energy is exhausted, but stops its running when the danger is no more felt to be present. Neither does the rabbit always run a straight course, but so regulates its course as to go to some place of safety available; and if a new enemy is sensed in one place of refuge she turns to another. McDougall never tired of asserting that the Behaviourists are blind and unreasonable in ignoring these and similar other phenomena of spontaneous, self-directed, purposive, hormic activities which even the humblest living beings such as a wasp or a butterfly are capable of performing, not to speak of man himself. On account of their treating living beings like machines in their exposition of life-processes McDougall often spoke of them as *mechanists* rather than as *behaviourists*.

Though the activities of living beings are spontaneous and self-directed, they are very much affected by the membership of the herd. McDougall did not neglect this aspect of life in his enumeration of instincts. The gregarious instinct, the positive self-feeling and the negative self-feeling, the parental or protective instinct (which he regards as one of the basic factors in man's altruistic life) and the instinct of appeal—all these refer to the life of the individual within the group. This is particularly the case with what he calls the general tendencies—instincts are special tendencies—such as sympathy, suggestion and imitation. His *Group Mind* is specially written to give prominence to the part that the group plays in the life of man. Some writers are inclined to think that the basis of man's life in groups is his practical sense which told him even in primitive days that to defend himself against stronger animals it was necessary for him to live in groups rather than as isolated individuals or families. There is no doubt that man's group-life has led to his preservation against hordes of stronger enemies, and that a group can attack or take defensive steps against enemies better. But it is not perhaps these utilitarian and prudential reasons that primarily led to his gregarious habits; there is a still more:

powerful and basic and, therefore, more cogent reason for man's social life, namely, that man is so constituted, like other gregarious animals, that he cannot but seek the company of his kind—in other words, his gregarious life is a constitutional or organic necessity which leaves him uneasy and unsatisfied until he meets and has free social intercourse with his kind. This need not always be for friendly reasons—it may even be that man wants to quarrel with his fellows when he cannot co-operate with them. The essential thing is that the meeting with his kind must be there. The worst punishment for a man is not the hardest and most rigorous labour, but to be subject to solitary imprisonment for a long period. McDougall has also clearly differentiated between a crowd and a psychological group. The crowd proper has no history—no past and no future. The only thing that differentiates it from a mere aggregate of numbers of people is that it has a common interest in some passing affair. But this interest is transitory, and as soon as the temporary common interest is gone the crowd is gone too. But a true community—what may be called a psychological group—is more permanent. It has a continuity of history and membership—formal and material; it has permanent common interests; geographical or blood relationships often cement the membership. It has an internal organisation which helps to keep up its common life; it has a hierarchy of leadership; and, above all, life in such a group tends to elevate its members from acknowledgedly mean or ignoble ways of doing things; while the membership of a crowd has the opposite possibility of pulling its temporary members from their own individual standards of rectitude and moral propriety, as no one in the crowd seems to feel any sense of responsibility for its doings. McDougall's clear differentiation between the crowd and the psychological group and his exposition of the basis of this group life is another instance of his leadership in the realm of psychological thought.

Sigmund Freud, the author of the Psycho-analytic School of Psychology, has also written on the formation of the group, and the latter's *Group Psychology* was reviewed by McDougall. Freud's idea of the formation and organisation of the group is peculiar to him inasmuch as he regards the Oedipus complex as the basis of group life. According to Freud the son's attitude to the father is ambivalent, for he both hates and loves the father. He hates the father for possessing the woman he himself loves (the mother), but

he respects him for his strength and power and for the food and the protection he provides. In course of time, according to Freud, the hatred becomes less prominent and the son grows up and remains a loyal follower of the father. In this way all the sons respect the father, and the tribal leader is looked upon by all the members of the tribe with the same attitude as each one shows to his own father. Thus arises *the horde father*, and wherever there is a group formed it is the idea of the horde father, real or imaginary—more often imaginary than real—that keeps the members together. Freud himself calls this idea of a horde father in such organisations as the church or the army an illusion ; all the same, he considers it a highly useful illusion. In contrast to this, McDougall's analysis of the foundations of group life, as comprising of the primary dynamic urges of the gregarious instinct, the instinct of self-assertion and of self-submission, the parental or protective tendency, and the tendency to be influenced by other people's emotional attitudes (sympathy) and the effect of suggestion and imitation is much more satisfying to our rational sense.

McDougall acknowledged and approved of the immense good that Freud had done to Psychology through his drawing the attention of the world to the unconscious factors that work in the human mind. He also recognised the value of such analytic methods as free association and the interpretation of dreams. He, however, like many other English psychologists, of whom the late Dr. Rivers was one of the most prominent, always contended that it was a mistake to regard the contents of the unconscious to be mostly if not exclusively of a sexual nature. In one of his latest publications, *Psycho-Analysis and Social Psychology*, McDougall regrets that he was not more outspoken regarding the many self-contradictions within the Freudian system. Even in this work, however, he recognised with some satisfaction that Freud stands definitely for a 'hormic, purposive view of life ; and this good he saw in Jung ; and as for Adler, this was one of the few good things McDougall could recognize in his system, in spite of the fact that " Individual Psychology " has become extremely popular.

From his latest works and utterances it becomes clear that McDougall felt rather unhappy that his contributions to psychological thought have not been regarded to be so original or manifold as they deserved to be. For the last fifteen years he chose to live and work

in America, which unfortunately is not an ideal constituency for a psychologist of the type of McDougall, whose outlook was typically British—the psychologies that are in high vogue in the New Continent are *Behaviourism* and *Individual Psychology*. McDougall relentlessly attacked the Behaviourist school, and had a mild contempt for the catchy commonplaces of the school of Adler. English writers always respected McDougall as a first-rate psychologist, but he had to live away from their company. This meant much personal uneasiness, as reflected in his latest writings. Whether psychologists in general estimate his place in the history of modern psychology as high as he himself expected it to be or not, there is no reason to withhold respect from a conspicuous figure in psychology of the calibre of McDougall.

McDougall started his career as a psychologist with some advantages, and he made good use of them. The “frontiers of psychology” are extended. Formerly psychology was a group of ideas derived from individual observation, introspection and speculation—and this is the kind of psychology which he often described as academic psychology, psychology which formed a part—and none too eminent a part—of philosophy and metaphysics. McDougall knew this psychology as much as Locke or Bain or to come to more modern days Stout, Sully or William James. But psychology to-day—if it is not yet divorced from metaphysics—is closely allied to such departments of investigation and study as biology, medicine, physiology in general (and particularly neurology), and anthropology. McDougall started life as a medical graduate, and his writings in general and especially his *Outline of Abnormal Psychology* bear evidence of the advantages he derived from his medical training. For five years during the Great War he was employed in one of the biggest hospitals for mental patients in London, and many of the cases cited in his *Abnormal Psychology* are taken from his direct experiences. He systematically observed the behaviour of such animals as rabbits and wasps, and when he speaks on purposiveness in animals or of the influence of training on succeeding generations of animals, he does not base his judgment on casual observation or speculation. His extensive reading of the writings of such modern authorities as Freud and Jung, Janet and Morton Prince, Lashley and Pavlov coupled with his own first-hand experiences and observations, and his high intellectual and critical ability, enabled him to

assess correctly the permanent elements in these new departures. Add to it the fact that he could write lucidly and almost in a popular style even on very abstruse subjects, and one can easily understand why he is such a great and favourite authority with all British writers on educational psychology. Moreover he was a hard worker and a prodigious writer—in addition to the half a dozen big works referred to in this article, he wrote about a dozen other works all intimately related to his favourite subject, psychology. In all his works he was ever interested not so much in the mechanism or process of behaviour and knowledge as in the dynamic needs and urges of life, especially of human life, and of the organisation of the latter into the unified, wholesome character of an integrated personality.

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CULTURAL MIGRATIONS IN OCEANIA

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CULTURE is the historical bye-product as well as an essential characterization of Man. But the history of Man is explored and interpreted with varying degrees of success in the various continents. Through sustained and systematic research Man in Europe to-day is better known than Man in Asia, yet, strangely enough, Asia is admitted by a majority of Anthropologists to be the "cradle of the human race." *From Asia by a process of spontaneous or compulsory diffusion the human species reached the other continents. The Heidelberg and Piltdown Man reached western Europe at the Chellean or Quaternary Period of the Geologists. No actual remains of Tertiary Man have yet been found. If with the progress of research such remains of Man's handiwork are discovered those will be attributed to our "elder brother" the Palæolithic man. For the present we are obliged to confine our attention to our own race of Man the Neolithic *Homo sapiens* whose creative activities form the bulk of the culture-history of the upper Palæolithic period. No trace of Palæolithic Man has so far been discovered in the New World and consequently we may assume that the North and the South America have been peopled exclusively by the Eurasiatic race of *Homo sapiens*. Migration of culture from Asia to America in the prehistoric days have been admitted by many scholars. With regard to the continent of Africa, the problem of early Man and his culture is very obscure. But the recent discovery of Rhodesian Man already proves the existence of "an archaic form," as says Prof. Seligman, "which persisted until a few thousand years ago." The Black Race may in course of time be proved to have reached Africa from his original cradle in Malaysia or to have migrated from Africa *via* Madagascar, Andaman and Nicobar Islands to the Malayan world.

This momentous drama of the migration of the earliest races of the world was staged on the vast expanse of water extending from the Indian Ocean to the Pacific. Very appropriately, therefore, this area has been characterised by the author of *Man—Past and Present* (Cambridge, 1920), Mr. A. H. Keane, as the Indo-Pacific Domain. British

scholars generally call it Australasia while the Continental scholars name it Oceania which we prefer to adopt. India played a very important rôle in this drama of ethnic and cultural diffusion and yet Indian scholars are not sufficiently alive so far to the importance of this line of research. We hope that our brief and hurried survey of the important centres of Oceania would lead to the widening of our historical perspective.

We may open our survey with the Dark Races who offer at present the darkest problems of anthropology. Prof. Seligman (*Races of Africa*, London, 1930), an authority on the subject, characterises them as the Negro race about whose cradle land we cannot be sure. We can only divide them into a dark woolly-haired tall type and a short Pygmy type (Negrillos-Negritos) who are physically and mentally "infantilistic." Moreover, they are divided geographically also into (a) African and (b) Oceanic or Melanesian. In this connection we may quote with profit the observation of Keane: "The cradle of the human family lay most probably in Malaysia (Java Man). From this central area of dispersion the first migratory movements ranged North to Asia, West to Africa and East and South over the whole of the Oceanic world by land connections which have since been greatly reduced by subsidence." The black descendants of the Java Man may be admitted to have spread over Papuasias and Australia where they persist in their primitive form and they also penetrated Micronesia and even Polynesia although here the Blacks were mostly absorbed by the latter Caucasian intruders from Asia. The medium-sized or tall type is found in Papuasias while the dwarfish Negro type is found in Andaman and Melanesia. One branch of this race, the Australian, is isolated and threatened with extinction. According to Seligman, "the Australian Race includes the Australians and the Pre-Dravidian tribes of Southern India and Ceylon (Vedda), the Sakai of the Malay Peninsula and probably the Toala of the Celebes." The Jungle tribes of Southern India like Kurumba, Irula, etc., and the almost extinct Veddas of Ceylon are short dolichocephalic races often with prominent brow ridges and noses generally platyrrhine. From the curly hair of the South Indian tribes like Kadir and Panian, Seligman admits the possibility of Negrito influence and Dr. B. S. Guha has definitely identified a few Negrito types in India.

Next to the discovery of the Java Man in Malaysia comes the sensational discovery of the Peking Man in the very heart of the Mongolian

world. According to Keane the original Indo-Malayans, in course of their dispersions during the early Pleistocene age, passed through Malay Peninsula, Indo-China, and India to the Himalayan regions and Tibet whence they may have entered the Mongolian world where the original type came to be modified into Mongoloid family. The late Prof. Arthur Berriedale Keith and a few other authorities on Fossil Man have already tried to connect the Java Man with the Peking Man and the Mongoloid race is now admitted to be the link between the Old World and the New.

Thus the true aboriginal element was represented by a widely spread "Southern Race" extending from Africa to Australia whose primitive culture was totally submerged or gradually disappearing. On this Pre-Malay ethnic substratum was superimposed later cultures of a composite type called Malayan, Caucasian, Indonesian, Polynesian and so forth.

The Malays are a mixed race divided into two groups—(a) Oceanic and (b) Continental. The historical Malays whose language came to be the *lingua franca* of the Archipelago had their original home in the Menangkabau district of Sumatra and the "Continental" Malays are worthily represented by the highly gifted Khmer races of Indo-China, suggesting the well nigh proved intrusion of the Mongoloid races into the domains of the Pre-Malayan Blacks and as a result of intermingling emerged the present Malay stock which was further enriched by the Fair Indonesians. This mixed stock of "Oceanic or Insular" Malays, according to Keane, is met in the Dayaks of Borneo, the Tagalogs of the Philippines, the Minahassa of Celebes and the aboriginal races of Formosa reaching the very heart of North Pacific. The Mongoloid Malays differed so much from the primitive Caucasian elements here that the latter were named by Logan as Indonesians. These include now all the natives of Caucasian type throughout Oceania. But they belong, according to Keane, to the earlier Pre-Aryan Caucasian (Hametic Iberian) races. They are tall, handsome with Indo-European features who displaced the Black Aborigines or Papuasians. As these Indonesians moved eastwards to their present home in the Pacific specially in Polynesia from Hawaii to New Zealand, their place was taken by the Mongoloid races who intermarried with the aborigines producing the present Malay stock.

The Pre-Aryan western Caucasians were followed by the Aryan hordes and the two streams met and commingled in the North Pacific

specially in Micronesia now under Japanese Mandate. Here we find two intrusions—(a) one from the north, that of Megalith builders who passed *via* Japan to Micronesia where they joined hands with the (b) Southern branch “who ranged from Indo-China to Malaysia and thence to Polynesia.” This hypothesis of Keane would explain the prevalence of the *Marais* and other monolithic structures scattered in the whole Pacific as far as the Easter Islands and culminating in the works of Ponape (East Carolinas) with the Cyclopean walls. No less astonishing is the fact that the Nukuor islanders (Central Carolinas) still speak the pure but archaic form of the Maori language of New Zealand which is linguistically and culturally connected with the Hawaiian in the North Pacific. Cultural exchange between Indo-China and the Philippines is admitted now on the evidence of pre-historic finds and Dr. Beyer, one of the leading authorities on pre-historic remains of the Philippines, is of opinion that some of the Maori stone implements were derived from the Filipino archetypes.

Lastly, some outstanding relics and institutions of Hawaii are traced back to the Kwangtung province and to Indo-China by Dr. E. C. Handy, the renowned ethnographer of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu. Thus we are fairly sure to-day, in spite of occasional gaps and obscurities, that there were distinct Caucasian migrations from the Indo-Malayan Zone, through Indo-China and Micronesia, to the very heart of the Pacific where we find striking types and survivals amongst the Polynesian races. The history of race movements in Oceania could now be traced in broad outlines through five important geographical zones, as we give below, basing on the classification of Mr. Keane:

I. Malaysia: Madagascar, Andaman, Nicobar, Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes, Moluccas, Sulu, the Philippines and Formosa.

II. Micronesia: Pelew (Palau), Ladrões (Marianne), Caroline, Marshall, Gilbert, Phoenix group, etc. (under Japanese Mandate).

III. Melanesia: (a) Papuasia or New Guinea, Louisiade, etc. (b) Bismarck Archipelago, Solomon, Fiji, New Hebrides, New Caledonia, Loyalty Islands, etc.

IV. Australia and Tasmania.

V. Polynesia: New Zealand, Tonga, Mangaia, Rarotonga (Cook group), Austral (Tubuai), Society Islands (Tahiti), Tuamotu, Marquesas, Samoa, Hawaii and Easter Islands which is about 2,000

miles from South America. Thus Oceania is "the great insular world which comprises nearly the whole of the Indian and the Pacific Ocean."

MAN IN AUSTRALIA

The biggest island in the world as it is, Australia remained like America completely outside our geographical knowledge till their rediscovery by modern European explorers. The appearance of man in Australia and several problems connected therewith are still enveloped in mystery. A group of scholars believed in the nineteenth century, as some of them believe even to-day, that human species there could be traced back to the remote early stone ages. This school of thought was represented by Dr. Herbert Basedow, author of *The Australian Aboriginal* (Adelaide, 1929). He was the state-geologist, the chief medical officer and Protector of Aborigines for the Commonwealth Government in the Northern Territory. Over and above his rich personal experience in Australia, he had, to his credit, intensive researches in the anatomical school of the University of Breslau under the late Prof. Hermann Klaatsch. Dr. Basedow also examined thoroughly the Australian skulls and skeletons in the Hunterian Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons and in the anthropological galleries of the British Museum and other European collections. He admits that most of the evidences have been irretrievably lost, yet much might be "expected from any of the contiguous continents or islands in this region, upon which occur Tertiary or later sedimentary formations. The discovery of the oldest fossil man, the *Pithecanthropus Erectus*, in Java was by no means accidental." After an excursion to Java he admitted that his knowledge of Melanesian ethnography helped him "to explain the existence of several cults in the northern districts of Australia which border on the Indian Ocean." He reiterates the theory that once a chain of lands linked together Australia, India and South Africa, "the continental masses which in passed eras supplied this link, zoologists have christened *Lemuria* while geologists refer to the lost land as *Gondwana*; it is somewhere within the area once occupied by this submerged continent... ..that we must look for the cradle of the species *Homo*." This line of anthropological relationship connects the Australian and the Proto-Australian with the Veddas of Ceylon and the Dravidians

of India explaining at the same time the Negroid elements. He sees in the Australian Aboriginal "another palæontological overlap, a living fossil man." He refers to a few survivals in the Pleistocene gravels of the Tennant's Creek district, also in South-Eastern Queensland (Talgai skull discovered in 1884). The new school of scholars, however, appears to be more sceptical and some definitely deny the possibility of identifying the remains of fossil man and his handiworks. Some even consider that, as in New Zealand so in Australia, racial migrations may have taken place in late historical periods. The theories of Basedow have recently been challenged by Keith Word, Campbell, Hale and Tindale in their report on "Fossil Man in the State of South Australia," submitted before the XVI International Geological Congress, Washington, 1933.

. .

But even if we are unable so far to solve the chronological problems, there is no difference of opinion with regard to the unique value of the Australian field for the students of anthropology and sociology: their nature worship, fire ceremonies and legends, the worship of the ancestors, of the sun, moon and the mythical serpent, sex worship and phallic cult, initiation, totemism and totemic diet restrictions, etc., have been exhaustively treated by Dr. Basedow and other scholars. In their religious consciousness we find the Evil Spirit as well as the concept of a Supreme Being existing side by side. There were chances to communicate with superhuman beings, mimicry of animal sounds, song-dialogues, group dances and singing with music-sticks, bamboo-trumpets and skin-drums. Thus on the psychic plane they were fairly advanced although their technical skill was rather poor: stone spear-heads of great variety have been found in North Kimberleys (West Australia) and the aborigines were familiar with both the flaking and chipping processes. Pulverizing ochre for painting was quite common testifying to the development of a distinct school of aboriginal art. A series of rock carvings have been discovered along the coast of New South Wales, Queensland and West Australia. Veritable primitive art galleries have been found in the Flinders Ranges (South Australia). There we find human foot-prints, tracts of Wallaby, Kangaroo and Turkey, and Mr. Basedow observes: "These primitive carvings or petroglyphs of the Northern Flinders Ranges have more than a passing resemblance to the ancient *graffiti* of Egypt." From the animal designs he concludes that the great

lake system of the Australian interior (now a huge desert like Central Asia) once attracted many animals now extinct.

In New South Wales and in Queensland the tribes developed the interesting cult of carving trees and we find thereon intricate patterns, geometrical designs, animal or human forms. Along the north-west coast of Australia where Baobab trees flourish, the tribes carve various designs on the bark and many such bark-pictorial documents have been carefully preserved in the museums of Adelaide, Melbourne and Sydney. Under the overhanging rock-shelters have been found many remarkable drawings, chiefly of animals, in charcoal, kaolin and ochre. Against the black wall we find designs in white, yellow and red pigments. In the cave drawings on the Humbert River (Northern Territory) we find a series of grotesque dancing figures in pipe-clay which material together with ochres were obtained by inter-tribal barter system. Near the Pigeon Hole on the Victoria River (Northern Territory) was discovered admirable charcoal drawings of hopping kangaroos and other animals. The primitive artist manufactured his brush by chewing green shoots of cane. In the body decorations also the different tribes show a remarkable diversity of talent. Generally speaking, these aboriginal pictures are flat and without perspective. But more gifted artists sometimes draw "a real scene from life combining subject with action while environment or surroundings rarely if ever receive attention." Occasionally we notice the combination of two or more figures, human beings appearing sometimes in full, sometimes in half profile. The animal drawings are wonderfully accurate. Effigies of the demi-god often suggest that the earliest tribal ancestors were believed to be animal first and human afterwards.

The most intriguing thing is that among sacred tribal drawings there has been found a human figure fully 9 ft. in length reminding some of the scholars of a crude Buddha type. One cannot be sure, however, as to what kind of external or exotic influences operated on this apparently isolated group of aborigines in Australia. We quote below a significant passage from Basedow's *The Australian Aboriginal* (pages 343-44):

"During an expedition in the northern Kimberleys of Western Australia, it was my good fortune to re-discover several drawings of this type in practically the same locality as that recorded by Sir George Grey, near Glenelg River. One figure was perfect, others were partly

obliterated or incomplete. The best design was in a cave near the top of a prominent bluff the local Worora people call Berrial ; it was drawn in ochre upon a steep face of rock immediately under an overhanging ledge of quartzite. The figure was unquestionably that of a human being, although it measured fully nine feet in length. It lay fully extended, upon its left side, with its arms placed straight against its sides. It reminded one forcibly of a Buddha in a Ceylonese temple. What made the figure seem un-Australian was that it was clothed in a long, striped garment, resembling a priestly gown, from which only the head, hands, and feet are excluded. A loosely fitting belt is also shown. As seems common to all these drawings, the facial features are only indicated by the eyes and nose, the mouth being omitted. Another characteristic, which is shared by all other drawings, is that the head is surrounded by a number of peculiar, concentric bands, through which, and from which, many lines radiate, giving the structure the effect of a halo surrounding the head of a saint."

Mr. C. P. Mountford while not agreeing with Mr. Basedow with regard to the high antiquity of the materials described above has nevertheless given a qualified support to Mr. Basedow's theories (Mountford: *Aboriginal Rock-carvings in South Australia*: Australian Association for the Advancement of Science Proc., Vol. XIX, 1928 ; *A Survey of the Petroglyphs of South Australia*, 1935). While collecting materials for his study of the petroglyphs, Mountford came to know that some native legends recorded from the Northern Flinders and Lake Eyre refer to mythical monsters called Kaddy Makara and he concludes that "owing to the high standard of workmanship in the reproduction of crocodile, rock-engraving has been carried out from times long previous to that period until the recent breaking up of the tribal groups."

Mountford has tried also to explain the meanings of the more symbolic designs like concentric circles, barred circle, straight line markings, fernleaf motif, U within U, and the sun or wheel. He concludes by saying that many of the designs "are similar to drawings made by pre-historic man on the cave walls of Europe, in the Cañyons of the Colorado and in such widely separated places as the Sahara Desert and Tasmania." Mr. Mountford joined the party of the Anthropological Expedition to the Warburton Range (West Australia) organised by the University of Adelaide and the South Australian Museum, which has a splendid collection of ethnological

and artistic materials (Norman B. Tindale, *Oceania*, Vols. 6-7, 1936).

AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINAL ART: A SELECT INVENTORY

The immovable rock carvings and rock paintings apart, there are valuable collection of movable art objects in several museums of Australia and abroad. Thanks to the noble initiative of Prof. A. P. Elkin of the University of Sydney and of his colleague Mr. Frederick D. McCarthy of the Department of Anthropology of the Australian Museum, Sydney,* we have an excellent guide (*Australian Aboriginal Decorative Art*, 1938).

Mr. McCarthy has classified the materials under the following heads:—

I. Eastern Australia: shields, boomerangs, spear-throwers, clubs, carved trees. II. North-eastern Queensland: swords, shields, cross-boomerangs and paddles with incised and painted designs. III. Central Australia and East Kimberleys: weapons and utensils, *tjurunga* (sacred symbols), ceremonial regalia, ground drawings. IV. Arnhem Land and Adjacent Islands: (North Australia) twined baskets, bark baskets, bark drawings, grave posts, weapons, chanting tubes (didjeridu). V. Western Australia: Baobab nuts, pearl-shell phallics and concentric geometrical figures.

The decorative patterns and designs on these objects, when thoroughly analysed and studied on a comparative basis, will form a substantial contribution to our knowledge of aboriginal art. As early as 1894 Dr. A. C. Haddon published *The Decorative Art of British New Guinea*. Recently, Raymond Firth has published an extremely interesting volume on *Art and Life in New Guinea* (1936) which should be read along with the exhaustive survey of *Melanesian Design* (1933) in two richly illustrated volumes by Gladys Reichard. The Geological Survey of New South Wales publishes from time to time special memoirs in its ethnological series. So the periodical *Art in Australia* publishes important articles among which should be noted "Application of Aboriginal Designs" (1930) by Margaret Preston and "Inspiration and Designs in Aboriginal Art" (1935) by Ursula McConnel. But to understand the mind of the aboriginal artist and his social milieu, one must constantly refer to the notes and monographs published in the

* The Australian Museum in Sydney is the oldest institution of its kind in Australia. It has valuable collection of zoological and ethnological specimens and a library containing 28,948 volumes (1937). The expenditure during the year 1937 was £18,214 and it counts on a statutory endowment of £800 per year.

valuable journal *Oceania*, edited by Prof. A. P. Elkin of the University of Sydney.

Privileged to examine his collections and to meet some of his colleagues and pupils, I may say that the new group of Australian scholars are inspired by a sincere desire to study sympathetically the cultural documents of the unfortunate aborigines fast dying out.

Prof. Elkin very rightly emphasises the human values in Australian primitive art, as we see from his *Foreword* to Mr. McCarthy's book. For nearly a century the public have been taking interest in the aboriginal cave paintings and rock carvings which belonged to the life of totemism and religion. But the decorations on the mundane objects also belonged, according to Prof. Elkin, to the sacred world of mythology: "These artistic designs, being links with the creative past, are traditional in character and comparatively unchanging in form. The tribal or regional distribution of designs is based on the mythologies and rituals of the tribes concerned. Just as the efficacy of a ritual depends on an exact re-enactment of the traditional form and the chanting of the old songs, even though the meaning of many of the words may be no longer understood, so, too, the efficacy of the patterns on decorated objects depends on the careful reproduction of the motifs if not of the exact patterns, and a knowledge of the traditional song connected with them."

After years of intensive study of Australian social organisation, economics and totemism, Prof. Elkin observes: "We can distinguish but cannot separate the economic, religious and aesthetic aspects of primitive man's life; indeed, we may add his social life; for in some cases the purpose of the manufacture of some beautiful article is the fulfilment of a social duty."

Mr. McCarthy in his excellent monograph reflects a very sane view with regard to aboriginal art: "Each body of primitive art, then, has to be examined in detail in its own cultural setting before comparisons may be made that will offer any valid constructive evidence concerning origins or relationships, and before the question of independent origin or diffusion may be settled."

He draws our attention to the fact that the handiwork of primitive man and primitive art motives have given a fresh stimulus to our modern decorative art, specially of Germany and America. So the International Art Exhibition of Paris (1937) invited specimens of Australian aboriginal art and many of the native designs came to be

utilised by commercial artists. Books on African Negro sculpture already point towards a new field of artistic study. Recently two splendid volumes have been published to enrich our libraries: *Melanesian Design* by Gladys Reichard (New York, 1933) and *Art and Life in New Guinea*, by Raymond Firth (New York, 1936). Some of the Australian designs compare favourably with those of the Papuans, Melanesians and Polynesians. Artistic traditions, no doubt, develop and mature in settled communities but it is no less true that art may also flourish among nomadic tribes like the Australian aborigines, the Bushmen in Africa and the Magdalenian artists of the European old stone age.

We quote below a few salient observations of Mr. McCarthy: "The most distinctive feature of the geometrical art of Australia is the regional occurrence of concentric figures, either formed on a single continuous line, or consisting of separate figures increasing in size from the centre outwards, combined with flutings in various patterns.

"The concentric diamond and circle elements are the most widely distributed motifs, and would appear to be the oldest. To my knowledge no meaning for the concentric diamond has been recorded, although it was probably connected with totemic and spiritual ancestors or culture heroes, and varied in the different localities in which it occurs. Its origin is obscure inasmuch as it appears also in the decorative art of New Guinea, Melanesia, and Polynesia, and in fact, throughout the world. While recognizing the probability of an historical relationship between its occurrence in Australia and New Guinea, it is interesting to consider the possibility of its having been derived in Australia from the grain of timber which it strongly suggests. All the Australian weapons are cut with grain, and, on curved trees, shields, and clubs in the Australian Museum collection, the lines of the graining have actually been used to form this pattern. Further, the repetition of the lines of the grain produces the other associated elements, such as the chevron and knee-shaped flutings.

"The origin of the concentric circle in Australia is not definitely known. The occurrence of intermediate concentric figures such as ovals, which link the angular diamonds and the circles, suggests the possibility of local development; but as the concentric circle is common in Papuan and Sepik River art, an historical relationship is more probable between its Australian and New Guinea occurrences. The employment of snakes and snake-like figures in art designs throughout Australia is perhaps due to the universal distribution of the rainbow

serpent belief. Whether the zigzag of Western Australia is stylized example of it is not certain.

“Both naturalistic and geometric forms of art occur in rock carvings and paintings, on weapons and sacred objects, and as personal adornment on the bodies of performers in ceremonies. In some instances extreme stylization of naturalistic motifs has resulted in almost geometrical figures, perhaps as a result of the desire to conceal the ritual significance of the design from the uninitiated. One cannot say, however, that the geometric art as a whole evolved from the naturalistic; the predominant geometric elements cannot be explained in this way.”

MUSEUMS OF VICTORIA

Next to Sydney, the capital of New South Wales, we find in the beautiful city of Melbourne, the metropolis of the state of Victoria, some remarkable collections treasured in its museums, libraries and art galleries. As early as 1853, the public library of Victoria was founded and the Natural History Museum, also founded at the same period, was located in the grounds of the University of Melbourne. An Art Museum was opened in 1861 to which was added a Picture Gallery in 1864 and a Technological Museum in 1869. The public library is housed in a magnificent building opened in 1913 and is specially well represented in the sections devoted to Art, Music, Australiana, Shakespeariana and History. The Technological Museum exhibits, in the Queen's Hall and the adjoining gallery, Australian and exotic timbers, food products, ores and minerals, metallurgical models and products, agricultural tools, etc.

The Art Gallery is divided into different sections devoted to numismatics, portraits, manuscripts and documents of historical interest. The works of Australian painters are housed in the McArthur Gallery while the Rotunda exhibits the works of European masters valued over £1,74,000. The Print Gallery contains over 5,000 drawings and prints and is one of the finest in the Southern Hemisphere. The Verdon Gallery contains ceramics, glassware, silver, antique furniture, specimens of Egyptian, Greek, Roman, Medieval, Renaissance as well as Modern art-objects. There are also Chinese, Japanese, Persian and a few Indian works of art. Regular classes in painting and drawing are held in the Art Museum with students not under the age of fifteen. The full course extends over five years with day classes and night

classes. There are several prizes and a travelling scholarship of £225 per annum tenable for two years and offered to the best student selected by open competition. Since 1904 over £400,000 have been spent out of the Felton Bequest in acquiring works of art for the National Gallery. The Geological and Zoological collections are also valuable and over 12,000 specimens of Australian fossils make the palæontological collection the finest in Oceania. To the students of Anthropology, the most remarkable collection is that presented to the Museum by Sir Walter Baldwin Spencer, famous for his monumental studies on the Arunta and other tribes. His natural history and ethnological collections are displayed in the spacious Spencer Hall, containing over 8,500 specimens illustrating the aboriginal culture: stone implements, fire-making tools, canoes, bark drawings, petroglyphs, ornaments, clothing, baskets, nets, wooden vessels, burial and ceremonial objects; life-size models of the natives are used to depict totemic ceremonies and camp scenes. This kind of representation is also found in the Children's Room which contains various types of human families and copies of the African Bushman drawings. No less remarkable is the Maori collection in the New Zealand Room, showing rare green stone and wooden implement, textiles and wood carvings. Materials from the South Sea Islands are specially valuable because those were collected "before native cultures were contaminated by European influence." There is a huge head-hunting canoe from the Solomon Islands and a big ethnological collection from New Guinea now under Australian mandate.

WESTERN, EASTERN AND SOUTHERN AUSTRALIA

The value of the Spencer collection of Melbourne could be appreciated when we read that a famous Australian architect observed: "I made numberless drawings from the native implements in the Melbourne Museum which houses the priceless Spencer collection." Mr. Benson earned fame by decorating the Winthrop Hall of the University of Western Australia. While visiting Fremantle and Perth we visited that Hall which best represents the style of Western Australian renaissance. Here, for the first time, the designs of the aboriginal artists and craftsmen were utilized in modern architectural decoration. There is a small Australian aboriginal collection in the local museum. Perth is proud of the first *free* University of Australia,

a unique experiment ; it was organised, thanks to the princely bequest of Sir Winthrop Hacket amounting to £425,000. Founded in 1911-12, the free University of Western Australia began in 1927 to draw the Government grant of £29,000.

Turning from the West to East Australia, we visited the University of Queensland while passing through the beautiful city of Brisbane. Founded in 1910, the University has shown a remarkable growth in course of the last few years and though there is no regular department of Anthropology I had the privilege of receiving much useful information, thanks to the kind courtesy of the Registrar and of Prof. Dr. H. C. Richards who is a recognized authority on the geology of Australia, specially on the problems of the Great Barriar Reef. (Vide *Memoirs of the Queensland Museum and Journal and Proceedings* of the Royal Society of New South Wales, Vol. 81.)

The anthropological collection of the Museum of Brisbane is quite interesting. The aboriginal tribes of North Queensland and of the Arnhem Land in the extreme north offer problems of capital importance as we shall see later on. (Vide *North Queensland Ethnography Bulletins*.)

These problems have been studied along with other problems of Man in Australia by the expert group of scholars attached to the South Australian Museum and to the University of Adelaide. Coming in personal touch with these scholars and specially with Mr. Norman B. Tindale, I could examine with great profit the splendid collection of the Museum of Adelaide.* As early as 1844 Mr. W. A. Cawthorne published, from Adelaide, South Australia, his *Rough Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Natives*. In 1855-56 was founded the South Australian Institute with a museum and a public library. The ground-floor of the museum is devoted to the exhibits of Natural History: mammals, fishes, reptiles with the skeletal restoration of the great Diprotodon now extinct.

The upper floors called the Stirling Gallery of Australian Ethnology are devoted to the various native tribes and their handiwork grouped in separate cases. There is a special collection of the Pacific Island Ethnology. Thanks to the enthusiasm of the museum authorities for aboriginal art Mr. C. P. Mountford, Mr. Herbert M. Hale and Mr. Norman B. Tindale are collaborating to preserve in a systematic way the valuable designs and other art objects of the vanishing race. Recently Mr. Tindale made a brilliant attempt to establish the relationship of the extinct Kangaroo Island culture with the cultures of Australia,

Tasmania and Malaya (*Records of the South Australian Museum*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1937).

INDIA AND AUSTRALIA

While Mr. Tindale was trying to link South Australian culture with the culture of far-off Malaya, two American scholars, W. W. Howells and W. L. Warner of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology (Harvard University), were publishing in 1937 the results of their anthropometric examination of some of the Australian races (vide *Anthropometry of the Natives of Arnhem Land and the Australian Race Problem*).

They discarded the theories of the Australoid affinities of the Moi of Indo-China and of the Ainu of Japan. After a thorough and scientific analysis of the data so far as available, they came to the conclusion that the primitive Australians were most probably connected with the aborigines of South India, specially with the Veddās of Ceylon. The first home of the Australians was some part of Southern Asia, whence the type reached Australia and Tasmania (probably *via* Malaya) from Timor or New Guinea. The famous Talgai skull discovered in Queensland as well as the Cohuna skull seems to attest to the persistence and antiquity of the Australian type. There was probably a long lapse of time between the coming into the Pacific of these stone age Australoids and that of the Negritos who reached New Guinea but not Australia just as they spread over South Indian forests without reaching Ceylon. Mr. E. A. Hooton, in his *Up from the Ape*, suggests that the Dravidians "arose from an Australoid strain compounded with a white strain, probably of the far-flung Mediterranean type, and not the Aryans of Proto-historic times." The Australoid Veddās also have been modified by some other strain, possibly the same white stock present in the Dravidians. The Australian came to be extinct in almost every realm but his own because of his low potential for survival. Only in the marginal locations—the Bismarck Archipelago, Northern New Britain, New Caledonia and Tasmania—have the Australoids survived intermixing with the Negroids who followed the Negritos.

Thus according to the latest scientific investigators, the Australoid types originated most probably in India and spread into the Western Pacific as the first representatives of the earlier type of *Homo sapiens* in some remote period of the Old Stone Age.

In conclusion, therefore, we may urge that the fascinating study of Human Relations should be developed by the leading universities and learned societies of India. In that study we may at the beginning be baffled by the bewildering variety of problems of pre-historic antiquities and archaeology, of anthropology and philology. But if we persist in seeking light from the history of Man in our neighbouring countries, we may hope some day to reconstruct the ruined fabrics of human civilization. Sometimes the most primitive may appear to be the most significant in explaining the history of cultural migrations, as we realise while following the trends of research in Oceania or Australasia.

THE JUTE SITUATION

DR. BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE PROSPERITY ATMOSPHERE

THE day-to-day fluctuations in the prices of jute, raw and manufactured, are normal phenomena and they will continue to affect the businessman's private affairs in the future as in the past. But from the standpoint of the state and the general public it is of some importance to feel that the economic conditions of the country in so far as they are dependent on jute are steadily moving along what may be described as lines of improvement and recovery. Perhaps the greatest single factor among the circumstances contributing to this prosperity tide is to be found in the order of 200 million sand bags recently placed by the British Government.

The prospects of jute must not, however, be treated as hanging exclusively or chiefly on the windfall embodied in the British Government's order. This order has come in really at the head of a rising curve. This has served but to intensify the factors that have been co-operating to produce the prosperity atmosphere in the jute trade.

RIISING PRICES

The nadir of depression was touched during 1933-34 when the raw "Firsts" were marketed at the low figures from Rs. 25 to Rs. 29 per bale (compared to Rs. 59-85 in 1913-14). During 1935-36 the quarterly prices were higher fluctuating as they did between Rs. 31 and 38. The level continued to rise so that the 1937-38 figures were Rs. 31-41. By the first week of last February on the eve of the British Government's order the price was round about Rs. 41.¹

The trend of improvement may be measured by the fact that with 1914 as 100 while the average price in February 1938 was 47 it was 59 towards the beginning of February 1939. This is to be taken in connection with the improvements in the market for jute manufactures. While the index in February 1938 was 61 (1914 as 100) it was as high as 73 prior to the windfall as noted above early in February last.²

¹ *Review of the Trade of India* (Delhi), 1938-34, p. 255; 1937-38, p. 279.

² *Monthly Survey of Business Conditions in India* (Delhi), February 1939, pp. 701-702.

THE TREND OF EXPORTS ³

To the world's growing demand for jute manufactures is to be ascribed in great part this steady improvement in the jute trade. In spite of the pessimistic interpretations of the Ottawa Agreement the export of bags has risen from 4,151 lakhs in 1932-33 to 6,123 lakhs in 1937-38 (compared to 3,391 lakhs in 1909-14). The export of cloth likewise has risen from 10,117 to 16,431 lakhs of yards during the same period (pre-War average 9,700).

Nor has the export of raw jute an unfavourable story to tell. The Ottawa period has been marked by an increase in foreign takings from 3,153 to 4,186 thousand bales, which almost equalled the pre-War average of 4,281 thousand bales.

REARMAMENT AND ECONOMIC PLANNING

We are to understand that the rearmament programmes of the U. K. as of the other nations are not the sole agencies in the prospects of the jute world. The trends towards improvement have been continuously furnished by the urges for industrialization and industrial reorganization in almost every country of the world since economic planning, planned economy, and economic autarchy of some sort or other came into vogue.⁴ The success of the First Five Year Plan in Soviet Russia and the depths of the world-economic depression contributed to the emergence of this complex of ideas about 1932-33. And the jute cultivator as well as the jute industryman have to thank these planning ideas in the main for their pathway upward.

The rearmament or preparedness campaigns may be said to have come to stay although war is hardly yet in sight. The shrewd businessman will not be badly advised if he cautiously forecasts a part of his immediate future on this basis. In the meantime there are two sets of circumstances which need careful watching on the part of the state as well as the public.

SUBSTITUTES FOR JUTE

The first question is the caution with which the expansion of substitutes for jute ought to be appraised by the jute trade. About

³ *RTI*, 1933-34, pp. 233, 235; 1937-38, pp. 239-40.

⁴ B. K. Sarkar: "Economic Planning for Bengal" (*Insurance and Finance Review*, Calcutta, March 1933).

half a generation ago these substitutes were treated as mere scientific curios or theoretical eventualities. Today they have gone eminently beyond that stage. Some of the governments in the South American states have enacted measures in order to protect their sisal industry against the imports of jute, raw and manufactured. The Dutch Government has likewise imposed restrictions on the importation of jute products. In the U. S. A. there is no tariff against jute as yet. But experiments in the use of cotton bags as substitute for jute bags are being promoted under Government auspices.⁵ Then, again, experiments in the cultivation of jute have made fair progress in Australia, South America, Siam, China and Java. A new fibre plant, *Urena gobata*, is being cultivated in the Portuguese colony, Angola.

Besides, there is the so-called "German fibre" (*Zellwolle* or cell-wool) as well as the fibres obtained in German laboratories from straw, reeds, heath and willow. Finally, there is in almost every country an attempt to economize the use of jute by mixing it with flax, hemp, sisal, cotton and other fibres. The use of paper bags is likewise to be mentioned. Altogether, neither the economic theorist nor the businessman of today can afford to think in terms of the jute monopoly of half a generation ago. At the present moment jute is like every other commodity getting to be an article subject to competition from its rivals.

JUTE'S FIGHTING POWER TO BE STRENGTHENED

It is not necessary to go into details over all the substitutes of jute. Be it observed, however, incidentally that varied are the new uses to which jute may be put and that new regions are getting industrialized such as may generate new demands for jute. The ground ceded to the substitutes may thus be recovered to a considerable extent. Be this as it may, one is convinced that restrictions to the use of jute are likely to grow in volume and variety in future years on account of the qualitative improvement of the already established and other substitutes. For the time being, the supply of these substitutes happens to be limited in quantity and their prices are as yet not competitive enough. But it may not be long before all these substitutes acquire a favourable position *vis-à-vis* jute on both these counts. Perhaps a decade or so is likely to show substantial developments. But even then the position of jute can hardly be powerfully shaken by that

⁵ *Indian Central Jute Committee* (Calcutta), *Bulletin*, April 1939, pp. 7-9, 12, 15.

time. Meanwhile the most vital consideration for the jute-world is to increase its staying power, *i.e.*, to strengthen its fighting capacity, first, as regards prices and, secondly, as regards quality, in competition with the rivals.

RATIONALIZATION A TONIC

Rationalization of all sorts in technique, management and marketing with a view to the long-period possibilities in world-competition is the chief tonic that may be administered to the industry at the present moment. There is no ground for any scare however. It should be clearly understood that the trend of exports has all this while been well calculated to render the market quite optimistic inspite of the experiments and achievements in the realm of substitutes. The tug-of-war between jute and its rivals does not bid fair to be short and simple. It is after a long and complicated tussle that the destiny of jute is going to be decided and its more or less normal relations with the other fibres in regard to the adequate share of each in the world market settled.

AUTARCHY NO DAMPER ON EXPORTS

That the situation does not call for any scare in the present circumstances is evident from the second question of vital importance that deserves to be carefully inquired into by the jute-world. This is in regard to the value to be attached to the impact of the economic politics of certain countries. The so-called autarchy or self-sufficiency measures and ideals prevalent in those regions may affect the export of jute, raw and manufactured, from India to a certain extent. But here, again, the facts tell their own tale. An autarchistic customer like Germany has raised her takings of raw jute from 682,000 bales in 1932-33 to 802,000 bales in 1937-38.*

The story of Italy, another country inspired by autarchy, also points to the same trend. From 210,000 bales in 1932-33 Italy's takings of raw jute increased to 409,000 bales in 1937-38. Autarchy has not then been a damper on the exports of raw jute.

AMERICA'S TRADE ATTITUDE

One of the greatest markets for India's jute manufactures is the U. S. A. The Indo-American statistics are interesting because they

* RTI, 1933-34, p. 233; 1937-38, p. 239.

indicate that while in 1932-33 the U. S. A. imported 5,488 lakhs of yards the figure for 1937-38 was 9,540 yards. During this period, be it noted, experiments about the restriction of jute imports had been going on with and without Government support.⁷

Neither in America's factual trade attitude nor in that of Germany and Italy can we find any signs such as should encourage a panicky view for the near future in regard to the economics of jute.

⁷ *RTI*, 1933-34, p. 235; 1937-38, p. 240.

SANTAYANA: AN ADVENTURE TOWARDS RATIONAL SCEPTICISM

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AMERICAN critical realists have often been criticised by the contemporary English realists and American functional realists. The criticism is chiefly directed against their theory of knowledge. Knowledge, according to American critical realists, must involve three categories, *viz.*, the knower, the known, and the 'datum.' The knower is the organism with its mental states. The known is the physical object (in perception), or an idea (in introspection). The datum is the character of the object known in perception or introspection. This theory clearly indicates that in knowledge, we do not know the object as such, but we know only the 'character' or 'essence' of the object. What then is the meaning of the 'character' or 'essence' of the object? This leads us to the consideration of the entire situation of the knowledge-relation.

The act of knowledge is a very complex process. It presupposes that there must be an organism with its mental states, there must be an object (mental or physical) of knowledge. Knowledge does not merely mean the cognition of the object, it also involves the factor of the attitude of the organism at the time of knowledge. So the 'data' in perception or in introspection point out 'our' own peculiar knowledge of the object, physical or mental. This at once goes to show that in the act of knowledge our mental states only refer or project our 'data' to the mental or physical object. From this it follows that the 'data' are neither the object of perception or introspection, nor they are mental states themselves, for the latter act as vehicles for referring the 'data' to their objects.

To repeat once more: if the data or essences express both the character of the object and the 'attitude' of the organism in the act of knowledge, they cannot be identified with the 'mental states' which are their vehicles. They cannot also be identified with the objects of which they are mere characters. These characters have their stamp or form of the organism itself. Both the mental states and the physical

objects are said to have an 'existential basis.' But these essences, as reflecting only the character of the objects and involving the 'attitude' of the organism in the act of knowledge of any form, cannot be said to be existing. This will not only deprive them of their ideal character, but it will also deprive them of their 'ideal function,' for knowledge is after all a spiritual and ideal function. So the belief in them only suggests an adventure towards a spiritual character of our knowledge-function.

The functional realists, like Boodin, Morris, Dewey and others, believe in the fact of the 'symbolical' character of the 'data,' but they hold that they must have an existential basis in the world of nature, for nature itself functions symbolically. So to hold the data as non-existing, would be to deny this all-pervading function of nature.

Against these thoughts, American critical realists point out that 'data' can never be held as existing. They are nothing but our ways of adjustments to nature, or to mental events. If so, how can they be existents themselves? They are projected to the object referred to by them. This is the position of the American critical realists (Drake, Rogers, Santayana, Strong).

In "Essays in Critical Realism" we find seven American critical realists establishing their theory of data as indispensable for the problem of knowledge. We find here that they group themselves into two classes with regard to their views about the data. According to Lovejoy, Pratt and Sellars, the 'given' or the 'datum' is 'in toto' the character of the mental state of the moment, and so is an existent, in spite of the fact that its existence is not given; but Drake, Rogers, Santayana and Strong hold that as the datum, in most cases, depends on the attitude of the organism, and not simply on the mental state, which is its vehicle, we cannot identify the datum with the mental states. "In other words, the function of the mental state, as well as its actual content, or character, helps to determine what is 'given.' If this is so, the datum is as a whole (the total character given) not the character of any existent entity but, the separate traits that make up its complex nature may be traits of the 'mental existent,' traits of the object known or both or neither (Foot-note, p. 21—"Essays in Critical Realism").

From this it is obvious that Drake, Rogers, Santayana and Strong hold that 'data' are non-existent. They have a distinct part to play in the theory of knowledge. We may call them radical critical realists. In this discussion, we shall consider, in brief, the theory of 'data' as

given by Drake and Strong in their articles in the "Essays in Critical Realism," and shall consider, in detail, the most radical views on the character of 'data,' as given by Santayana, in his famous book "Scepticism and Animal Faith." Drake and Strong are milder, in their attitudes, than Santayana. We must first state their differences in attitudes.

Drake considers the data of perception as 'character-complexes' (or essences) irresistibly taken, in the moment of perception, to be the characters of existing outer objects. In perception the 'data' become one with the object of perception. They can be distinguished only reflectively. This is the case in veridical perception, but it is not so in the case of non-veridical perception, there the 'data' are wrongly 'projected.' But in the case of veridical perception, the 'fusion' between the 'datum' and the object is not perfect, for it is only a character of the object as taken by the organism. This is the scepticism of Drake.

Strong holds the same view of datum. We can put his theory of perception in his own words thus: "Our knowledge requires two things, the givenness of an essence and affirmation—that acting 'as if' the essence were embodied in a real object—and mere givenness is not knowledge." ("Essays in Critical Realism," p. 242.) He holds this view, for, he thinks that such a statement saves one from subjectivism. To hold that the datum is merely the picture of the object and not an embodiment of a real object, would be to dwell in an ideal world. Our knowledge will be subjective. But the element of scepticism can yet be felt in his expression "as if embodied in a real object."

Santayana, being more sceptical in his philosophical attitudes, agrees with none of them. He will not say that the essence is partially like the object, or 'as if' embodied in a real object. He says that an essence never points to existence as it is. It is not in its power to do so. If essence is projected outwards, it is done by animal faith. This takes us directly to his book "Scepticism and Animal Faith." Here we find his philosophic attitude and also his theory of knowledge. Real philosophy lies in rational scepticism, and real knowledge lies in 'Animal Faith.' The human being is naturally moved by animal faith. Animal faith tells him that he is an organism, and the world is lying before him with all its wealth. But experience tells him that what we see or feel is not really the same as seen or felt. The repeat-

ed shocks and disappointments of our life bring in us scepticism. Scepticism is given to us by 'intuition' which, as Santayana says, is 'a premonition of material fusion.' ("Scepticism and Animal Faith," p. 286.) This is because psyche or organism is in the midst of a vast natural world trying to adapt itself to that world. What gives light to the vague intuition of essences is our spirit or intellectual function of our organism. Our experience, thus, is not through the illumination of the intuition by the spirit, which is but a function of the psyche. Though the experience is the result of the dynamic relation between the psyche and the natural universe, there is enough ground for scepticism. We do not take the things as presented. We do not know ourselves to be completely moulded by the force that is outside us. We take the world as presented to us in our data, that is to say, we take it as we want to take it. There is a 'nature' in the psyche that operates in every act of our perception of nature, and our experience depends much on our individual attitudes. Our data or essences of objects have in them our 'attitudes' besides the character of the object or the character of the mental state. We cannot, therefore, say that these data have any existence either in the mental state of the moment, or in the object as presented to us.

As soon as we hold this non-existent character of the data, the room for scepticism becomes very obvious. We may say that the data reveal to us something outside us, but not that thing which is exactly presented to us. It is presented in a modified form. This is the true philosophic attitude. But if, on the other hand, we say that our data reveal to us the things exactly as they point out, we are said to put confidence in our animal faith blindly; we have not been able to sublimate our animal faith by a rational scepticism. Rational scepticism is not a philosophic denudation, it is not an acceptance of nihilism, it tells us to have a wise and rational belief in our 'animal faith.' It tells us to believe in psyche or organism, and the natural world existing in dynamic relation with it, but it does not tell us to believe in what is revealed to us by our data in all their totality. Complete scepticism is as dogmatic as a complete faith in animal faith.

Too much confidence in animal faith has led to such fantastic theory of the existence of a real entity as 'spirit' or 'ego' without a body, or a 'spirit' in nature influencing us from without. A rational scepticism never thinks of pure spirit, or a spiritual view of the universe. It says that what is spiritual, is not that non-existent spirit or absolute

spirit, it is our knowledge that is spiritual. The intellectual function of the psyche illuminates the vague premonition of the material fusion of intuition, and takes us to the world outside, of which we have an ideal knowledge. The knowledge is given by animal faith. This view of animal faith characterises true rational philosophy or rational scepticism.

Let us now follow the constant fight that goes on between scepticism and animal faith in our reflections of essence, intuition, discourse, experience, memory, knowledge, truth and spirit. In understanding all these, we have to bear in mind the one universal fact that all our experience is the experience of the psyche or living creature that exists in dynamic relationship with the vast natural world that lies beyond it. We shall also mark that our knowledge or experience is the intellectual experience of the forces that operate in us from outside. The electric influences issuing from the natural world, allow our organs to adjust themselves before grosser contact occurs. "Intuition is the premonition of material fusion.....The fusion expresses the initial fusion involved in the distant response, as if a ghostly messenger of oncoming things had rushed like a forerunner into the audience chamber, announcing the arrival. It is only messengers that reach the spirit, even in the thick of the fray; but by lending credence to their hot reports, it can live through the battle, lost in mists and passions, and thinking itself to give and to receive the blows." ("Scepticism and Animal Faith," p. 286.)

From this long quotation, we find that we are first influenced by the electric currents outside us, and the report is given by the intuition, and the spirit or our intellectual function interprets, accepts or rejects the report in its own way. So we find that the psyche has, in the beginning, pure intuition of essences, and then it illuminates it by the spirit or the intellectual function. So knowledge, according to Santayana, is nothing but interpreting, accepting or rejecting the essences of intuition. There is no antagonism between the intuitional and intellectual functions of the psyche. It is not a Bergsonian disparagement of intellect as fitted to matter only, while the flow is not revealed to it. Santayana says that both intuition and intellect are adapted to matter or material forces outside us. They are demanded by our animal life. To live a life of pure intuition, is to live a life of reverie. It is the spirit or intellectual function that gives us freedom

and leads us to a broader life that is outside the psyche, but not outside the spirit or cognitive range.

Let us now consider, in brief, the character of knowledge. To know the character of knowledge, we shall have to know the character of data which give us knowledge. As already said, the data of perception are only characters of objects outside, they are not, in themselves, the material or physical objects. So what can be said of the physical objects, cannot be said of the data. Data, being merely the characters of objects, only symbolise them. As symbols, they are not entities so as to have particularity, or any special peculiarity. They are universal, and they are not of the same kind. Being symbols, they are complete and always positive. As symbols they are not subject to changes of time, they are eternal. They are used by intuition only. They are awakened or raised by intuition. So whenever we take the data in intuition, we do not consider its origin in time, we only use them in that moment for further purpose, *viz.*, to know something outside.

From this we conclude that there is a world of difference between the realm of data and the world of matter that is presented to us every time in the act of perception. There is difference, multiplicity and change in the events and objects of the physical realm, but there is no difference, no change or multiplicity in the essences themselves. Such things appear to us only when we identify our essences or data with objects outside us. We are tempted here to accord an ideal place to this realm of data as Plato did. But Santayana tells us that to give them such an existential realm, would be foolishness or dogmatism. It is a realm of discourse, hence a realm of appearance, as Drake in his "Mind and its Place in Nature" posits.

From our consideration of the nature of essence or datum, we can very well distinguish it from intuition which is but a function of the psyche. But as already stated, intuition, left to itself, is a 'pure intuition,' a 'dream,' a 'reverie'; so there must be an 'intellectual function' to illuminate the dark essences of intuition. This is the entrance of spirit or intellectual function. It introduces discourse. The very fact of discourse also suggests the constancy or duration of the essences of intuition. Without this, the spirit cannot direct its function of attention to them. "The attention as exercised by the spirit is but the manifestation of interest, intent, preference and preoccupation. The discourse is not a play of essences, but it is a play of attention

upon them. So we find here how the essences are used by the organism to suit its purpose. From this it becomes clear that 'experience is a fund of wisdom gathered by living'! " (*Ibid.*, p. 138.) Experience, accordingly, presupposes intent and intelligence, and it also implies a natural world in which it is possible to learn to live better by practising the arts. (*Ibid.*, p. 138.) A discourse becomes turned into knowledge only when it is interrupted by shocks. "Shock contradicts nothing, but uproots the whole of experience. The lights go out on the stage, and discourse loses its momentum." (*Ibid.*, p. 139.) But yet we are to remember that there the discourse is always kept alive by attention, and that is why it is able to witness and record the revolution of experience. So Santayana takes it as a 'permanent knowledge of the changing.'

The experience of shock is not a passing experience of a moment, it is remembered. So says Santayana: "Experience of shock, if not utterly delusive, accordingly establishes the validity of memory and of transitive knowledge." (*Ibid.*, p. 142.) It establishes realism. "It opens the gates of nature to him, both within him and without and enables him to transmute his apprehension, at first merely aesthetic, into mathematical science." (*Ibid.*, p. 144.) In other words, it tells us to believe in 'experience' leaving the life of the closed and secluded chamber of our intuitions.

But does this experience of shock reveal to us the outer world directly? No. It reveals to us first our inner world, *viz.*, the psyche with positive nature of its own. So we quote thus: "Had I not such a positive nature, the existence of material things and the most violent impact upon one another, shattering the world to atoms, would leave me a placid observer of their movement, whereas a definite nature in me, even if disturbed only by cross-currents or by absolute accidents within my own being, would justify my sense of surprise and horror. A self then, not a material world, is the first object that I should posit if I wish the experience of shock to enlarge my dogmas in the strict order of evidence." (*Ibid.*, p. 146.) "The self posited by the sense of shock is a living psyche." (*Ibid.*, p. 147.) But this psyche is surely different from the spirit or the intellectual function. So we can quote his view of the psyche thus: "I, if I exist, am not an idea, nor am I the fact that several ideas may exist one of which remembers the other. If I exist, I am a living creature to whom the ideas are incidents, like aeroplanes in the sky, they pass over, more or less followed by the eye,

more or less listened to, recognised or remembered; but the self slumbers and breathes below, a mysterious natural organism, full of dark yet definite potentialities, so that different events will awake it to quite disproportionate activities. The self is a function of joy, folly or sorrow, a warning and a waning, stupid and dreaming creature, in the midst of a vast natural world, of which it catches but a few transient and odd perspectives." (*Ibid.*, p. 149.)

This long quotation, also, tells us that Santayana's scepticism is not a dogmatic scepticism like that of Hume. It is not a scepticism for the sake of scepticism. It is a scepticism only to gather a right knowledge of the self and nature. This view of the 'self' is given to us by the experience of shock. The belief in shock establishes also a belief in memory. But it will be mentioned here that memory is not a relapse into the past but a recapitulation of it. This is due to the "intellectual character" of knowledge. We only attend to some past experience. This belief in past experience helps the activity of the psyche. From this we can learn, also, the directness of memory and its ghostly character. The memory also leads us to posit a mind that is timeless so that the past and the present will be grasped in its realm. This is the claim of our intellectual function or spirit. Its function is not limited by space and time. To quote Santayana: "But spirit is virtually omniscient: barriers of space and time do not shut it in; they are but the boundary stones of field and field in its landscape. It is ready to survey all time and all existence if by establishing some electric connection with its seat, time and existence will consent to report themselves to it, for, spirit has no interest, no curiosity, no animal impatience; and as it arises only when and where nature calls it forth, so it surveys only what nature happens to spread before it. (*Ibid.*, pp. 162-63.) .

This only shows that our knowledge of the past experience is ideal. Not only this, our knowledge of the present and future, and of the objects, is also ideal or intellectual.

From our consideration of essence, intuition, discourse and experience, it has been rendered clear that knowledge is not merely an intuition of essences or comparisons of them. "For if I attain intuition," says Santayana, "I have only a phantom object, and if I spurn that and turn to facts, I have renounced intuition." (*Ibid.*, p. 170.) Knowledge presupposes faith in a natural world besides a faith in our own selves. Knowledge is a knowledge of fact. But the belief in fact

is given to us by animal faith. We have to believe in fact so long as the candle of life lasts. This is expressed by Santayana thus: "To turn way from it may be the deepest of wisdom in the end.....but at noon this pleasure is premature. I can always hold it in reserve, and perhaps nihilism is a system the simplest of all—on which we shall all agree in the end." (*Ibid.*, p. 171.)

Knowledge is a discourse regarding a fact. The increase of knowledge only means a better focused, more chastened, and more prolonged attention turned upon what actually occurs. "That is, they are kept closer to animal faith, and freer from pictorial elements and fusion of reverie." (*Ibid.*, pp. 177-78.) So knowledge means going beyond the pure intuition of essences. Thus the progress of knowledge is opened to various directions. The ideal of knowledge is to become natural science; if it trespasses beyond that, it relapses into intuition, and ceases to be knowledge." (*Ibid.*, p. 181.) For knowledge, there is a vast world to conquer. It goes on correcting one experience by another. So knowledge is not possible without a faith in a world of nature. "Faith in nature restores in a comprehensive way the sense of the permanent which is dear to animal faith"... "The world then becomes a home, and I can be a philosopher in it." (*Ibid.*, p. 238.)

Santayana then takes us to his view of 'truth.' He begins like this: "From the beginning of discourse there is a subtle reality posited which is not a thing I mean the truth." (*Ibid.*, p. 262.) So we find that truth is always associated with discourse. The problem of truth does not arise in the case of "pure intuition" of essences, for there the essences are not used in discourse, they are not referred to facts. Truth is not also broached even in pure dialectic which is only apprehension of a system of essences. "Truth, therefore, is as irrelevant to dialectic as to merely aesthetic intuition." Truth comes only in discourse or reflection. It is spoken of a judgment regarding some specific fact. Truth, in itself, is eternal. Its eternity is inherent in it. "All truth—not a few grand ones—are equally eternal." (*Ibid.*, p. 268.) Truth is dateless and eternal, but not timeless, because, being descriptive of existence, it is a picture of change." (*Ibid.*, p. 271.) .

The consideration of knowledge, truth and discourse, takes us to the consideration of spirit or intellectual function as given to us by Santayana. Here he points out, against the neo-realists, that mind is not merely awareness or mere intuition of essences, but it is an

intellectual apprehension of awareness or intuition of essences. Pure intuition is 'pure Being,' it is a state of reverie or dream, but when the light of spirit falls on it, it is illuminated, and the organism goes out to understand something that is outside it. The three functions of the spirit, *viz.*, attention, synthesis and perception, take the spirit away from mere intuition to facts outside us. So we might quote: "Perception, intelligence, knowledge accurately transcribe this mode of being, profoundly alien to repose in intuition, or to drifting reverie." (*Ibid.*, p. 283.)

So the intellectual function of the spirit means a reviewing of the pure intuition. It thus helps us to adapt ourselves to the world. It alone signifies that the psyche is plastic. The functions of intuition and intellect unite in contributing to us knowledge. To hold this intellectual function of psyche as substantial, is foolish. To say that there is a pure spirit without a body, is also dogmatic, for, we clearly find that spirit or intellectual function is but a function of the psyche. To quote Santayana once again: "Spirit is, therefore, of its very nature and by its own confession, the voice of something else: it speaks not of itself, but of the father that sent it." (*Ibid.*, p. 285.)

Thus knowledge, according to Santayana, is spiritual, or intellectual. It is never a knowledge of the fact in itself, for, the essence never reveals to us the fact in itself. It is only a symbol, and the psyche utilises this symbol in its great adventure of discovering the mystery of the universe, having confidence in 'animal faith.'

ART AND ARTIST

SUBHENDU GHOSH

“WHOSO touches this book, touches a man”: with these words Whitman introduced his great work. Indeed, every great artist puts into his work not bare, depersonalised ideas, but ideas galvanised into life by his personality, almost springing out of it. In art the artist “symbolises” his inner self—his dreams and desires, hopes and fears, anxieties and hysterias—his personality purged and refined into suggestions of exquisite beauty. That is why in art we can feel the warm and enchantingly elusive touch of the artist.

Experience, which is the very process of one’s life, experience, whole and entire, both what has been seen and what has been felt in perfect combination is the matter for art—all art. Now what can be more privately and peculiarly one’s own than one’s experience? All art is, therefore, in a sense deeply personal. It is the depth, the intensity, that lifts up the personal in art to the dignity of the universal. Abundance of vitality—intensity of feelings and emotions—divinely glowing ardour—purge the personal of its dross and what was intimately personal to the artist shines forth like pure gold as a thing of universal delight. Yes, all art is personal, but in a special sense.

Art is the expression of life, but the deepest depths of life baffle expression. It is like the sea: It has no voice save only on the shoals and rocks. Fragments of life must stand relieved to be definitely shaped in the consciousness. Experiences are the fragments of life, detached from the flow and nourished in the imagination; they are life split-up, as colours of the rainbow are white light split-up (and white is no colour!). Art expresses not life itself but significant rainbow-hued experiences. Art binds together experiences, fired and glowing with the heat of some great passion. It is the magic of the heat that unites the fragments and in expression no single experience can stand alone; it may be more clearly relieved than others, which are merely suggested. It is the heat that re-integrates the split-up life. Art creates the illusion of life—an illusion without which the deepest depths of life find no voice.

Life is knowable only as a series of experiences. When expressed, these experiences have to take on the colour of the mood of the moment. What is this we call mood? It is some dark force of the subconscious mind. It is, like the heat inside the earth, the heat generated by feelings, desires, emotions and such other "dark" forces working in the subconscious mind. When the mood has a positive concentrated character by virtue of its containing some positive passion dominating other elements in it, it seeks emphatic expression. For the purpose it chooses out the apt experience and brings it into relief. If the expression, *i.e.*, symbolisation, be adequate, there is art, there is living beauty, for all great passion has a beauty of its own, and beauty is more soul-ravishing in the reflection than otherwise.

We have said there can be no great art in the absence of a powerful passion, of life-giving heat. The heat gives art its unity, its wholeness, its universality. Mastery of technique may indeed build up a semblance of unity and there are arts (*e.g.*, music) which are by their nature endowed with the quality of being impersonal. But the unity that mere technique can impose can only be a mechanical substitute for it, and there is a fundamental difference between abstract impersonality and true universality in the realm of art; what we mean by impersonal nature of music is not in fact abstractly impersonal, if the music is not a soulless combination of sounds. The universal in all art must be intimately personal to any that cares to enter into its spirit.

A work of art is like magic. It conjures up the life ideal—the perfect moments we have lived or we dimly dream of, moments of exalted thoughts and emotions, moments of intense living, in short, moments that give or seek to give life a meaning. The illusion that art creates is a necessary illusion—it is the garb of truth profound, of truth elusive.

If science is man's rationalised experience, art is man's rationalised dream. Man comes to art to relieve his aching soul, to feed his hungry self, to take in the light and heat radiated from a brother man's inner life so that his own personality may bloom, may open its petals.

THE FEUDAL ELEMENT IN FEDERATED INDIA

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THE Federation scheme, in the language of the Viceroy, is to be regarded as "the practical solution of the great constitutional problem of India, *viz.*, the achievement of economic and political unity." This statement one naturally regards not as the personal opinion of the Viceroy but the considered judgment of the British Cabinet. The objection of National India against the inclusion of the representatives of the Indian States in the Federal Legislative Assembly and the Council of State lies in the fact that, up to the present, the British Government has not considered the desirability of trying to meet Indian opinion. All politically minded people had been eagerly looking forward to at least some change in its attitude but they have been grievously disappointed.

The criticisms directed against Federation have assumed various forms and are levelled against it from different angles, with only one of which we are concerned at present. Let me mention only three salient objections here. The first is that the Princes have been permitted to send their representatives by the system of nomination, secondly, that the Indian States have been accorded representation out of all proportion to their population, their contributions to the Central exchequer and so forth and thirdly, the system of indirect election to the Federal Legislative Assembly by British India. So far as the system of nomination is concerned, it is held that, as nominees of the feudal chiefs, the representatives of the Indian States will not reflect the opinion of the real India of to-day. As regards over-representation, it is pointed out that the total population of the Indian States is approximately 81 millions, that is a little more than a fifth of the total population of India. Their contributions to the Federal exchequer are expected to be much less; in fact according to one calculation it will be about 10 per cent. And yet, in what may be called the Upper

House of the Federal legislature that is in the Council of State, the Indian States have been given 104 out of 260, that is about 40 per cent. of the seats. Similarly, in the Lower House, that is in the Federal Legislative Assembly, there will be 125 representatives of the Indian States in a house of 275 that is $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent.

National India holds that the legislative machinery has been devised in such a way that the nominees of the Indian States with their traditional outlook will ally themselves with other conservative elements and, in this way, hinder the political progress of India towards the goal she has set before herself.

And where will this conservative *bloc* come from? In the Federal Legislative Assembly, we are going to have the system of indirect election so far as the autonomous provinces are concerned. It is held that this would tend to bring into existence a *bloc* of vested interests which will find its natural allies in the nominees of other vested interests like the Princes.

Rightly or wrongly, National India holds that the presence of these three objectionable features namely indirect election for British India, the system of nomination for States representatives and the great weightage accorded to the Indian States point to one thing only and that is that even after the inauguration of Federation, the British will continue to control the economic and political destinies of India but it will be done indirectly and in the name of the Indian nation. It finds corroboration of its views in the Viceroy's statement that "if there is to be a real federation of India, then the collaboration and the participation of the Indian States and the tradition they stand for, are essential." It views with dismay still another statement of the Viceroy in which it was proclaimed that His Majesty's Government decline to bring "any form of pressure to bear upon them (the Indian Princes) to initiate constitutional changes." According to the opponents of Federation in its present form, these facts justify their attitude of suspicion towards this measure.

Ma-Bap RULE

The ideal in India has been that rulers should look after the welfare of their subjects in just the same way and with as much solicitude as parents look after their children. Unfortunately, the lack of reliable data does not permit us to ascertain to what extent this

golden *ma-bap* mentality of the princes has actually manifested itself in beneficent activities aimed at the happiness of the ruled.

It can, however, be safely stated that since the last 150 years, Rulers in the States have not been guided by this ideal. Two States in Orissa have acquired a rather unenviable notoriety by their refusal to provide their people with the ordinary amenities of civilised life. For nearly six months, about 25,000 people of one of these States have been living at Angul in Orissa close to their former homes where they have been maintained by public charity. It is understood that the Ruler in question took nearly three months before he made a statement as regards the conditions under which he was willing to receive them back.

Rajkot is a tiny State in Kathiawar. Not even the semi-official Anglo-Indian press has said a good word for its present Ruler or his administration. His extravagance has made his State almost bankrupt. There is no regular budget, no fixed civil list and the people enjoy little, if any, civic rights. His oppressions have almost maddened his subjects. It has been stated that on one occasion, three thousand men and women fasted for forty-eight hours in front of the palace of their Prince. The nationalist press has drawn a lurid picture of the kind of treatment which they had to endure but into this I have no desire to enter.

Kolhapur, the largest of the South Maratha States, is in no way inferior to Mysore, Cochin or Travancore. But while these States have Legislative Councils with elected majorities, Kolhapur so far as this aspect of the matter is concerned, is far behind them. On the 15th January, 1939, the Maharaja of Kolhapur assured his people that the land assessment would be reduced, restrictions on freedom of speech removed and some other important civic rights announced by the end of the month. But up to the middle of April this year except for a partial reduction in the land assessment, the other pledges had remained unredeemed. Mr. Dinkar Rao Desai, who took a rather prominent part in the popular movement, has asked, "If the Maharaja thus breaks a promise, whom are we to rely upon?" The States people requested the Maharaja to grant political reforms in the State and to secure the co-operation of their representatives. Another resolution urged the Maharaja to limit his private expenditure to 6 lakhs a year. These seem very modest demands and we do not know if they will be granted. It is this playing with the people which is very largely res-

possible for those unfortunate misunderstandings which are almost daily widening the breach between the Princes and their subjects.

These instances, taken from Eastern and Western India, are typical of feudal India and do not manifest much of the *ma-bap* spirit referred to above in their Rulers.

In dozens of States, the agitation for responsible government was going on till the other day and it is no exaggeration to say that in almost every case, the people were content with lodging their protest in accordance with Mahatma Gandhi's technique of non-violence. The very few cases where there had been departure from this method merely prove how almost all the people carrying on the struggle are loyal to the theory of non-violence. No man who claims the possession of commonsense, would care to condemn this political struggle as a whole merely because there have been regrettable lapses from this technique in just the same way as one would not blame the police as a class of being corrupt because a few among them have been convicted of bribery in courts of law or describe all English soldiers as oppressive bullies because, now and then, we find in the newspapers accounts of the misbehaviour of a few among them.

And how was this situation being met in the States? In the language of one of the States people "Everywhere the answer comes from *lathi* and, now and then, from the rifle." But no intelligent man can persuade himself to believe that repression can be a permanent solution of this very pressing problem. I envisage the day when the people of adjacent States in different parts of India will be driven to combine together in order to put up a valiant non-violent fight against oppression of this type.

The Princes may say that they have the right to the support of the Paramount Power so long as they fulfil their obligations to it. But if, in the absence of concessions, the kind of mass action to which I have just referred does manifest itself, will the Princes be in a position to meet their obligations either to the Paramount Power, or their country or even to their Houses? After all, their strength lies in the cheerful co-operation of their subjects. Apart from what they get from their people, what are their resources and, if there is a no-rent and no-tax campaign, how long will they, as a class, with their extravagant habits be able to stand the strain? They should not forget that the prestige, the position and the power they have been enjoying for genera-

tions are derived not so much from the Paramount Power as from their own people.

It is regrettable but none the less true that, to a certain type of the European in India, an Indian is unknowable unless he is a rich and a reigning prince. He is then regarded as a very good fellow specially if he plays good cricket or polo, keeps expensive cars and is a patron of the turf. The misgovernment and oppression which supply him with the finances necessary to keep up his position in European circles are not thought a discredit to him. On the other hand, they are either completely ignored or passed off with a jest. I have serious doubts where the sympathies of a highly placed European official will lie if he has to decide between a graceful, polished and hospitable reigning Indian Prince and a bunch of vociferous, Khaddar-clad, uncouth political agitators voicing real grievances but through ignorance doing it in a manner unacceptable to the European.

No one can doubt that Feudal India which finds its chief support from the British Government will render its loyal support for what it is worth to the powers that be. This is why over-representation to the States under the Federal scheme is held to be detrimental to the political progress of the country and its economic welfare. The nationalists hold that this explains their opposition to the scheme as adumbrated in the Government of India Act, 1935. They say that if Federation suffers shipwreck it will only be on account of the representation in it of Feudal India in an antiquated form. Democratic and Feudal India can never work either in co-operation or harmony. If checks on the too rapid pace of progress advocated by National India are considered necessary, they should take some less objectionable form.

PRINCES AND STATES REFORMS

It has very often been suggested that many of the Princes have introduced reforms in their States and some are contemplating doing so. In the case of the larger States, there has not been any democratic advance except in those rare cases where this has been forced on them under pressure applied by the people themselves. On the other hand, there are many States where retrograde and reactionary measures have been introduced within recent years in spite of vigorous protests entered by the people concerned.

Prof. R. H. Kelkar moving his resolution on the need for reform in the Indian States at the last annual session of the National Liberal Federation of India, held in Bombay towards the end of December, 1938, criticised the kind of government which, as the result of pressure, is being sought to be introduced in certain States. This, he declared, is both unsuitable and unacceptable. Dyarchy which had failed after a prolonged trial in British India will turn out an equal failure in the States, the more so because politically they are less advanced than British India. His suggestion for meeting the situation created by the struggle for acquiring civic liberties was that the Princes should immediately grant a good measure of responsible government to their people as proof of their good faith and promise them complete self-government in the near future.

We are all aware how much the liberals of the National Liberal Federation of India have receded to the background mainly because of the somewhat uncritical way in which they have co-operated with the British Government in the past. Politically, they are now regarded as more or less a back number though it would be unfair to forget the very important contributions they made to political progress in the past. They are practically the father of the present militant type of Indian nationalism. Even such a body has been compelled to recognise the extreme necessity of introducing reforms in the States and unanimously accepted the following resolution in their last annual conference.

“The Federation re-affirms complete sympathy with the natural and perfectly legitimate aspirations of the people of the Indian States for civil and political liberties. While deprecating any attempt at coercion to force the hands of the Rulers, the Federation trusts that Rulers of all States in their own interests will concede to their subjects, without further delay, the right of security of person and property, liberty of person, speech and press, freedom of association and an independent judiciary and representative institutions leading ultimately to the establishment of responsible government.”

Their demand is a very modest one and it has also been put very modestly, the attention of the Princes being drawn to the fact that the introduction of the necessary reforms is as much to their interest as to that of their peoples. But no appreciable progress has been made for, only the other day the London “Times,” regarded by many as

the mouthpiece of the present British Government, said that "the Princes have been exceptionally slow in democratising their States."

NATURE OF STRUGGLE IN THE INDIAN STATES

National India is of opinion that a majority of the Princes have no desire to change their old and objectionable ways of dealing with their subjects. Probably they unconsciously prove the correctness of one of the lessons of history that when a particular institution has fulfilled its purpose, it gradually loses the capacity of adapting itself to changed conditions and undergoes slow decay till it disappears altogether.

After all what is it that the States people want? Their demand varies from State to State, but everywhere there is absolute unanimity so far as one demand is concerned and that is the demand for responsible government. At the present juncture, there is no universal attempt to enforce this demand. Everywhere the States people desire to organise themselves so that through these organisations when the time is ripe they might make this demand. And yet this right of organising themselves is denied them. Civil liberties are thus crushed and the people are not in a position to carry on political agitation through constitutional methods. Under these circumstances, they must either give up all political activities or have recourse to direct action. Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, this direct action has taken the form of Satyagraha. The issue of the present time in a majority of the States is thus a demand for civil liberties though, it must be admitted, that in most of them their objective is responsible government. No one brought up in the traditions of democracy can refuse to extend to them his sympathy at least so far as this particular phase of the struggle is concerned.

THE PRINCES' REACTION TO STATES AGITATION

About the beginning of February, 1939, Mahatma Gandhi published in his *Harijan* an account of a meeting of the Chamber of Princes held in Bombay in which some of them discussed the adoption of a common policy in order to meet the situation created by the agitation of their subjects. It is understood that the meeting was held in camera, but there is every reason to believe that the account given by Mahatma Gandhi is, on the whole, a reliable one.

The Princes were so unwise as to talk about their resources for suppressing all movements for responsible government within their borders and how they would unite for the common object of defending their interests at this critical juncture in the political evolution of India. But they should have realised that a call for unity among Princes may be met by a call for unity among the 81 millions of States subjects. All the resources of the Princes for coercing their people into submission consist of what their subjects have and what part of the same might be placed at their disposal. They should realise that they cannot stir one step without the co-operation of these people and that there is one way and one way only of securing it, *viz.*, removing maladministration, oppression and, in some cases, misrule.

The Princes held that their subjects are not as yet fit for the kind of responsible government advocated by the Congress and in actual operation to-day in British India. In their opinion, it would not be to the best interests of either the States or their people to accord them responsible government at the present moment. The Princes should be responsive to popular demand so far as the removal of some of the more objectionable disabilities is concerned but, in the matter of granting responsible government, they should be adamant. In other words, the policy should be a combination of repression and reconciliation. The exact policy to be followed in each State will ultimately be conditioned by the problem which confronts the State concerned as well as the merits of its individual problem. It is, however, clear from the discussion of the Princes that no political body will be permitted to be organised or to function within the States. The position would be very closely watched everywhere and such associations if brought into existence should be crushed and their activities discouraged in every possible way.

There is a Latin proverb which says that the Greeks are to be feared when they offer gifts. Henceforth reforms when introduced in the States will have to be viewed with suspicion for, if any reliance is to be placed on the proceedings of the Chamber of Princes as reported in the *Harijan*, these will be introduced only to remove the more objectionable grievances of the States people and to discourage their further political progress.

Let it not, however, be forgotten that if the people of the States have learnt anything by this time, they have learnt one lesson namely the lesson of self-sacrifice and the realization of their political

aims through suffering. It is not at all probable that they will be cowed down by any repressive action which may be taken by the Princes as a body. If once mass Civil Disobedience Movement starts, non-violent Satyagraha will be offered by thousands of men and women and ultimately, the Princes will be forced to yield. To withstand the popular demand for the same measure of civil liberty as is being enjoyed by their next-door neighbours in British India will have the effect of creating a gulf between the Princes and their people which it may be almost impossible to bridge over hereafter. It is wisdom's part, therefore, to grant concessions gracefully rather than to wait till they are forcibly wrested from unwilling hands.

INDIAN PRINCES AND INDEPENDENCE •

It may be urged with a great measure of truth that even to-day in all except the most progressive of States, the Indian Princes are trying to retain all, or nearly all, their old privileges and their age-old forms of government. What sort of union is possible between their States and the autonomic British Indian provinces with their progressive and democratic outlook? If there is a union it will be one between two incompatibles. The autonomous provinces under the Federation subject to the control of the Federal Government in certain matters will enjoy complete freedom. It is but natural for them to look forward to the complete disappearance of the last vestiges of foreign domination. It is proposed to unite them to the States which have their own obligations under the doctrine of paramountcy. Put in a slightly different way, there will be inside Federated India, some provinces cherishing the ideal of independence and working for it while other members or, if another term is preferred, other component parts of the same organisation, will have all their loyalty and affiliation directed towards a far-flung sovereignty. I shall content myself with making a reference to the wisdom inherent in the Scriptural injunction, "Be ye not unequally yoked" and leave my readers to draw their own conclusions therefrom.

National India holds that the British Government, and the Indian Public Services are by natural inclination on the side of the Princes and whenever there is a conflict between the progressive and conservative blocs, it is British India which will suffer. The Princes will act as a permanent drag upon the progressive tendencies of the

Indian nation as a whole. It is therefore that the Congress hopes that the Princes in the interests of India and of themselves should bring the system of Government in their respective States into a line with what is obtaining in the autonomous provinces.

The people of India might dream of independence but they will not be able to realise it. The Princes now depend not so much on the loyalty and affection of their people as upon the British army for their existence. It is this which secures their immunity against any local disorder due to their acts of injustice and tyranny. Similarly, they are safe from external aggression. All this makes it perfectly safe for them to lead a life of sloth and physical enjoyment. Any movement for independence would imply either their total disappearance from the scene or, in the alternative, their retention in the rôle of constitutional rulers. The Indian, if not the British, is aware how very few of them are fitted by nature, inclination, ability or training to act as constitutional rulers. If so, why has the British Government found it necessary to provide machinery to guide and advise them? These people in their own interests are bound to oppose tooth and nail every move calculated to bring about independence and this is one of the reasons why National India looks with suspicion on the inclusion of the States within Federation in the form provided in the Government of India Act, 1935.

TREATY OBLIGATIONS

Apologists for the Princes have of late been emphasising the inviolable nature of the treaties entered into between them and the Paramount Power. We are to-day seeing what is happening to international treaties and the most sacred of covenants when they stand in the way of expediency. Such treaties have been totally ignored and friends and allies most shamelessly deserted in their hour of direst need. In all these cases, democracy and freedom were the victims.

National India does not admit that these moth-eaten treaties which might have been entered into more than a century ago should be allowed to stand in the way of the enjoyment of ordinary civil liberties and responsible government by the people of the States. It is foolish to expect that people will continue to hug to their bosom the shackles of slavery put on them by force or fraud generations ago to remain permanently under a system which is slowly grinding them down to the dust.

Taking the most serious view of the matter what is it that is meant by treaty obligations? They imply good government on the part of the Ruler concerned, payment of tribute if any, embargo on entering into any kind of treaty with any foreign government except through the agent of the King-Emperor, military assistance against foreign aggression and serious internal disorder and interference by the agent of the Crown in case of grave misrule. It has to be admitted that the British Government is even now tolerating government in some of the States which is admittedly far from good from the standpoint of the interests of the people. And the kind of government permitted to exist in some of the States is objectionable to an extent that is scarcely possible under any form of popular government.

This state of things has to be remedied. Neither the people concerned nor the Indian National Congress are likely, when matters come to a head, to object to the reservation of powers by the rulers and the Crown whenever popular rule breaks down or is likely to break down in any of these directions. Treaty obligations or not, the feudal system of government must go and make room for a democratic form of government.

INTERVENTION BY THE PARAMOUNT POWER

Both the Under-Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy have definitely stated that the British Government will not exert any kind of pressure upon the Princes to introduce responsible government within their States. This compares rather oddly with what Lord Curzon said about thirty years ago when he clearly laid down the policy he meant to follow, namely, that the Princes must not regard their States as their private property but must discharge their responsibilities towards their people. The Under-Secretary of State had, however, to admit on behalf of the British Government "that the obligations of the Paramount Power to the States extend to advising and assisting Rulers in remedying such legitimate grievances of their subjects as may be found to exist." Continuing he said that His Majesty's Government would not put any pressure upon them to initiate constitutional changes.

The mere layman would detect an inconsistency between the two parts of this statement specially if the accepted obligation is interpreted in a liberal spirit by the Paramount Power. If as the Paramount Power, the British Government regard it as their duty to advise and assist the Rulers "in remedying the legitimate grievances" of their

people, what justification can there be for not using moral pressure on the Princes to remove some of the most oppressive grievances under which the people suffer? And these are lack of civil liberties within the States, arbitrary powers of the Rulers to deal with their subjects and their revenues in any way they like, and the utter absence of any kind of control by the people over the administration of the States. Why does not the British Government regard them as "legitimate grievances" and if so, why should it show any hesitation to do its duty as trustees of the Princes as well as of their subjects?

Political India has not, however, failed to read its own meaning into the award of the Chief Justice of the Federal Court on the Rajkot document. From this point of view, the question of the victory or defeat of Mahatma Gandhi in the matter carries no significance along with it. The first thing is that the Mahatma has been instrumental in submitting to the Federal Chief Justice's judgment a matter in which there was a difference of opinion between an Indian State and the Congress High Command. By having recourse to one Federal authority, he has prepared the way for the acceptance of Federation. This of course is the Leftist view which is dead against Federation.

The Rightists argue that India's Chief Justice was not asked to pronounce his verdict on a political dispute. He had to give his interpretation of certain words as they appeared in important state documents. Mahatma Gandhi had repeatedly asked the Paramount Power to intervene and the Representative of the Crown did nothing but right in seeking technical assistance, in other words, an authoritative interpretation of the matter at issue from the most authoritative official source available.

Whatever our political views, we have to remember that the Representative of the Crown had to intervene and the Chief Justice of India did pronounce his verdict on a certain matter concerned with the relations between an Indian State and the Paramount Power. From this does it not follow, though it may be indirectly, that though the Paramount Power is unwilling to interfere in the affairs of the States, it has not renounced altogether its fundamental rights in this direction and that the time may yet come when it will have to clarify its position still further by doing something to induce the Princes to introduce responsible government in their States?

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Free Primary Education in Bengal

The introduction of free primary education is one of the major problems before autonomous Bengal, on the solution of which depends the future of the province. The magnitude of the task can be well imagined from the fact that in one district alone, although 2,408 schools have been opened, this number is considered inadequate.

This refers to the Mymensingh district where the free primary education scheme has already been introduced; and it must be remembered that there are many districts in Bengal.

A member of the Bengal Legislative Council urged upon the Minister for Education the necessity for maintaining the old aided primary schools as, according to him, the number of free primary schools so far opened in his district fell far short of requirements. The Minister, however, stated that the number of schools was adequate to meet the requirements of any locality. He explained that schools had been selected on the results of a survey of the educational needs of the district and re-organization and adjustment of primary schools were made with the local survey sub-committee set up by the District School Board, one in each of the 20 sub-inspectorates, on the lines of the Government scheme, i.e., at least one Board-managed school for each unit area of 3.14 square miles, or a population of 2,000.

As a result, survey sites were selected for 2,634 schools to serve the needs of a district which has a rural area of 6,192 square miles and a population of about 5,000,000. This number of schools was required so as to enable a child to attend a school within an average distance of one mile from his or her home. Of these 2,634 selected schools, 2,408 had already been opened and steps were being taken to open the remaining 226 at an early date. The old aided primary schools had been either amalgamated with the central schools or abolished, as there appeared to be no necessity for maintaining them.

There was overcrowding in some of the free primary schools, but to cope with this, provision has been made for appointing additional teachers in proportion to the number of pupils. New schools cannot be opened for want of suitable land and housing arrangements.

The free primary school survey committee have not made errors of a serious nature in selecting proper sites, but in cases where their selections had been found unsatisfactory, the local authorities had taken action to remedy matters.

Dr. Montessori

It is learnt Dr. Montessori has agreed to visit India in October next. She would be spending about six months in this country and during the period she intends to deliver lectures before Universities and other learned bodies.

Dr. Maria Montessori, it may be recalled, was appointed in 1931 a Reader of the Calcutta University to deliver a course of lectures on the subject of her educational system. But the University was subsequently informed by the Honorary Secretary, Montessori Society, London, that the proposed course of lectures had been indefinitely postponed.

Fish Exhibition

To create a larger interest in India's edible fishes the Zoological Survey of India arranged an exhibition of the principal edible fishes of Calcutta in the newly constructed fish gallery at the Indian Museum. Stuffed specimens of as many as 28 varieties were shown in the gallery.

Attention was drawn to the fact that the available supply in Calcutta was far from sufficient and that only a small percentage of the total quantity offered for sale is from local fisheries. Most of the fresh water fish are imported from southern and eastern Bengal and the Chilka Lakes; the estuarine fishes come from various parts of the Gangetic delta; while the marine varieties are imported from Puri and other seaports.

The exhibits reveal the great possibilities of the fishing industry in Bengal if properly developed.

Calcutta Blind School

It is not perhaps generally known that the Calcutta Blind School is doing excellent work among the afflicted children both intellectually, industrially and physically.

In the literary section ten pupils—seven boys and three girls—reached the High School standard. One boy appeared at the Matriculation Examination in March, and a boy and a girl will appear in November next. On the industrial side, basket-making and cane weaving are the staple industries and the quality of production is well maintained. In addition there are gardening, building and nature study. The music section has trained many students as musicians or music teachers. Besides classical music, the syllabus consists of modern Bengali songs, caricature, mimicry and dancing, thus giving the pupils a good grounding for the stage or cinema as play actors or social entertainers.

Much attention is paid to physical education which is carried on more on individual lines. Drill, gymnastics, swimming, rowing, long walks and games also help to improve the physique of the children.

Adult Education Scheme

The Adult Education Scheme inaugurated by the Calcutta University Institute to train volunteers to educate adults in their respective villages during the summer vacation has, so far it is understood, been very successful.

About 400 volunteers were trained for this purpose and were recently given an enthusiastic send-off. Each volunteer was supplied with a packet containing twelve sets of certain books, namely, *Parar Bahi*, *Barader Para*, *Hishaber Bahi*, a handbook of instructions for opening an adult education centre, and a pamphlet containing articles on rural health, hygiene, civics and other allied subjects.

As this was the first year of the campaign it was arranged that each volunteer should open in his village a centre for 12 adults. So great, however, was the response that it was impossible to supply an adequate number of books to the volunteers who had to be reminded that the campaign was limited in scope and that their activities had to be restricted accordingly.

Military Training for Cawnpore

On the invitation of the Cawnpore District Board, Lt. M. H. Naqui, Sub-Deputy Inspector of Schools, has submitted a scheme for imparting Military Training to pupils over the age of 14 studying in Cawnpore District Vernacular schools.

Miscellany

ECONOMIC ADAPTATION TO A CHANGING WORLD MARKET

The changes in demand and supply are well-known categories in economic theory. Their impacts on economic structure are no less important in business practice than in scientific considerations. Economic dynamics is indeed the great reality known to the man in the street. And to-day *homo oeconomicus* is fully conscious in daily transactions that economic activities, dynamic or fluctuating as they happen to be, are fundamentally hemispheroidal in dimensions, nature and origin. Naturally, therefore, the orientations to the world economy—attitude to the agricultural, industrial and financial developments in the world from China to Peru—have grown into the most commonplace preoccupations of the merchant, the banker, the farmer, and of course of the statesman and the “planner.”

It is with these adjustments or readjustments of the industrialist, the financier, the businessman and the economic statesmen to the morphological transformations of the world economy—the international re-localizations—that Carl Major Wright of Denmark addresses himself in *Economic Adaptation to a Changing World Market* (Copenhagen, Ejnar Munksgaard, 1939). A most fundamental consideration with the author is then the transfer of capital and labour from the old to the new enterprises. The problem evidently is not merely one of the “private economy,” as known in continental science. From the standpoints of national economy as well nothing is more important than this question of the deflection of resources from one channel to another.

The influence of changing income on a group's consumption of certain commodities has been examined at length and the “income elasticity coefficients” exhibited on the strength of recent studies in consumption and standard of living carried on in several countries. The universality of Engel's law is proved to be open to question. The problem of hours of leisure as affected by income elasticity deserves to be gone into with equal care.

An instance of economic transformation is furnished by the appearance of new products which are not directly competing with already existing products but largely satisfying so far little developed wants. Among consumers' goods Wright mentions electrical, household and medical apparatus, refrigerators, gramophones, cosmetics and artificial silk goods as yielding between 1,680 to 340 as the percentage of 1928 in relation to 1913. Some of the producers' goods belonging to the same category are wireless sets, printing paper, accumulators, batteries, motor cars and telephone accessories with 6,200-370 as the corresponding percentages. Such realistic studies, if carried on with the data of Asian countries, would not fail to indicate the socio-economic structural changes going on in this part of this world as well.

The question is whether capital supply is influenced by the interest level and how it has engaged Wright's attention so that he is convinced that it is incorrect to look upon interest exclusively or chiefly as an income. One of the great realities of practical life cannot be ignored in this connection. Corporations, central and local governments and social insurance institutions are some of the principal agencies of capital-building. The

interest that they have to pay out is more often an expenditure than an income.

For countries like India economic statesmen may accept Wright's proposition that although the industrialization process is more rapid in the new than in the old countries, their trend of industrial development runs parallel with the earliest development in the old countries. This indeed is the conclusion of the "equations" to which the present reviewer has been led in two volumes of *Economic Development* (1926, 1938). In this connection the concluding chapter which is given over to the "Adaptation Problem in Bulgaria" should be eminently suggestive. Wright is convinced that even a poor country like Bulgaria is generally itself able to provide the additional means necessary for adaption to new conditions. India's experience would confirm Wright's thesis that industry offers possibilities for new adaptation as soon as the heavy burden to which it is subject becomes somewhat alleviated or some outside event gives it an unexpected stimulus.

Business cycles constitute the most conspicuous features of economic transformations. In his chapter on "Business Cycle Policy" Wright quotes the Dutch economist, Tinbergen, who has made an investigation into the effects of different kinds of state interference, first, on the national business cycle, and secondly on the balance of payments.

Wright's work combines statistical and factual material about international capital movements, migrations, prices, employment, etc., with analysis as well as generalizations. The data used are mostly continental. He has utilized the sources quite liberally and quotes or summarizes them with adequate details. The study possesses altogether the merit of being a practical handmaid to economic planning as well as a contribution to the theory of economic dynamics.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

REALISM MULTIPLIED BY MYSTICISM IN HOCKING'S PHILOSOPHY

William Ernest Hocking, observes in his *Types of Philosophy* (New York, 1930) that we must treat things in the day's work as if they were independent, naturalistic, over against us and against us, or at least, not for us. Struggle to build a human habitation in the midst of an alien universe; unremitting effort to expel by the aid of science whatever is evil from our point of view; expecting no good from the universe except what we human beings construct in the face of nature and except the universe itself: and admitting no wrong as inherent in the constitution of things:—this is the programme in which we join the realist.

But who has the eye for this humanistic work, and the endless patience and energy for it, in view of the fact that the task defined is nothing short of infinite? Who can wait until the end of evolution for an achievement which only remote posterity can ever see? Only one who in some way already is at the goal, as the mystic is (who for us represents the religious spirit).

Hocking's position is that of a realist multiplied by idealism or mysticism. Indeed he describes himself as an exponent of mystical realism in which the realism is a "transfigured naturalism which enlarges physical nature by making it a province within a greater nature."

It is only the mystic-idealist who is justified in exploring all the ' hard facts ' and facing all the risks of a naturalistic system of experience, neither defying them nor running away.

Humanism, pure and simple, is criticized by Hocking as follows:

To fix our mind upon the human interest is to lose the best things that have come to mankind. These have arrived by way of love of art or of science, as we say, for its own sake ; with humanity relatively out of the focus. How can you do good to individual men, each of whom contemplates eternity, unless you yourself contemplate eternity ? Consider a man as a group of instincts hailing from animal ancestry, best understood by looking backward, and you can do him a limited account of good, and that at the cost of his humiliation. Consider him as a group of impulses tending forward to a will to be immortal, and you find material interests taken care of as incidents. Humanism can be fulfilled only in a world that sustains the zest of doing one's human job as a religious observance. This can continue only if the world is worth that kind of devotion. Humanism depends on a transfigured naturalism which is idealism.

In Hocking's appraisal human life as we find it, is not free, sacred, immortal. It must be made free; its sacredness must be conferred upon it; its immortality must be won. In these respects we are the creators of our own destinies: even beyond the humanistic limits, the world of our destiny shall be what we believe and make it.

The realistic mystic or mystical realist in Hocking expresses himself in the following manner in *Thoughts on Death and Life* (New York, 1937):

" To be able to give oneself wholeheartedly to the present one must be persistently aware that it is *not all*. One must rather be able to treat the present moment as if it were engaged in the business allotted to it by that total life which stretches indefinitely beyond."

" We must be realists in action, definite, analytical, responsible, critical, separating good and evil, refusing to palliate or be reconciled to the violence, cruelty, and callousness of the world, concentrated on the task on hand and its object as if they were all-important, as if experience were to have just such value as by these efforts we can extract from it and no more."

But there is another side in Hocking's evaluation.

" And then, when through the very vehemence of our concentration the value and sense of what we are doing leak away from it, as tends to happen at the end of every day's work, we must become mystics in order to renew that sense of the whole which can shed its value down again on the parts. We have to recover, by some art or other, what Mencius called our " child's heart " and what Lao Tze called *Tao*, the nameless simplicity of being and outlook which confers proportion, unity and wholeness upon the distraught fragments of endeavor. These are but other names for that aboriginal hold on ultimate reality which, the mystic rightly says, is inalienable from human selfhood."

Such idealism in the service of the real is as, we have seen on other occasions, a marked feature of Hocking's political ethics as propounded in *Man and the State* (New Haven, 1936).

Reviews and Notices of Books

Rome: Republic and Empire. Vol. II: The Empire. By H. W. Household, M.A. (Oxon.). Published by J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London. Price 3s. 6d. net.

In this neat little volume Mr. Household continues his efforts to retell in his attractive style the story of Rome, Republic and Empire, from the murder of Caesar down to the fall of the Western Empire in 476 A.D. As in his earlier volumes he "draws largely upon ancient authors" to make his description of men and events really vivid and his success to an extent in doing that is beyond doubt. It may be an exaggeration to say, as has been claimed in the front flap of the wrapper, that through his efforts, "Rome comes before us a living community as actual as the life of our own times," but at the same time it must be admitted that his narration evokes in the reader an interest for the subject, which prompts him to wend his way through the maze of this most difficult period in history, down to the very end of this volume.

However, in reviewing this small volume, one cannot help feeling, in spite of the author's attempt to tap the original sources, that it is more the work of a literary man than of a critical historian. Something seems to be lacking in the character sketches of Augustus, Trajan, Hadrian and such other eminent men who have been dealt with in this volume. From a perusal of it, it becomes difficult for one to form a critical estimate of the achievements of the great figures of this period. Their importance in the history of Rome gets lost in his narration of the many intrigues for political power, in his description of countless battles, in his stories of numerous murders. Mr. Household to an extent suffers from the same defect that he noticed in Suetonius' Biographies. Like him he gives us many anecdotes and gossips with no bearing on the history of the period. Thus the stories of Sejanus' intrigues might have been disposed of in a paragraph; the perfidious cruelty of Caligula need not have been illustrated by an anecdote from Seneca—the details, which have been furnished of many of these atrocities would have served the same purpose. Such instances can be multiplied.

When I opened this book I had a fond hope that perhaps this book would solve our difficulty in finding a suitable text-book of this period for our students. But my hope has not been fulfilled. Apart from increasing the bulk of the book with unnecessary details and stories and apart from its general uncritical character, it contains anecdotes and information which a text-book for immature young people should not possess. Thus the story of Caligula's consorting with his sister or the story *re* the divorces of Augustus or the indelicate hint that "Augustus was perhaps the father of Drusus, though Nero owned him" has no place in a text-book of history meant for young people.

In spite of these drawbacks I believe that this volume will appeal very much to those readers who want to pick up for the first time an acquaintance with the history of this period without being bored by a too critical, matter-of-fact atmosphere, which pervades for example the history of the Peloponnesian War of Thucydides.

S. B.

Nadir Shah. By L. Lockhart. Luzac & Co., 1938.

This is a very valuable work for those interested in Persian and Indian history. In this volume is narrated in great detail the romantic story of the shepherd boy who overthrew the Safari dynasty and became the master of Persia, conquered Kandahar, Ghazni and Kabul and overran India. Nadir Shah was one of those scourges of humanity who have from time to time, like meteors in the sky, appeared in the firmament of history, as if from nowhere, brought ruin and devastation to nations and altered the destiny of empires. He has not only left his mark in the history of Persia but by contributing to the downfall of the declining Mughal Empire altered the history of India.

As a general and a conqueror Nadir Shah is in the direct line of such supermen as Alexander the Great and Napoleon. But he lacked their administrative capabilities and width of political outlook. There are more points of similarity, as the author points out, with Tamerlane. "Both Timur and Nadir," says Dr. Lockhart, "were men of little education..... they each had unusually retentive memories. Both were intensely ambitious and adventurous and were possessed of real military genius; lastly, both were merciless to evil-doers." But there are important points of contrast. "Timur exerted himself to encourage trade and industry, and sought by means of his conquest to open up new trade-routes, Nadir paid little attention to commerce and had no thought for the economic welfare of his subjects. Secondly, Timur strove to further the spread of Islam, but Nadir took no such action....."

India remembers Nadir Shah as the man who sacked Delhi, carried away the Peacock Throne together with immense treasures accumulated by Mughals in nearly two hundred years, and bled her white. The career and character of a man, who to contemporaries must have been like the memory of a nightmare cannot fail to interest Indians for generations.

Dr. Lockhart is a person eminently suited to tackle this important biography. A first class Cambridge graduate in Oriental Languages Tripos, he also served a long time in Iran and acquired an intimate knowledge of the country, its people and its language. With this equipment he has applied himself for years to the study of this subject and gone into a vast mass of material, original and secondary on Nadir Shah and his times. The result has been a reliable and comprehensive work on the subject.

A. P. D.-G.

Oxford Economic Papers, October, 1938. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

This is the first number of a serial publication, primarily intended as a channel for publishing the results of research work in economics carried on in the University of Oxford. It contains five articles, all of which will be found useful by the professional economists. The first article, "The significance of the Rate of Interest" by Mr. H. D. Henderson, is particularly interesting as well as instructive. The second article is a summary of the replies given by business men to the questions addressed by the Oxford Economists' Research Group regarding the actual influence of the rate of interest on business activities. The third is an attempt to construct an Index of the physical amount of goods and services traded between 1919 and 1936. In the fourth article Mr. A. J. Brown attempts to see if the "liquidity-preference schedule" of Keynes can be used as an instrument

of statistical analysis. The fifth and last deals with a tentative statistical measure for mobility of labour.

The last three articles are statistical and may not be intelligible to the general readers. But they will certainly find the first two articles easy-reading as well as stimulating.

How Shall We Define Luxury ? By G. R. Agaskar, B.A., LL.B. Bombay, 1938. Price Rs. 4-4.

The author jots down here a lot of his crude economic thinkings, with the main object of defending the capitalists against the attack of the socialists. Capitalists are not responsible for the poverty and unemployment, either of "the educated" or of the masses. Poverty is due to "the paucity of food-stuffs," clothing and other necessities. The solution of poverty as well as unemployment "really and truly lies in the production of essential Luxuries and necessities." The solution of unemployment "lies not in finding employment for the unemployed, but in providing luxuries for them." Herein the author finds the noble rôle of the capitalists. "Do not frown on them, do not be jealous of them, do not look down upon them, but rather look at them as saviours. It is they who have the means to turn their attention to the production of additional products or wealth, and by doing so, give employment to the unemployed."

So the author advises: Produce more—more luxuries and semi-necessities, for people's demand for things like food is limited by the capacity of their stomachs. And the author is sure that this additional product "must find its way" to the poor. How? He does not know: "the economists be best left to work out how it will tend to do so."

The learned advocate-author blissfully forgets the fact that under the present system of production, no private capitalist, even amongst his "noble-minded" ones, can normally produce little or much, unless it promises him adequate profit. Nor does his mind turn to the question: Why is it that production and employment have to depend on the capitalists?

The author's thoughts are economically immature, and expressions dull and boring.

P. C. GHOSH

Reality and Value. By A. Cambell Gamett. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. Price 12s. 6d.

"An introduction to Metaphysic and an essay on the Theory of Value," the work aims at a new interpretation of our normative experiences against a background of metaphysical realism and a voluntaristic conception of the self as will to active self-expression. The first half of the work is mainly epistemological and is intended, according to the author, as a preliminary to the psychological analysis of value-experience which occupies the main body of the second half. In the Preface the author describes his position as "a type of Critical Realism akin to the views of Kemp Smith, Stout and Whitehead." The author's epistemological views may be stated briefly as follows:—

Experience is bipolar involving an experiencing subject and an object of experience. To explain the objective aspect of experience we must posit a threefold non-temporal objective continuum which (following Whitehead) we may call the Eternal Object. The threefold objective continuum of the Eternal Object comprises undifferentiated space, undifferentiated sense and undifferentiated value. Time as "the mind of the Universe" differentiates the objective continuum into space-time, *sensa* and values. Time operating in space gives rise to space-time which is the stuff of the material world. Operating in living beings time is space-free and is then known as Mind. Time, however, does not account for the order in the world. Time explains the diversity, while the order in the physical world which appears as increase of entropy may be explained as being due to space. But besides the order in the physical world which appears as a tendency to disintegration, we have a different kind of order manifest in living beings and minds. It is the order which we recognise as the constructive tendency of life and mind and which we distinguish as teleological. To explain this we must posit yet another non-temporal factor which we may call the Eternal Agent or Eternal Will. Both in space and in life and mind, time may be conceived as an expression of the Eternal Agent. In space the expression of time is relatively rigid, is responsive only to other space-time, and appears as a tendency to expansion without limit. It is otherwise, however, in life and time. Here time expresses itself as non-spatial, as constructive or integrative and as responsive not only to space-time but also to *sensa* and values. "When the eternal form of will gives expression to itself in temporal process, this process, operating in space, becomes *motion*; expression itself upon space-time, and responding to *sensa* and values, it is *conation*. Thus time transforms the abstract Form of Will.....into a self or selves.....It is time, the Mind of the World, that transforms the Eternal Object into minds and the things they mind."

Space, *sensa* and values are the qualities which the time-process differentiates into their various forms. Space, apart from time is a mere potential: it is concretely realised as space-time. Time in its more complex operation as mental activity not only realises space-time but also *sensa* and values. *Sensa* together with space-time constitute the objects which function in the presentation of values. Thus we come to speak of space-time as primary quality, *sensa* as secondary qualities and values as tertiary qualities. The three qualities constitute the whole world of our experience, but our world, the author adds, is always a particular perspective, i.e., existence selected and arranged from a particular viewpoint. Hence the values belonging to the world from a particular perspective may look different in a different perspective. Every perspective, however, requires interpretation if it is to guide actions required to change the perspective in a desired way. Such interpretation implies an understanding not merely of the details conditioning the particular perspective in question but also of the general principles governing its type or kind. A general theory of value elucidates these broad, general principles involved in the interpretation of every value perspective. An analysis of the conditions of value experience, the author adds, must not be taken as an explanation of the values themselves. "Values are objective. They are differentiated by our conative activity from an objective value-continuum. There could be no common ground in our value-experience, if that continuum was not common to us all and if its peculiarities were not definite. ...The value-scale, therefore, is integral to the nature of the Eternal Object. Our volitional activity discovers values that are there; it does not create them."

In regard to the psychological problem, the author's main thesis is that the normative character of our value-experiences can be explained only on the hypothesis that the value-experience arises as the mutual effect of a primary and a secondary will." "Value is experienced," says the author, "when primary and secondary will work together, disvalue when they are at cross-purposes." Errors in value-judgment are "due to value-blindness and to misunderstanding of the relation of the value-element in experience to other data." The author's treatment of the different varieties of value-experience (logical, aesthetic, moral or religious) is highly suggestive and interesting, and though the reader may not be inclined to agree with his voluntaristic interpretation of the self and of value-experience, he will find much that is instructive and original in the author's analysis.

If any comment is called for on the author's views, it is that they betray an unjustifiable bias towards voluntarism for which the author's premises provide no legitimate warrant. Even granting that the Eternal Agent reveals itself as a constructive, teleological tendency in the domain of life and mind, it is not at all clear why a constructive, integrative tendency should point to an Eternal Will rather than to an Eternal Idea or Notion in the Hegelian sense. The unity of a logical whole is obviously better suited to act the part of a *rationale* for the concrete unities of experience than an aimless will groping its way blindly without forethought and without discerning foresight. And the criticism applies with even great force to the author's voluntaristic interpretation of the self as a will to harmonious self-expression in activity constantly directed to new objects. To talk of *harmonious* self-expression as the self's fundamental interest and yet to discount the logical demand of unity as the driving force in the self's activity is neither consistent nor in keeping with the facts. It may be remarked also that in the absence of any precise definition of the relation between the Eternal Agent and the Eternal Object the author's case for a realistic metaphysic remains an unproven assumption.

S. K. MAITRA

Ourselfes

[I. Budget Meeting of the Senate.—II. Portrait of Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary unveiled.—III. Professor S. N. Sen goes on leave.—IV. Grant of Aid to the Children's Fresh Air and Excursion Society.—V. Appointment of an Extension Lecturer.—VI. Lectures by Dr. N. K. Bose.—VII.—Dr. Maria Montessori to visit India.—VIII. Imperial Council of Agricultural Research on Prof. Mukherjee's Scheme relating to Coastal Soils.—IX. President, Medical Council of India, to visit Calcutta.—X. Re-nomination of a Fellow of the University.—XI. Interim Membership of the Syndicate.—XII. Islamia College, Calcutta.—XIII. Cotton College, Gauhati.—XIV. Carmichael Medical College, Belgachia.—XV. Beereswar Mitra Medal for 1940.—XVI. Nagarjuna Prize for the year 1938.—XVII. Report on the Matriculation Examination, 1939.—XVIII. Report on the M.B. Examination, 1939.—XIX. Degree Course in Metallurgy.—XX. Premchand Roychand Studentship in Scientific Subjects for 1938.]

I. BUDGET MEETING OF THE SENATE

The Budget meeting of the Senate was held on 24th June, 1939.

“The financial position of the University during the current year is highly satisfactory,” said Mr. Ramaprasad Mookerjee, presenting the budget estimates for 1939-40 of the University.

The Income from the following sources totals the sum of Rs. 41,35,487:—Publications, Government grants, Calcutta Review, Interest, Rent, P.G. Teaching Fund, etc.

The Appointments Board has been made a permanent charge on the University at the end of two years during which it functioned on a tentative basis.

The Senate has decided to open undergraduate courses in Geography at a fee of Rs. 4 per month for Pass and Rs. 5 per month for Honours classes. The classes will be held in the evening.

Provision has been made in the new Budget for strengthening the Applied Section of the Psychology Department where Teachers of the Training Department will undergo training, which will bring them into intimate touch with the actualities of life. Money has also been set apart for reorganising the Physiology and Bio-Chemistry Departments.

II. PORTRAIT OF SIR DEVAPRASAD SARVADHIKARY UNVEILED

The portrait of the late Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary, presented to the University by his daughter Mrs. Niharbala Mitra, was unveiled

by the Vice-Chancellor, the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Aziz-ul Huque, on the 24th June last. There was a distinguished gathering at the Senate House to witness the ceremony.

In unveiling the portrait the Vice-Chancellor made reference to Sir Devaprasad's personal achievements and the renown of the family of which he was a distinguished member. He was a veteran educationist whose fame extended to the whole province. He was made Vice-Chancellor of the University in recognition of his services in the field of higher education. His career with its eminent success, the Vice-Chancellor said, would not fail to inspire his countrymen.

* * *

III. PROFESSOR S. N. SEN GOES ON LEAVE

Professor S. N. Sen, M.A., PH.D., B.LITT. (Oxon.), has been granted leave without pay for six months with effect from the 12th June, 1939. He was one of the Local Secretaries to the Indian History Congress to be held in Calcutta, next winter. He has resigned this office in view of the fact that he will be away from Calcutta at that time. His place has been filled up by the appointment of Mr. Susobhanchandra Sarkar, M.A. (Oxon.) and Mr. Jogeschandra Chakravorti, M.A. as Joint Local Secretaries.

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IV. GRANT OF AID TO THE CHILDREN'S FRESH AIR AND EXCURSION SOCIETY

The Children's Fresh Air and Excursion Society which arranges excursions under competent teachers to take poor school-going children out of Calcutta twice a year—once during the Pujah holidays and again during the Summer, has received the sum of Rs. 100 from the University on condition that the money be spent for the benefit of boys reading in schools recognised by the University.

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V. APPOINTMENT OF AN EXTENSION LECTURER

Mr. A. K. Saha, Engineer Physicist (U.S.S.R.), who has been responsible for numerous inventions in chemical engineering in Russia,

has been appointed an Extension Lecturer to deliver a course of Lectures on " Fuels and Furnaces."

* * *

VI. LECTURES BY DR. N. K. BOSE

Dr. N. K. Bose, Assistant Director of Irrigation, Research Department of the Punjab, who has been invited by the Bengal Government to assist them in the planning of a Hydrodynamical Research Laboratory for Bengal, will deliver a series of lectures under the auspices of the University. The subject of these lectures will be announced later.

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VII. DR. MARIA MONTESSORI TO VISIT INDIA

The University has been informed that Dr. Maria Montessori will visit India in October this year and will deliver lectures before Universities and other learned bodies during her proposed stay of six months in this country. Our University has decided to arrange for the delivery of a course of lectures by her on the new methods of teaching associated with her name.

* * *

VIII. IMPERIAL COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH ON PROF. MUKHERJEE'S SCHEME RELATING TO COASTAL SOILS

The Imperial Council of Agriculture has sanctioned the scheme of Professor J. N. Mukherjee for work on problems connected with Coastal Soils, laying down certain terms and conditions according to which the work may be conducted. The University has conveyed to Government its approval of these terms and conditions as well as of the appointments made in this connexion.

* * *

IX. PRESIDENT, MEDICAL COUNCIL OF INDIA, TO VISIT CALCUTTA

The President, Medical Council of India, will visit Calcutta towards the end of July, 1939, in response to an invitation of the

University and inspect the Medical Colleges affiliated to it with a view to placing certain new facilities at their disposal.

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X. RE-NOMINATION OF A FELLOW OF THE UNIVERSITY

Professor M. Z. Siddiqi, M.A., PH.D. (Cantab.), has been re-nominated an Ordinary Fellow of the University with effect from the 26th May, 1939, when his present term of office expired. He has been attached to the Faculty of Arts and his membership of the different Boards of Studies and Committees has been renewed.

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XI. INTERIM MEMBERSHIP OF THE SYNDICATE

The Dean of the Faculty of Medicine has nominated Mr. M. N. Bose, M.B., C.M. (Edin.), F.S.M.F. (Bengal), to act as a Member of the Syndicate during the temporary vacancy caused by the absence of Dr. B. C. Roy from town.

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XII. ISLAMIA COLLEGE, CALCUTTA

The Islamia College, Calcutta, has been granted affiliation in Geography up to the I.A. and I.Sc. standard with effect from the session 1939-40 in addition to the subjects it is already teaching.

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XIII. COTTON COLLEGE, GAUHATI

The Cotton College, Gauhati, has been granted affiliation in Assamese as Second Language for women students to the I.A. standard extending its present teaching arrangements, with effect from the session 1939-40.

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XIV. CARMICHAEL MEDICAL COLLEGE, BELGACHIA

The Carmichael Medical College, Belgachia, has been affiliated to the Calcutta University in English, Bengali, Chemistry, Physics,

Mathematics, Botany, Zoology and Biology to the I.Sc. standard with effect from the ensuing session.

* * *

XV. BEERESWAR MITRA MEDAL FOR 1940

The following subject has been selected for the Beereswar Mitra Medal for the year 1940 :—

“ Gold Exports from India since 1931.”

* * *

XVI. NAGARJUNA PRIZE FOR THE YEAR 1938

The Nagarjuna Prize and Medal for the year 1938 have been awarded to Mr. Phanindrachandra Datta, M.Sc., on his thesis on “ Studies on the Selinene Group,” which he submitted along with other papers.

* * *

XVII. REPORT ON THE MATRICULATION EXAMINATION, 1939

The number of candidates registered for the Matriculation Examination held in March, 1939, was 44,587 (including those in special subjects), of whom 308 were absent and 17 disallowed.

The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 44,270 of whom 120 were expelled.

The number of candidates who passed the examination is 26,433 of whom 7,333 passed in the First Division, 13,448 in the Second, and 5,652 in the Third Division. The number of candidates who have passed in one subject is 97.

The percentage of passes is 59.95. (The percentage of passes in 1938 was 78.7).

The results of a number of candidates have been withheld pending further enquiry into their cases.

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XVIII. REPORT ON THE M.B. EXAMINATION, 1939

The number of candidates registered for the Preliminary Scientific M.B. Examination, held in April, 1939, was 212 of whom 147 passed, 60 failed, 4 were absent and 1 expelled.

The number of candidates registered for the First M.B. Examination, held in April, 1939, was 175, of whom 108 passed, 66 failed and 1 was absent.

Of the successful candidates 1 obtained Honours in Anatomy and 2 in Physiology. Roll Cal. 145 has been recommended for a Gold Medal in Physiology.

The number of candidates registered for the Second M.B. Examination, held in April, 1939, was 139 of whom 84 passed, 51 failed, and 2 were absent. Of the successful candidates 4 obtained Honours in Pathology. Roll Cal. 76 has been recommended for a Gold Medal in Pathology.

The number of candidates registered for the Third M.B. Examination, held in April, 1939, was 151 of whom 101 passed, 49 failed and 1 was expelled. Of the successful candidates none obtained Honours and accordingly no recommendation was made for the award of a Gold Medal.

The number of candidates registered for the Final M.B. Examination, held in April, 1939, was 261 of whom 99 passed, 158 failed and 4 were absent. Of the successful candidates 1 obtained Honours in Surgery and was recommended for a Gold Medal on the subject (Cal. 152).

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XIX. DEGREE COURSE IN METALLURGY

The Government has sanctioned the introduction of a Degree course in Metallurgy under the University. The examination will be held annually. The course for the Degree of Bachelor of Metallurgy shall be for three years and the examination shall be divided into three Sections—Section A, Section B and the Final Examination. Any undergraduate of the University may be admitted to this examination provided he has prosecuted a regular course of study in a college affiliated to the University to the B.Met. standard for three academical years after passing the Intermediate Examination in Science with Chemistry, Physics and Mathematics or for two academical years after passing the Bachelor of Science Examination with Chemistry, Physics and Mathematics, in which case he shall be exempted from Section A Examination. Syllabus and other particulars regarding the

examination will be found in Chapter LII-A, of the University Regulations.

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XX. PREMCHAND ROYCHAND STUDENTSHIP IN SCIENTIFIC
SUBJECTS FOR 1938.

The Premchand Roychand Studentship in Scientific subjects for 1938 has been awarded to Mr. Mukundamurari Chakrabarti, M.Sc. and Dr. Satyacharan Chatterjee, D.Sc. Mr. Chakrabarti submitted a thesis entitled "Studies in Parasitic Protozoa." Mr. Chatterjee's thesis was on "The Floristic Elements of the Flora of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and their Origin."

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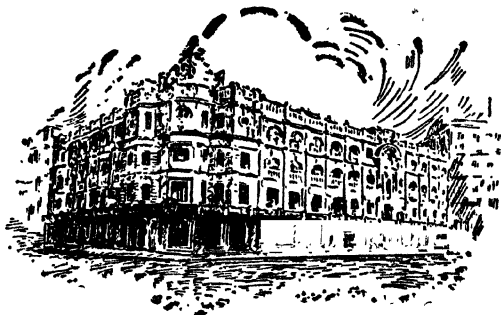
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D. N. Bose's Hosiery

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PRE-HISTORY AND PROTO-HISTORY OF ASIA

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Delegate, International Congress of Anthropology and Pre-historic Archaeology, Istanbul.

IN course of our survey of the Indo-Pacific domain we were repeatedly confronted with the problems of Early Man in Asia. A new chapter in the study of Asiatic pre-history was opened with the discovery in 1890 of the *Pithecanthropus Erectus* or the Java Man by Eugene Dubois. The fossil mammals that were discovered by him along with the Trinil skull were placed by Dubois as early as the Pleistocene age. But he changed his opinion with regard to the actual skull which he supposed was that of an anthropoid ape allied to the gibbon and not to a man. But his original theory has been confirmed by the eminent Dutch Palaeontologist G. H. R. von Koenigswald (*A Review of the Stratigraphy of Java and its relation to Early Man*, 1937). After a searching scientific analysis of the materials Dr. Koenigswald came to the significant conclusion that the age of the Trinil culture was Middle Pleistocene and that it was preceded by an earlier culture represented by *Homo Modjo-kertensis* whose fossil bones have been discovered near Modjokerto, west of Surabaya. He further adds that

the fauna as well as the stone implements of Java of these epochs and of the Siwalik and the Narbada valley "will make for good correlations between the Pleistocene of Java and India."

In 1931, the late Mr. C. ter Haar of the Dutch Geological Survey discovered various remains of fossil men near Ngandong on the Solo river. This new Solo Man is reported to show the greatest affinities to the Rhodesia Man from South Africa. Thus not only the fossil bones but the stone implements also show a wide distribution of early human cultures extending from South Africa to Java; and although the so-called Australoid Wadjak Man of Dubois has not been admitted as coming from the Pleistocene age, yet a similar Australoid population of the Neolithic period is now known to have connected Java with Australia.

In the light of these discoveries we may read profitably the paper of Prof. D. S. Davidson of the University of Pennsylvania (*The Antiquity of Man in the Pacific and the Question of Trans-Pacific Migrations*, 1937). He opines that towards the end of the Pleistocene age with its characteristic fauna the *Dingo*, the Proto-Australoid people (probably represented by the Wadjak remains) lived in Java and passed through Java into Australia where we find the lack of bow and arrow, of pottery, horticulture and domestication of animals. Thus the proto-Australians probably departed from South-Eastern Asia before the above cultural traits were developed. After these Australoids of the Early Recent period came the Negroids in the Middle Recent epoch and these people, according to Davidson, appear not to have possessed water-craft capable of extended journeys on the open sea (*Davidson: Journal of the Polynesian Society*, No. 44, 1935). Thus we find that the Negritos, Papuans and Melanesians (all descending from the black races) "confined their colonization to a chain of islands few of which are separated by straits more than 50 miles in width at present sea level."

After the Melanesians there appear on the Pacific horizon the Mongoloid Indonesian races who colonised Micronesia and Polynesia—far-off zones of the North Pacific "which could be reached only in Ocean-going water-craft capable of extended sea journeys." Although lengthy coastwise journeys were known to be common in earlier times, when we scrutinize the evidence from early peoples like the Egyptians and the Indians we find that "ocean navigation was not prominent until sometime during the 1st millennium B.C.," which marked the transition

from the pre-historic to the proto-historic chapter of Asiatic culture. Thanks to the hoary antiquity of the Peking Man and the Java Man which we have already described and also of the Rhodesia Man and of the Mount Carmel Man of Palestine, Western scholars are approaching Asia and Africa with a new spirit of awe and expectation. They are inclined to place the Palaeolithic and the Mesolithic cultures only in the real *pre-historic* group, relegating the Neolithic and the Chalcolithic cultures, to the *proto-historic* epoch. But while the culture of the pre-historic man in this sense is more or less correlated with geochronology, thanks to the painstaking and scientific analysis of geologists, palaeontologists and pre-historians, the chronology and diffusion of neolithic and chalcolithic cultures appear obscure, complicated and apparently in disjointed series of evolution. This was very candidly admitted by even an expert archaeologist like Dorothy Garrord of Cambridge who was the Director of the Joint Expedition of the American School of Pre-historic Research and the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. In a brilliant paper (*The Near East as a Gateway of Pre-historic Migration*, 1937), she gives the following summary of the pre-historic cultures of Western Asia which resembled on general lines Western Europe. In the early palaeolithic age Palestine and Syria resembled the Upper Acheulian culture of Western Europe. In the Middle Palaeolithic epoch, African influence predominated spreading somewhat eastward. But with the upper or late palaeolithic stage Asiatic influence gained the upper hand and persisted into the Mesolithic period. Thus South Africa with its Rhodesia Man has come to throw a new light on the Aurignacean and Magdalenian cultures of Western Europe and the grand pictorial and artistic traditions of the latter are being examined anew in the light of the Bushmen paintings of the South and of the migration of Caspian culture through North Africa into South Europe specially in the Iberian Peninsula which is the veritable Paradise for pre-historians. They have boldly broken the taboo of "untouchability" prevailing between Black Africa and White Europe.

But if this cultural relation between Africa and Europe, in the Stone age, is still only partially admitted, the contact and collaboration between Africa and Asia are beyond any shade of doubt. If the Rhodesia Man and the Java Man with their respective cultures are at present but vaguely equated, there cannot be any doubt as to the existence of the dark races (pure or mixed) and their distri-

bution in Asia. The Negritos spread over South India, Malay Peninsula and the Philippine islands; the Papuans were in the heart of New Guinea and the Melanesians reached the far-off New Caledonia. When or whether these Negroids mixed with some other races to form the Australoids and discovered the biggest island in the world is not definitely known. But the proto-Australoids (including the Veddas of Ceylon and possibly a few other South Indian races) and the Negroids follow strikingly parallel lines in their cultural expansion from the Indian Ocean right up to Melanesia and Australasia. Already Heine-Geldern (*Anthropos*, 1932) suggested a chronological limit of about 1500 B.C. when the Negroids (who followed the Negritos) came to be dominated over by the Mongoloid Indonesian peoples who, as we have observed, were the first to colonize Micronesia and Polynesia, thanks to their progress in ocean-going water-craft. We have noticed also that during the 1st millennium B.C., Ocean-navigation came to be prominent for the first time as observed by Davidson. While the early Vedic texts offer little conclusive evidence with regard to the familiarity of the Indians with the Ocean and Ocean-navigation, these come to be more and more conspicuous in later Vedic and Epic literatures. The Indonesian world and Java are clearly mentioned in the *Ramayana*. From the geographical data in Indian books like the *Arlhasastra* and from *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* and *Ptolemy's Geography* we can definitely conclude that the centuries immediately before and after Christ were marked by a phenomenal development in Ocean-navigation. Navigators from India together with the Indian merchants (Vaisyas), Kshatriyas and Brahmins were real pioneers in the Western Pacific founding big and prosperous kingdoms in Indo-China (Champa and Kamboje) and Insulipdia (Sumatra, Java, Borneo and Celebes). It was in this Indonesian field of Greater Indian civilization that the ancestors of the Micronesians and Polynesians probably derived their earliest culture and their inspiration and technique of Ocean-navigation which enabled them to explore the Pacific from the Hawaii Islands in the North to New Zealand in the South and to the Easter Islands facing South America in the farthest East.* This expansion, however, was in the historic epoch extending over

* The advent of the Aryan-looking Caucasoid Polynesians synchronised very significantly with the eastward expansions of the Melanesians right up to Fiji and also with the northward movement of the Malayas who are now admitted to be a mixture of the primitive South-Asiatic races with the Mongoloid and thus may be a branch of the Mongoloid Indonesians preceding

about one thousand years from the earliest Indian inscriptions in Indonesia (*circa* 4th century A.D.) to the landing of the Maories in New Zealand (*circa* 14th century A.D.).

But Australasia in the Proto-historic and Pre-historic periods negotiated very closely with far-off North China—the cradle of the Peking Man who is considered by several pre-historians, as a distant cousin of the Java Man. The most sensational discovery in the domain of the recent pre-historic studies is the progressive correlation of the Pleistocene fauna of North China and of Java. This has been clearly demonstrated by the eminent French pre-historian Père P. Teilhard de Chardin (*The Pleistocene of China: Stratigraphy and Correlations*, 1937). He showed that the faunal analogies between the Equus-bearing lake-deposits of North China and the Equus beds of India (in upper Siwaliks: Tatrot and Pinjor) and of Western Europe are quite clear and convincing. He also showed that the Middle Pleistocene of North China corresponds to similar beds of Java “which are almost actually linked with the *Sinanthropus* beds by a chain of *Stegodon*-bearing fissures from Java to the Yang-Tze river basin through Indo-China.” It is also significant that these synchronised beds of China, Java, India and Western Europe contained “the first sure traces of man” (*vide De Terra: Cenozoic Cycles in Asia and their Bearing on Human Pre-history, Proc. Ame. Phil. Soc., Vol. 77, No. 3, 1937*). The cultural commerce between Java in South Asia and the Siwalik and Choukoutien beds in North Asia was mainly carried on by the land route through Malay Peninsula and Indo-China where many Pre-historic relics have already been discovered and more will be forthcoming.

We are not sure, however, whether the cultural movement in this remote stone age of Asia was from the South to the North or *vice versa*. But there is no doubt whatsoever as to the dominant rôle of the Mongoloid races in the peopling of America. Exactly at what particular stage of the Stone age culture this migration to the New World took place, there is no chance of knowing definitely. Only one thing is sure that all attempts to prove the existence of a non-Asiatic New World Man (*Homo Novus Mundus*) have been frustrated, as shown by Dr. Ales Hrdlicka of the United States National Museum, in his paper “*Early Man in America: What have the Bones to Say, 1937.*” The Vero finds on the Atlantic coast in central eastern Florida, the Folsom deposits in New Mexico and Colorado no doubt mark

a new departure in the study of American origins. They have added new chapters on Folsom-yma cultures which grew with the appearance of the first Mongoloid ancestor of the American Indians towards the end of the Pleistocene or Holocene epoch. H. J. Spinden, in his suggestive paper "*First Peopling of America as a Chronological Problem*," 1937, observes that from the point of view of chronology, the Mongoloid migration into America may be as late as the Neolithic age for the artefacts and implements of Early Man in America bear the mark of "relatively advanced neolithic arts with the flint knife and the stone axe as accepted symbols." He is also of the opinion that the culture was transferred to America *via* the Siberia-Alaskan bridge. According to Spinden, the ancestral cultures of the American Indian could be traced into neolithic cemeteries near lake Baikal where polished celts, chisels, knives, etc., are found along with harpoon points, fish-hooks, bone-saws and daggers, basket-marked pottery and copper objects—many of which could be compared with the cultural finds of America where Folsom and yma blades show a skill in chipping unequalled during the Mesolithic period.

As regards the route of migration, Spinden points to the way of the Amur river and the coast and also to the water-road from lake Baikal, along the river Lena to the East Cape. East Cape in Asia is only 56 miles from the Cape Mountain of America and in between there are three rocky islands in the Behring Strait so that there is every possibility of crossing, the longest stretch of open water being only 25 miles. This was pointed out by P. S. Smith, Chief Alaskan Geologist, who observed that Alaska in those early days might have been an attractive land and that "the fossil remains of its then existing flora and fauna show that it could well have supplied the wants of many migrant people passing through or dwelling within it." Thus in tracing the earliest cultural relations of America with the outside world we are driven to the study of the early man and fauna of Eastern Asia. In course of the last ten years of intensive exploration and study following the discovery of the Peking Man, North-Eastern Asia has suddenly assumed a position of unique importance; for here we not only meet probably the earliest ancestor of man but also a clear sequence of cultures—Palæolithic, Mesolithic, Neolithic and Chalcolithic—such as is rarely to be found in any other country of Asia. The discovery of the *Yang-Shao* civilization of the third millennium B.C., its possible connections with the culture of Anau (Turkistan) of Tripolji

(South Russia) and of the Baltic passage are forcing us to revise many of our theories with regard to the cultural migrations from Asia to Europe, specially towards the end of the Neolithic age when Chalcolithic civilization like that of Mahenjo-daro and Harappa, Susa and Kish opened new chapters in the proto-history of Asia.

The Indus valley people of the 3rd millenium B.C. are now known to be in close cultural relations with Mesopotamia and even with far off Egypt as recently shown by Earnest Mackay. In his latest excavation reports he draws our attention to the oblique-eyed Mongolian figurines which go to strengthen the finding of Dr. B. S. Guha who identified the solitary Mongoloid skull discovered so far in the Indus-valley. So in the Chalcolithic age, possibly as early as the 4th millennium B.C., India was negotiating with the Mongolian world where the Neolithic antiquity may reach as high as 10,000 B.C. Beyond that stretches the, as-yet-indefinite from the point of view of time but culturally clear-cut, sequences of the Palaeolithic age and culture. To the partial elucidation of the problems of those remote ages three pre-historians—H. de Terra, P. Teilhard and T. T. Paterson—collaborated on the Siwalik finds announcing the summary of their results in 1936 through the scientific periodicals *Nature* and *Science*. The earliest Stone-age culture of India is represented by the hand-axe technique of Madras and the old Stone-age peoples may have migrated from South India into Central India where in the Narbada valley have been found Middle Pleistocene tools and fauna which gradually extended through the Ganges and Jamuna valleys to North-Western India right up to the Himalayan hills. These valuable conclusions which gave a new significance to the early history of India were the results of the scientific explorations under Dr. Hellmut de Terra in the Siwalik hills under the auspices of Yale University, the Carnegie Institute of Washington and the American Philosophical Society. The first valuable paper, "*The Siwaliks of India and Early Man*," was communicated by Dr. de Terra to the *Symposium* (March, 1937) on *Early Man* published in commemoration of the 125th anniversary of the foundation of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. Most of the papers that I have quoted in this article are chapters of this remarkable volume edited by Dr. George Grant MacCurdy, Director of the American School of Prehistoric Research. Two years later, the sixth Pacific Science Congress at Berkeley, California, is going to arrange another Symposium in August on "*Early Man in Asia and the Pacific*

Regions." Our esteemed friend and colleague Dr. B. S. Guha of the Indian Museum has been invited to contribute to the discussions at Berkeley as well as to the forthcoming International Congress of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archæology to be held at Istanbul in September. Through such scientific conferences the attention of the expert pre-historians of the Western universities will naturally be drawn towards the pre-historic culture of India and of Asia. But it is high time that our own universities and learned societies, official as well as non-official, should wake up to the needs of exploring systematically the undeservedly neglected pre-historic and proto-historic culture zones of India. This has been strongly advocated by Sir Leonard Woolley in his latest report on the Archæological Department of India; and endorsing fully his opinion with regard to that chapter of our history, I conclude this article by appealing to my countrymen to build up the first *Musée de l'Homme* (Museum of Man) and the first *Institute of Prehistoric Research* in India. The Geological, the Zoological and the Archæological Surveys of India, collaborating with our various universities and learned societies, may easily develop such a Museum and an Institute attracting the necessary funds and scientific collaboration from India and abroad.

INDUSTRIAL PLANNING AND ECONOMIC AUTARCHY

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CONSIDERABLE confusion prevails in India in regard to the use of the three following terms: (1) Industrial Revolution, (2) Industrial Planning and (3) Industrialization

Industrial Revolution has not been achieved in India as yet. The existence of several big industries in India does not prove that we have consummated our Industrial Revolution, just as single swallows do not make a summer. A necessity of the hour is an estimate of India's present position in comparison with that of other industrial countries. It should be possible to establish some equations of comparative economics on the basis of chronological distances. One is likely to be convinced that—

India is some	90—100	years behind	Britain,
„ „ „	70— 80	„ „	Germany,
„ „ „	50— 60	„ „	France,
„ „ „	40— 50	„ „	Japan and Italy.

This may be proved by the indices of technocracy, railway business, insurance, premium, bank-capital and industrial output, etc., per head of population and per square mile of territory.¹

PLANNING: SOVIETIC AND NON-SOVIETIC

Dealing with the second category we should say that there are two types of "planning," the Sovietic and the non-Sovietic. Technocratically speaking, both these types are alike. They have a specific objective to be attained within a specific time-limit. Besides, each involves an earmarked budget of quite a few crores of rupees to be commandeered as almost a military necessity. Ideologically, however, there are fundamental differences, as the Soviet system allows no profiteering and indeed no profits at all. The non-Soviet

¹ See B. K. Sarkar: *Economic Development*, Vol. II (Calcutta, 1932, 1938).

or capitalistic type is best illustrated by Germany, Italy and Japan and to a certain extent also by America, Britain and France. But whether capitalistic or non-capitalistic, industrial planning presupposes a dictatorial and centralized drive for the fulfilment of the plan from the side of the state. It is essentially etatistic

One is entitled to ask: Where is the dictator in India today to serve and to command all the four hundred millions and commandeer all their resources that we talk glibly of "planning"? No Indian revolution has yet produced a Lenin or a Mussolini or a Hitler. And, of course, in India there is no Roosevelt or even Chamberlain, and indeed neither the *Front Populaire* of France nor the *Sei-yu-kai* party of Japan. Where, besides, are the crores of rupees to come from in order that they may be commandeered or earmarked with the object of operating the totalitarian plan? This also is a relevant query.

Economico-technocratically as well as socio-politically India is too far behind the modern world to employ the language of the latest economic strategy and tactics used by the industrial "adults" of mankind. India is still in some of the earlier stages of the first industrial revolution whereas the leading countries of Eur-America are consummating their second industrial revolution. Indian economic statesmanship should have to be satisfied as a rule with the categories prevalent among the pioneering and go-ahead sections of the Eur-Americans, say, some 60 to 75 years ago, when the very alphabet of "planning" was unknown and when indeed they had no dictators, capitalistic or non-capitalistic. But, of course, should some of the Indian intellectuals want to indulge in the luxury of displaying their acquaintance with the up-to-date words and phrases of present-day Eur-America, hyper-industrialized as some of its countries happen to be, they are at liberty to write learned monographs on the far-off divine event towards which India may somehow some day be made to move. Such monographs may be appreciated as contributions to Indian economic speculation.

INDUSTRIALIZATION: A COMPREHENSIVE CATEGORY

So there remains the third item, Industrialization. This is a simple category implying nothing more than the establishment of new industries or the extension of the existing ones. It implies, besides, as a matter of course, the promotion of banking, insurance, foreign and

internal trade, shipping and other transport systems as well as the improvement of agriculture. Further, it is comprehensive enough to include cottage, small and medium industries, i.e., business organization on all scales. Every new factory or trading establishment or agricultural enterprise—be it with a capital of 500, 5,000, 50,000, 500,000 or 5,000,000—is a solid and effective contribution to the industrialization of India. There is no metaphysics in industrialism, and it excludes no economic activity. The primitive and elementary efforts of which the Indians are in the main capable at the present stage do not require such bombastic words as “industrial revolution” and “industrial planning.” The proper category is industrialization or economic development. A *Scheme of Economic Development for Young India*, furnished with minute details, was published by the present author in English and Bengali in the summer of 1925 and subsequently several times in various forms, and propagated through the dailies, weeklies and monthlies.

BENGALI AUTARCHY

So far as Bengal is concerned, it should be treated as an independent economic unit just as the Bengali people is known as an independent cultural unit. It is on a provincial basis that Indian economic planning—whatever it may mean—should be investigated and worked out. This does not imply that Bengal should separate herself from the All-India system. The place of the Bengali people in the Indian complex should be envisaged as similar to that of the French, Italians, Germans, etc., in European polity. We have to profit by the international agreements regarding rivers, railways, postal and other services, etc., by which the states of Europe co-operate with one another. But still France is France and Italy Italy. The European states maintain their economic self-sufficiency and each organizes its own planning on independent foundations inspite of the Anglo-French Entente, the Little Entente, the Franco-Russian-United Front, the Berlin-Rome Axis, and Pan-Europa or Pan-America ideologies. Bengal should try as far as possible to be economically autarchic according to the ideals of her glorious *Swadeshi* revolution of 1905. But she should make it a point also to join the All-India system of industry, finance, marketing, labour and defence. Bombay, Madras, the Punjab, Assam, indeed each one of the provinces ought to do the same, i.e., try to make herself autarchic in the first instance, and then look for All-Indian co-ordination, centraliza-

tion or federalization according to requirements. It ought to be emphasized that in order to avoid duplication and wastes as well as to promote rationalization All-India Boards will have to be instituted in all spheres and function permanently.

UNCONSCIOUS AUTARCHY

From the pre-historic times for thousands of years down to the discovery of America, nay, to the end of the eighteenth century, exports and imports between different countries of the world and even of the same continent were very little in quantity and variety and confined mostly to what might be described as the luxuries of life. Both in East and West every country, sometimes every village and every town, was economically self-sufficient. Autarchy was an actual fact of the economic conditions prevailing among the diverse tribes, races, or nations. The old-world, millennium-long autarchy may be described as unconscious autarchy.

MERCANTILIST, PROTECTIONIST AND SWADESHI AUTARCHIES

International trade, as we understand it today, is barely a fact of not more than a century or a century and a half. Exports and imports between countries or between continents and between the two Hemispheres have grown immensely since the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. The commercial tendency of mankind has been moving towards the establishment of a world-economy, *i.e.*, interdependence of regions, states or peoples in the requirements of daily life. But during this same period the theory and policy of autarchy has been no less prominent than the fact of unconscious autarchy during the primitive, ancient and medieval epochs. Autarchic ideology has been embodied, first, in the mercantilist concept of promoting exports with the object of importing gold, and secondly, in the protectionist tariff activities of Napoleon, Hamilton, List and others in Eur-America down to the *Swadeshi* movement of Bengal and other parts of India since 1905.

The autarchistic ideas associated with the *swadeshi* or national industry complex have been the most prominent features of the tariff policy of every country, old and new, since the end of the Great War. Autarchy has been the ideology as much of the Gosplans in Soviet Russia as of the non-Sovietic plans in other countries comprising the

protective and preferential customs duties of the British Empire-economy and the French Colonial Empire.

THE NEW AUTARCHY

The third phase of autarchy, which may really be described as a continuation of the second, is to be seen in the Italian economy since the Abyssinian War. Under the pressure of the "sanctions" or boycott exercised by the League of Nations Italy has been compelled to develop her economic possibilities to the farthest limit. Another instance of the latest form of autarchistic ideology and policy is furnished by Germany. Because of the high protective tariffs of the industrial nations, large, medium and small, which restrict the importation of German manufactured goods Germany has been forced on account especially of currency and exchange considerations to restrict the purchase of importation of foreign goods to the extent of her exports abroad. For instance, Germany can afford to buy more cotton from India in case India cares to buy more manufactured goods and machinery from Germany.

The new autarchy, as observed in Germany, does not base itself specifically on protectionism and high tariffs. Nor, of course, does it seek the splendid isolation such as was preached by the German philosopher Fichte in his *Der Geschlossene Handelsstaat* ("Closed Commercial State") in 1800. It attempts, on the other hand, to foster foreign trade by all means, bilateral agreements, barter systems, different kinds of currency, and what not.

AUTARCHY AN IMPOSSIBILITY

Autarchy as an ideal or as a fact is then almost eternal, no matter in what form. But in spite of mercantilism, protective tariffs, boycott movements, preferential treatment and restrictions on imports, every country has imported more and more from foreign countries. The volume and value of exports and imports have been growing tremendously from decade to decade during the last four or five generations. Commercial internationalism and world-economy have not been killed by the *swadeshi* movements of the nations. In other words, autarchy as a socio-economic fact has been becoming more and more of an impossibility under modern conditions.

AUTARCHY DESIRABLE AS A SLOGAN FOR INDIA

The economic reason for this situation is not far to seek. The values created by the trade between nations are quite substantial and are enjoyed by both the partners to the commercial transaction, although not always to the same extent. The mutuality of the benefits rendered and the furtherance of the development of undeveloped areas are two of the greatest consequences of international trade. They are well calculated in the future also to keep it going and to lead mankind further and further towards the solidier ties of world-economy. But "Buy *Swadeshi*," "Buy Indian," "Buy Bengali" ought by all means to be encouraged as a slogan, as an economic war-cry. The economic statesmen of India must know, however, how to adapt this autarchic idealism and nationalistic inspiration to the pressing demands of understanding between nations and agreements between regions in regard to finance, labour and goods.

EDUCATIONAL VALUE OF ATTEMPTS OF CLASSIFICATION AND MEASUREMENTS OF 'TEMPERAMENT'

SAMARENDRA NATH DAS, B.A., T.D. (Cantab.)

NOW-a-days intelligence and allied tests are widely used for the purpose of grading and classifying pupils. In fact the researches of Binet, Spearman and other psychologists in the field of intelligence and ability have provided the school-teachers with practical equipment. But the success in school depends not only on intelligence but on many other factors, and of these temperament is of vital importance. Recently increasing attention has been paid to temperament and-psychologists have directed their researches to devoting effective methods of measurement and classification.

The term temperament is a very loose one and different psychologists have given different definitions. Perhaps the most clear-cut scheme is McDougall's. He distinguishes (1) disposition, which is the sum-total of an individual's instinctive tendencies or propensities ; (2) temper, which is the persistency and urgency, or the degree of stability of such tendencies ; and (3) temperament, which denotes the influence of endocrine and metabolic processes on the nervous system. For practical class-room purposes, the definition should include these (1), (2) and (3). But we should remember that temperament cannot be studied separately but must be considered in relation to the much wider conception of personality, which takes into account the effects of environment and training.

In considering measures of temperament we must decide which tests the teacher can himself use, and which require the help of trained psychologists. Certain tests such as those based on expression, as judged by handwriting variations, and those based on simple motor performances, such as speed in handwriting, and speed in cancellation, demand the expert. Certain tests like the "miniature situation" and "real life situation" require laboratory condition in addition to the expert psychologist. Now several education authorities in England employ a psychologist, and maintain child-guidance clinics, in which laboratory conditions are possible.

One of the well-known tests is the Downey Will Temperament Test, based on the study of handwriting performance. Speed, ease or reaction, aggressive qualities and persistence are investigated as revealed in the subject's ability to vary his handwriting according to given directions, his ability to carry on inspite of interference and care taken in imitating a given specimen of handwriting. Another well-known test is the Pressey Cross-Out Test, to measure the subject's readiness to experience emotions by means of word-association. In these tests expert advice is essential. The mechanism of the perseveration test is fairly straightforward, since the result can be expressed mathematically, but we cannot rely solely on it, as much depends on the mental attitude of the child which is not measurable. Yet this test can give useful indication whether a child is prone to mental inertia.

Another method of temperament measurement is based on physical appearance. Fat people tend to be placid and easy-going ; thin people are usually active and worrying.

The same also applies to class rooms. Careful observation and questioning can also help the teacher in the investigation of temperament. In this respect the play-ground and playing field should not be neglected, for they provide a more natural situation than the class room.

The present measures of temperament, though to a certain extent imperfect, and in the experimental stage, possess a reasonable degree of utility.

The educational value of the various classifications of temperament in present use is to be considered next.

The ' humours ' classification of Galen, inspite of its fallacious physiological basis, is still widely used. Godfrey Thomson attributes a great deal of practical utility to this classification in school, and gives useful advice as to how children should be treated according to their predominating humour. The sanguine or fickle or mercurial child should be engaged along with steadier comrades on some interesting task lasting for some time ; the choleric child should be allowed plenty of freedom, but subjects other than those in which they are naturally interested should be added in such a way as to appear indispensable to the end in view ; the melancholic should be encouraged to take part in games and physical exercises. Moreover the teacher should give such pupils opportunities to express themselves in some ways as suited to their temperament, such as in the writing

of a play, or the performance of some artistic work. Lastly, the phlegmatic child, who is generally taken as a dullard, should never be allowed to indulge in idleness, or be driven to do routine work which fails to arouse any interest. Even at the present days of reform, the defect in educational system is that the pupil is made to fit in some pre-conceived curriculum without consideration of whether or not it caters for his interest or fits with his particular temperament. In spite of great practical importance of 'Humours' classification and T. Thomson's application of it to school we can never classify children into exact four types. The most we can say is that such and such a child resembles this particular type.

The Perseveration Test divides children into high, medium and low perseverators. But since this test measures the degree of inertia in mental and nerve processes, this is only one aspect of temperament. So any classification based on it is likely to be incomplete.

Jung's classification is more important. He divides children into introverts and extroverts. We come across such types in our everyday life. The extrovert child is talkative, sociable, self-confident, eager for praise and aggressive when thwarted; the introvert child, on the other hand, is more reserved, waits until his achievements are recognised, and is usually more prone to thought than to action. This classification is, however, inadequate, because both types exist within the type. Generally the introvert types are neglected in the school, for they do not generally draw the attention of teachers and others and have been misunderstood in many cases.

In my opinion, the classification of temperament has a definite place in educational theory and practice. Without some systems or division into types, educational methods tend to be futile. There are, of course, a few born teachers who can easily understand children and are sensitive to their temperamental differences but for the vast majority of teachers who do not possess this gift of insight or possess it only in a small degree, the classification will be of great use, as suggesting possible differences in temperament and lines of treatment. The classification also gives us a better understanding of the child's individuality, which is so much stressed in the modern conception of educational end.

The much debated question whether the aim of education should be individual or social, is solved to a great extent when we have

fuller knowledge of the rôle played by temperament, which will help to break down this apparent antithesis.

The question of the utility of the classification and testing of temperament is bound up with the problem as to whether or not it is possible to modify the innate quality of temperament by external factors. Psychologists differ on this point. Though I think it is not possible to alter seriously the predisposing factors of temperament, still I believe that by judicious control of these factors, temperament is capable of modification to a certain extent. For example, an introvert will always be so throughout his life, but whether or not he will develop into the best or worst type of introvert, depends on the external factors in the environment, which can be controlled especially in the school. Thus a knowledge of temperament is of great importance to the teacher.

A knowledge of temperament supplies us with a better understanding of the backward and delinquent children, who are often neglected or harshly depressed ; both these processes lead to serious results. Such a knowledge would inspire confidence, and would be able to aid such children to adjust themselves to society.

Lastly the knowledge of temperament is also essential for useful vocational guidance. This will greatly help in avoiding social misfits so common in every-day life.

THE ART OF SPECULATION

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AS it is popularly understood speculation means engaging in any enterprise with an element of chance in it with the object of making some gain. In a way, throughout the course of their lives, men in every station of life have to speculate in some form or another. The cultivator who sows seed in the fields or the man who spends a considerable sum of money and time to qualify for a particular profession can be said to be engaging in speculation. The object of my discourse today, however, is not to deal with this broad aspect of speculation. I shall confine my remarks, in dealing with the subject of speculation, to a much narrower field, that is, speculation in commodities and stocks.

The popular belief that the word 'speculation' is synonymous with gambling in my opinion is entirely erroneous. The two things speculation and gambling are as wide apart as the North Pole and the South Pole. The difference between the two was very aptly described by a President of a well-known Exchange who, speaking on the subject, said: "Speculation begins where foresight enters and gambling begins where foresight leaves."

Speculation is nothing but an attempt at intelligent anticipation. It represents an endeavour on the part of a speculator to visualize today what others will be doing tomorrow.

There is no doubt about the fact that the element of chance is always present in both speculation and gambling. The difference is only about the extent of that element. To use a homely analogy, there is as much difference between gambling and speculation as there is between pure alcohol and a beverage containing a certain percentage of alcohol or between playing a still hand at poker and a game of bridge. A skilful speculator aims at minimising, as far as possible, the element of chance. A speculator takes into account all possible factors which are present or which can be reasonably foreseen. But

as new and unrepresented factors continue to arise, and as many factors are indeterminable, inspite of the best possible efforts, skill and expense, the element of chance cannot be entirely eliminated. If this could be done speculation would cease to be speculation and become an exact science.

What I have said above should not be taken to mean that every speculator who is well equipped with all available information and a study of the relative statistics and figures can always make money. An uncontrollable factor called luck plays an important part in speculation as in all other spheres of our life. It is not unusual to come across people who are completely innocent of any knowledge of market condition making money and the operations of seasoned speculators going wrong.

A well-known speculator once had made a large bear sale of silver in the Shanghai market. The market had come down and with the object of securing his profit he sent a cable to his agent asking him to buy so many bars on his account. How the mistake occurred nobody knows but the agent received a cable which when decoded read as an order to sell so many bars. When the Calcutta speculator received a cable saying that so many bars had been sold he saw that some mistake had occurred and he sent another cable asking his agent to square all his outstanding transactions. The result was that he made an extra profit of ten lakhs of rupees as a result of the mistake in his first telegram. I one day purchased two hundred shares of a certain concern. In the course of a few hours the market went up by two hundred rupees. But the next day when contracts were exchanged, the party who had sold said that he had sold only two shares. He was not dishonest and I was quite sure I had purchased two hundred. How the mistake occurred God alone knows. Admitting that many times luck plays an important part in all operations I would not advise anybody who wants to engage in speculation to buy or sell trusting merely to luck. If we closely study all successful speculators we will find that they possess certain particular qualifications to which their success can be ascribed. If we analyse all cases of failures we will be able to come to the conclusion that they were due to certain faulty methods and mistakes.

There are various kinds of speculators—the genuine trader in a commodity combining speculation with his business, the pure speculator, the speculator with big resources, a speculator with small means

and the occasional dabbler. Within the short time at my disposal it will not be possible for me to discuss the various theories of speculation and the methods suitable for different types of speculators. In the last twenty-five years that I have been connected with the speculative markets I had occasion to come into close touch with practically all important speculators both in Bombay and Calcutta. I can say in short that in my opinion the best speculator is he who makes a close study of the market, keeps every information that can be secured and is able to change his position as conditions alter. It should not be supposed that every professional speculator or every man who is able to study closely all available information is able to make money all the time. Speculators have their ups and downs and large fortunes are at times lost by them in a single deal.

Unfortunately, however, the amateur speculators, with rare exceptions, invariably lose. It is only during a period of a strong boom that amateurs make money. That is because during an excited and booming market, no exercise of judgment is necessary. People blindly follow the tide. But when the tide begins to ebb and shrewd speculators begin to unload their purchases, those who made money on the rise find that they have been left with high-priced purchases, and they lose more than they had made.

Just as you cannot become a cook by simply reading a good book on cookery or a good bridge player by committing to heart a standard book on the subject, no amount of instruction can make a good speculator. As in all other games there are naturally players and bad players, so is the case in speculation. Good speculators have an uncanny sense of the market which cannot be defined or acquired. But there are certain principles which, if followed properly by those who are desirous of having an occasional flutter, whilst not ensuring success, will at least enable them to minimise their losses.

The first principle that every speculator should try to imbibe is the ability to cut his loss quickly. The speculator who cannot cut his loss is bound to go down sooner or later. I have seen speculators with tremendous resources losing their last penny simply because they would not get out of their commitments. But those who have the ability to change their position quickly in accordance with varying conditions are still going strong. In speculation it is always advisable to follow the good old adage—"A man who fights and runs away lives to fight another day."

The average speculator is happy if he makes a little profit on a deal. He is quick to secure his profit. He feels that he has made so much money for nothing and the profit is quickly squandered. But if the market goes against him he simply sits quiet and sticks to his deal with grim determination with the result that when the market is in his favour he makes a small profit but when it is against him he loses heavily. There is a Marwari saying: "Crush your enemy and your loss quickly." Do not give them time to become strong enough to overpower you. But by instinct the average speculator is inclined to stick to a bad bargain like a monkey sticking to its dead offspring. The average speculator seems to believe that if he once closes his deal he may never be able to get in again. The shrewd speculator follows a different policy. As soon as he finds that the market has not acted in the way he hoped or that circumstances have changed, no matter what his views are he is quick to get out because he knows that he can get in again whenever he wants to do so. He does not sit with folded hands hoping Micawber-like for something to turn up. In a great majority of cases that something never turns up. A speculator should never weaken himself by sitting over his loss, because if he does so he will not be able to take advantage of any future favourable opportunity. What happens often is that owing to this policy of not being able to cut your losses in the beginning you are forced to quit at a time when it is advisable to buy.

The average speculator never takes full advantage when the market is in his favour. He generally lets go his holdings at a small profit and again enters at higher prices. The result is that even after the market has been in his favour to the extent of twenty rupees, if it comes down by even half of it, he is a heavy loser. During the 1937 Indian Iron shares boom many speculators started buying from very low prices. The market went up as high as Rs. 80. But when the market came down with a crash to Rs. 40, practically all the speculators who had been operating from as low a level as Rs. 10 stood to lose heavily.

A speculator should try to take full advantage of the market when it is going in his favour. He should never be in a hurry to secure small profits. The clever speculator increases his commitments as the market moves in his favour and quits only when he thinks that the conditions have changed. But as soon as the market begins to take an adverse turn he starts lightening his burden. The result is

that if he is fortunate enough to get out at the right time he makes a large profit. But if the market starts going back he does not lose money. But the average speculator does not do so. Some of them do increase their commitments but they have not the ability to get out when things are going against them, with the result that they get beyond their depth. A good speculator loses only five rupees if the market goes against him to the extent of twenty rupees, because he continues to get out and get in. But if he is fortunate to get the market even five rupees in his favour he not only makes up his losses but is on the right side.

Another important thing that a speculator should remember is that in all speculative markets psychology of the operators in the market is the most important factor to be taken into account. A knowledge of the statistics of supply and demand and the various factors likely to affect the course of the market is essential. But if the market was to be determined by these things alone students of statistics would be able to wipe off all speculators in no time. What one has to consider is what will be the mental reaction of the various operators if a certain event takes place. There is no barometer by which the mentality of the operators can be judged. It is purely a question of judgment. At times the behaviour of the market gives a plain indication. No one can judge the mentality of the market people unless one is constantly in touch with the market.

People are puzzled at some scrip going down even though it pays good dividends, and at times there is a rise in the price of a share which has never paid a dividend or is not likely to pay a dividend for some time. The fact is that it is not the size of the present dividend alone which determines the price of a share. At times people are prepared to buy a share on even a two per cent. return. Their argument is that it does not matter what the yield now is, the future appears to be rosy. At times they will not buy a share even with a high yield because they believe that the future is not hopeful.

To know what the size of the jute crop is it is not necessary to go to the fields where jute is grown. From a speculator's point of view the best estimate of the crop can be formed in Calcutta because the market at least for the time being is not ruled by the actual size of the crop but by what those interested in the trade think the size of the crop is.

It is a common experience in the speculative markets that many

events which in the opinion of outsiders are likely to exercise a great bullish or bearish influence fall absolutely flat on the market. At times the effect is quite contrary to expectations. The psychology of the operators is the explanation for it.

When there was a rising tendency in the Indian Iron shares, the slightest favourable development or rumour was enough to cause a good sized rise. But when a declining tendency set in, even the most convincing arguments about the future prospects failed to have any effect whatever.

It is absolutely necessary to study the main tendency of the market and the psychology of the people. What is most important is not what the fact is but what people believe is the fact. If the people insist on calling a donkey a horse, it is no use your trying to argue with them. If you want to make money you should also be prepared to call it a horse or you should get out of the market.

In the jute market we receive Reuter's cables every day about the condition of the London jute market. Sometimes Reuters say the market is dearer. Now any student of the English language will tell you that 'dearer' means that the price today is dearer than what it was yesterday. But the average jute speculator paraphrases this word in a different manner. One night during the Gold Standard boom I was surprised to see the market coming down quickly. When I asked the reason they said that according to Reuters the London market was dearer and the speculators' interpretation of the word dearer was that the buyers considered the market dear and would not pay these prices. From that day I also changed my ideas about the meaning of that particular word in the jute world.

My advice to all those who are interested in speculation is never to go against the psychology of the people. I attach 95% importance to psychology and only 5% to all other factors.

Another important factor in speculation is patience. One should continue to watch the market carefully and patiently and should enter only when there is a good opportunity. Many people lose money because they have not the patience to wait for a good opportunity. Just as in the game of poker a man who wants to play every hand that is dealt to him is bound to lose money unless he has an exceptionally good run of luck, in speculation too a man who cannot have patience loses money. Many speculators lose money because they enter in an uncertain market with no definite trend. They are impatient

to do some business. They cannot remain out on the market even when there is no good opportunity. The speculator should be like a crane standing on the river bank and making no movement unless a fish is in sight.

One should never enter the market if the market has gone up by 10% to 12% from the point that it started going up. If all the fluctuations are analysed it will be found that with rare exceptions the market is bound to react after a rise of 10% to 12% and lose about one-third of the rise. If one does not aspire for large profits and has the patience to wait, there is a good chance of his making money if he sells when the market has gone up to the extent mentioned or buy for a rise if the market has declined by about 12%. It will be found that if a man operates on this principle he is not likely to go wrong.

Another mistake that speculators make is to speculate in a scrip the market for which is narrow. The difference in the buying and selling price which is known as the jobber's difference *plus* the brokerage makes it impossible to get out or get in quickly. During a boom people are inclined to buy all sorts of shares. But they find to their regret that as soon as the slightest adverse factor arises it becomes almost impossible to sell unless one is prepared to do so at a big sacrifice. If one wants to speculate one should confine one's dealings to such shares as are easily dealt in and for which a free market is available. Take the jute market. In that market it is possible to sell or buy any reasonable quantity at a small difference. But on the Calcutta Stock Exchange, with the exception of one or two kinds of shares, there is a big difference in the price if you want to sell or if you want to buy. One should go in for securities which are not freely dealt in, only with a view to investment, and that too, if he has ample spare funds which he is not likely to require for other uses.

Another thing that should be remembered is that one should have the ability to bear a loss. No one can make money in speculation if one cannot afford to lose. That is because at times the market behaves in such an erratic manner that even with sure information in your hand you cannot stick to your transactions. If you cannot afford to lose you have to get out and to look helplessly on when the market begins to move as you expected. Besides one should not stake all that one can afford to lose on one deal. You should begin by staking only one-fourth of what you can conveniently afford to lose.

Now I come to the most important thing and that is the selection of a broker. Every man cannot study the science of medicine. When a man is ill he goes to a doctor in whom he has confidence. The client is like a blind man. It is the broker's duty to lead him. One has to be very careful in the selection of a broker. Unfortunately anybody with or without a knowledge of the market can start business as a broker. He acts through a sub-broker whose interest consists in having as much turnover as possible to make his brokerage.

Unfortunately there are very few brokers who take trouble to study the market or guide their clients in a proper manner. At the same time it must be said that many clients expect that every advice given by the broker should prove right. If such was the case, why should the broker do any brokerage business at all? It is in the interest of the broker to see his client making money. If he loses, it is his luck.

If you have not the time and means to keep in touch with the market and decide for yourself, you should exercise great care in selecting your broker.

Speculation is a very fascinating game. It is like playing bridge with very high stakes. As I have said before, luck plays a great part in it. One should be prepared for good hands and bad hands. But I have found that clever players, even at card games of chance, by proper exercise of judgment and discretion, can minimise the effect of bad luck. Similarly in speculation too, if a man operates with care and uses his judgment properly, with ordinary luck he has a sporting chance of making money.

QUESTION OF PROMISCUITY IN ANCIENT INDIA

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MARRIAGE is said to have evolved out of its crudest beginning in the form of promiscuity. This represents a bestial condition of society, "in which," observes Lubbock, "marriage did not exist, or as we may perhaps for convenience call it, a communal marriage, where all the men and women in a small community were regarded as equally married to one another."¹ Men at such primitive stage had to live the life of a gregarious horde indulging in an unrestricted sex-communism among them and, it is believed, that this sort of a merely passing union of the sexes like that of lower animals cannot lead to the creation of home and family life. As this mode of living was detrimental to the preservation of the species, it could not last long and, as a matter of biological necessity, the next stage of social development was reached with its fruition in marriage and family institution. The savage's crude notion of ownership also might have impelled the primitive man to extend a kind of sex-dominion over one woman or many, with the result that family institution as a definite unit of social structure made its appearance manifest. In short the theory purports to state that marriage in the domain of human beings evolved out of an original regime of promiscuity.² This evolutionary theory has been expounded by a great band of scholars like Bachofen,³ Mc Lennan,⁴ Herbert Spencer,⁵ Morgan,⁶ Lubbock⁷ and others.

But, with all the forces of historical analysis, this theory has been exploded by the recent writers, Tylor, Starche, Westermarck⁸ and Lowie.⁹ Westermarck in his monumental work, *History of Human*

¹ *Origin of Civilisation*, 3rd ed., p. 91.

² For details, see Herbert Spencer's *Sociology*, Part III, Chs. III-VIII.

³ *Das Mutterrecht*, 1861. XIX. XX. 10.

⁴ *Primitive Marriage*; also *Studies in Ancient History*, pp. 92-95.

⁵ *Sociology*, Part III, Chs. III-VIII.

⁶ *Ancient Society*, pp. 418-500.

⁷ *Origin of Civilisation*, 3rd edn., p. 91.

⁸ *History of Human Marriage*, 5th edn., Vol. I, Chs. II-IX, pp. 103-386.

⁹ *Primitive Society*, pp. 50-56.

Marriage,¹ has, in a categorical review of entire evidence, repudiated the promiscuous origin of marriage, to conclude that "the only result, to which a crucial investigation leads us, is that, in all probability, there has been no stage of human development, when marriage did not exist."² On the analogies drawn from the lives of higher mammals, apes and orangutan, human beings as a class are considered by him as never promiscuous in their habits. Marital and paternal relations, according to him, are the results of instincts even with regard to manlike apes,³ and we have no reasons to maintain that the case is different with man. The author means to say that the sex-urge in man is a conscious impulse, and as such, must have impelled the primitive man to provide for the preservation of the species, as well as the well-being of the race, and, therefore, must have its natural fulfilment in a kind of institution, known as marriage. Marriage is, therefore, a natural institution existing from the very infancy of mankind. The great scientist Darwin shares the same conviction inasmuch as the sex-communism according to him is a trait of later development of human civilisation, which makes its appearance felt when "man has retrograded in his natural instinct and advanced in intellectual powers."⁴ The modern scholar of great repute, Andrew Lang, draws the same conclusion in his *Secret of Totem*. Howard on the subject makes the following observations in his *History of Matrimonial Institution*:⁵ "The researches of several recent writers, notably those of Starche and Westermarck, confirming in part and further developing the earlier conclusions of Darwin and Spencer, have established a probability that marriage, or pairing between one man and one woman, though the union be only transitory and the rule frequently violated, is the typical form of sexual union from the infancy of the human race."

In the valued opinion of Westermarck,⁶ "it has most probably developed out of a primeval habit. We have reasons to believe that even in primitive times, it was the habit for a man and a woman (or several women) to live together, to have sexual relations with one another and to rear their offspring in common, the man being the

¹ *op. cit.*

² *loc. cit.*

³ *op. cit.*, p. 53.

⁴ *Descent of Man*, Vol. II, p. 362.

⁵ *pp.* 90-91.

⁶ *History of Human Marriage*, Vol. I, p. 27-28.

protector and supporter of his family, and the woman being his help-mate and nurse of their children." In estimating the truth of this assertion, we should, however, not confuse the biological element with what is moral. For, marriage in its biological import exists even when, in its primitive stage of development, it is accompanied with much sexual laxity and, undoubtedly, with the possession of marital rights by others than the husband. The theorists have lost sight of the fact that looseness of morals is different from promiscuity, and it is due to this confusion that every item of sexual laxity, prenuptial unchastity, frequency of separation, group-marriage, polyandry or marriage without ceremony have been reckoned as survivor of promiscuity. But, as a matter of fact, marriage in its biological significance exists in every stage of human development.

With these foregoing observations let us now launch upon a discussion of the theory in the light of the literary evidence of ancient India. McLennan, in his *Studies in Ancient History*, has laid stress upon the so-called items of traditional evidence in support of the theory of promiscuity. To quote his words, "tradition is found everywhere pointing to a time when marriage was unknown, and, to some legislator, to whom it owed its institution: among the Egyptians to Menes, the Chinese to Fohi, the Greeks to Cecrops, the Hindus to Śvetaketu."¹ It is evident that the story of Uddālaka-Śvetaketu of the *Mahābhārata*² furnishes a legendary account savouring of an apparent promiscuity of ancient India. From the account, it appears that Pāṇḍu while advising Kunti to raise issues by others, concedes that *niyoga* or levirate is preferable to the transgression of moral and conjugal discipline. As a passing reference, he informs that in former times, women were not confined within the house in their dependence upon husband and other relations; on the other hand, they enjoyed themselves as best as they could by way of indulging in sexual congress outside their wedlock. Pāṇḍu further mentions that such custom has not then ceased to exist in the land of Uttarakuru. But he observes that this revolting custom was long abolished by Śvetaketu, the son of Uddālaka, who noticed the colossal immorality of the whole thing, and, regulated the sex-relation as a necessary institution of society. But though the legend

¹ P. 95.

² Bk. I, Ch. 122.

presumably shows that primitive Aryan society passed through a probable state of unrestricted sex-association, yet, we should receive the significance of it with an adequate caution, and should pause to think, to what extent the values are to be assessed upon the truth of this legendary statement for the purpose of studying the social life of primitive India.

It is admittedly believed that on the threshold of ancient Indian literature, Vedas constitute the oldest monument of India's culture and civilisation. In the whole range of this literature, however, we are not confronted with a single evidence of promiscuity. On the other hand, according to Adolf Kaegi,¹ "the Vedic singers know no more tender relation than that between the husband and his willing, loving wife, who is praised as his home,² darling abode and bliss in his house."

To recount in a few words, the marriage-life as depicted in the wedding hymns of the *R̥gveda*³ and the *Atharvaveda*,⁴ we may observe that the position of wife was one of dignity and security in the house, where father stood for children as an embodiment of all that is kind and good. It was fully understood that the domestic felicity depends upon the unison of hearts between the married couples who were entrusted to realise the great vocations of life towards the socio-spiritual advancement of family. "The poetical ideal of the family," say Professors Macdonell and Keith, "were decidedly high,"⁵ and we have no reason to doubt that it was often actually fulfilled."⁶ The constancy and faithfulness of the wedded couples reveal to us a portrait of high moral significance. All these facts bear an irrefutable testimony to show that marriage was regarded in the earliest Indian record "as a true companionship of the purest character, a union of pure hearts for the cultivation of the best feelings of our nature."⁷

There are no doubt in the Vedic literature incidental references to the cases of infidelity and lapses of morals.⁸ These are, however, mere shadows of the picture and it is a veritable truism that no ethnologist knows an unsophisticated child of nature. We cannot but submit

¹ *R̥gveda*, Translation by Arrowsmith, p. 15.

² *Cf. R̥gveda*, III, 53. 4.

³ X. 85.

⁴ Bk. XIV.

⁵ *Cf. R̥gveda*, VIII, 81. 5-9 ; X, 84, 11 ; X, 85, 18-19, 41 ; etc.

⁶ *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 484.

⁷ Sir Gooroodass Banerjee's, *Hindu Law of Marriage and Stridhan*, 5th edition, pp. 31-32.

⁸ *Cf. R̥gveda*, IX, 96. 22-23 ; IX, 82. 5 ; X, 128 ; etc.

in this connection that allusions to evil impulse of man may be collated to a great extent from any record of human history. That does not, however, throw into insignificance the brighter phase of the portrait, if it be found delineated with colourful impression. The culture that is enshrined in the ancient Indian literature points out with certitude that, round the nuclear instinct of propagation, clustered not only the biological considerations, but also moral, and above all, the spiritual idealities. Ideals alone preserve nature and it was so early recognised in India.

It is not that the vices of faithlessness and adultery fail to bring about repugnance in the mind of the Vedic people to get them punished and purged of the taint of sin. Though Weber ¹ has adduced some materials to indicate an indifference to such crimes in the Vedic age of India, Delbrück ² has clearly set aside all his arguments as unsatisfactory. "The cited prescriptions," ³ say Macdonell and Keith, "forbidding connexion with another man's wife during a certain rite do not imply that such connexion would otherwise be allowed; the ritual of the Varuṇapraghāsa, ⁴ when a wife names her lover or lovers, seems originally to have been a solemn means of banishing the evil brought on a family by a wife's fall; Yājñavalkya's famous saying ⁵ that no one cares whether a wife is unchaste (*paraḥpunisā*) or not, is a mere mis-translation, ⁶ the expression *paraḥpunisā* really meaning "removed from the male persons." ⁷ According to Kaegi, ⁸ "the hymns strongly prove how deeply the prominent minds in the people were persuaded that the eternal ordinances of the rulers of the world were as inviolable in mental and moral matters as in the realm of nature, and that every wrong act, even the unconscious, was punished and the sin expiated."

In the circumstances, stated above, we do not understand why the theorists have made a capital of the story of Uddālaka-Śvetaketu of the *Mahābhārata* to prove the history of promiscuity in ancient India. In the first place, the historic authenticity of the tale is not free from doubt and objection. It should at the outset be borne in mind that Uddālaka and Śvetaketu are the two famous personages in the *Chāndogya-upaniṣad*, but not even a jot of idea is indicated in this *Upaniṣad* to substan-

¹ *Indisches Studien*, 5 573.

² *Die indogermanischen Verwandtschaftsnamen*, 545 et seq.

³ *Taittirīyaśaṃhitā*, V, 6, 8, 8; *Maitrāyaṇiśaṃhitā*, III, 4.7.

⁴ *Maitrāyaṇiśaṃhitā*, 1 10.11: *Satapathabrāhmaṇa*, II, 5.2, 20.

⁵ *Satapathabrāhmaṇa*, I, 3.1.21.

⁶ See Böhtlingk's *Dictionary*, S.V.

⁷ *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, 396-97.

⁸ *Rgveda*, Translation by Arrowsmith, p. 18.

tiate the view that the law of marriage in India has had its foundation in the commandment set up by Svetaketu.¹ The historical value of the tradition, therefore is not confirmed by collateral evidence, where it could have been naturally expected, and as such, its claims on our credulity are substantially weakened, being based upon a solitary record and that again in a legendary fashion.²

Secondly, it involves discussion whether the story of Svetaketu alludes to a very early stage of the Aryan Society. Vedas, as described above, recognised marriage as a settled institution of high moral order in the remotest age of the Aryans. According to the learned view of Justice Dwarakanath Mitter,³ the legend might have a reference to the Non-Aryans who were normally loose in their moral standard of life. Even in that case, however, the evidence does not conclusively prove the negation of marriage as we understand it biologically.

Thirdly, if the theory of evolution be advocated as the only explanation of the institution of marriage, then, it should have been surely regarded as a process of development and not as a result of sudden creation by individual legislation. Such legends, as Westermarck so pertinently remarks,⁴ may be explained rather as disclosing the popular notion of ascribing all the great institutions to one wise legislator.

Fourthly, it is in question whether the aforesaid legend is based upon a conception of absolute promiscuity or the absence of definite sex-relation in an actually married life. The story clearly recognises the social unit of family life which could not have grown in the absence of marriage. It is to be considered in this connection that marriage as a central feature of definite social unit is recognised even where its sexual value is of less moral and of less rigid order.⁵ In fact, the legend of Svetaketu might presuppose a lax order of marital relation indicating the absence of moral constancy, which was sought to be abolished by the legislation of Svetaketu. It also implies

¹ See Dr D. N. Mitter's *Position of Women in Hindu Law*, 1913, p. 201.

² See for this discussion the present author's *Development of the Law of Marriage in the Smṛiti Literature* (Thesis approved for the Jogendrachandra Ghose's Research Prize in Comparative Indian Law, Calcutta University, 1935).

³ *Position of Women in Hindu Law*, 1913, p. 200.

⁴ *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 106.

⁵ See *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VIII--H. R. Rivers' article on Marriage (Introductory and Primitive), p. 423.

that public opinion had already set itself working towards the direction of such abolition.

On this question, Nilakaṇṭha, the commentator of the *Mahābhārata*, throws no inconsiderable light. He quotes two texts from the *Śruti* to show that the moral idea of marriage is as old as the Vedas. The following is the translation of the two texts: 'The man who indulges in sexual congress outside the wedlock is a thief and foeticide' and 'the women who contract illicit love are subjected to pernicious disease.' The commentator equally explains that Svetaketu was not the ultimate legislator on sex morality; on the other hand, he had before him the precedents in the guise of the *Śruti*, in pursuance of which it was for him only to restore the discipline.

The foregoing observations may support the conclusion that the story of Svetaketu, under our consideration, has very little to offer an explanation about the history of Indo-Aryan promiscuity. And it has been conclusively held that the so-called traditions do not negate the possibility of marriage, which is, above anything else, a biological institution.

To our surprise, however, we find, that K. P. Jayaswal, a reputed scholar on Indian topics, has relied not only upon the story of Uddālaka-Svetaketu, but also upon the *mantra* of the *Kṛṣṇayajurveda*, cited in the *Manusmṛitī*,¹ to confirm the promiscuous position of ancient Indian Society.² The *mantra* is read as follows: 'That pure blood, which my mother defiled by adulterous desire of frequenting the houses of other men and violating her duty to her lord—that blood, my father purify.' Kullūka, the commentator of Manu, explains that this text of *mantra* is to be cited as an expiation of the sin of immorality which may somehow attach to women on account of their natural proneness to infidelity.³ It passes our comprehension as to how this text corroborates the postulate of sex-communism in ancient India. The text, as it appears to us, gives, on the contrary, a very clear evidence of the established custom of marriage and the imperative necessity of conjugal constancy. If this would at all point to promiscuity or rather absence of marriage, how could it prescribe a course of expiation on the violation of the purity of marriage? All these references, therefore, merely signify the absence

¹ IX. 19.

² See *Manu and Yājñavalkya* (Tagore Law Lecture), XII, Sec. 1, footnote.

³ See Kullūka's commentary on *Manusmṛitī*, IX, 19.

of morality and not that of marriage. As Westermarck views that in no stage of human development on the globe marriage was inexistent, we in the same strain like to stress that India knows no stage at which marriage in some form or other was not prevalent. It is a fruitless task to establish the validity of the promiscuity theory with reference to any primitive society of the world, and India, in this respect, does not prove the least exception.

LOVE AND ROMANCE IN RECENT ENGLISH FICTION

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HERBERT Spencer breaks up the conception of love into nine constituent elements: (A) The physical feeling forming the nucleus of the whole—the sex impulse; (B) the feeling produced by personal beauty;¹ (C) the feeling of simple attachment; (D) sentiment of admiration, respect or reverence; (E) love of approbation; (F) self-esteem; (G) proprietary feeling; (H) love of freedom; (I) exaltation of the sympathies. He then observes that this passion acquires its irresistible power by the fusion into “one immense aggregate most of the elementary excitations of which we are capable.”²

Exhaustive as the list may appear, it does not mention an important element—that of the protective and parental impulse. We see it, for example, in a story by Somerset Maugham where the woman thus speaks of her feeling for the man she is in love with: “There was always something maternal in that and protective.”³ So in “The Rainbow” by D. H. Lawrence the Polish woman fills Tom with a protective love which is thus stated: “He would have liked to think of her as of something given into his protection like a child without parents.”⁴ Havelock Ellis clearly recognizes this parental feeling as an element in love: “When the specifically sexual element in the conjugal relationship has fallen into the background, the emotional tone of the husband’s love for his wife, and still more that of the wife for her husband, becomes easily that of love for a child.”⁵

¹ It is not usual to find the importance of beauty minimised. For lovers have always delighted in it. But Mrs. Wentworth Williams thus objects to it; “One cannot ignore it. But it is a barrier; it is in fact rather a bore.” (Virginia Woolf—*Jacob’s Room*, Second Impression, The Hogarth Press, London, 1922, p. 232)

² Herbert Spencer—*The Principles of Psychology*, Vol. I (William & Norgate, 1899), p. 468. Stendhal mentions four kinds of love: (1) Passion-love, citing the love of Heloise for Abelard as a typical example; (2) Gallant-love; (3) Physical love and (4) Vanity-love. Stendhal—*On Love*, Duckworth & Co., 1920, pp. 19-20.

³ Somerset Maugham—*First Person Singular*, pp. 41-44.

⁴ D. H. Lawrence—*The Rainbow*, p. 33.

⁵ Havelock Ellis—*Psychology of Sex* (Ray, Long & Richard R. Smith, Inc., New York, 1933), pp. 327-28.

H. G. Wells seems to suggest a new addition to Herbert Spencer's list in the form of a mate or companion: "Mate came before husband, wife or mistress in the story of life, and may outlast both of these relationships."¹ The words are put into the mouth of William Clissold who makes the observation while probing into his attitude towards Clementina on whose companionship he finds a guarantee for his mental serenity.

What inspires love in a woman? Wells makes Clementina answer this question. She says it is kindness and power. A woman loves "because she feels something stronger, safer, protective in the man."² But this unduly narrows the limits within which a woman makes her choice. Although a capable and masterly nature will still inspire admiration, the standard has lost its universal character in an age where there is not much call for physical strength as a means of giving protection.

There are certain other factors besides those already noticed which, first making love a necessity, paves the way for its appearance in an individual life.

Tom Brangwen in "The Rainbow" by D. H. Lawrence realised the need of love from a sense of incompleteness in himself. He was fragmentary and must remain as a nothingness until he was united to the woman at the sight of whom a strong light seemed to flare up within him, forging a burning link of secret power between them. Although he had decided that he could live by himself when she appeared not to take any interest in him, his self-control gave way and he told himself that "he must in the starry multiplicity of the sky humble himself and admit and know that without her he was nothing."³ This deficiency and void recurs as a motive and justification of love in the character of Hermione Roddice, delineated by Lawrence in his "Women in Love."⁴

The ability to be amused by the same jokes draws two people together more than many weightier qualities of intrinsic value. This fact is brought home in a clever story by Alec Waugh,⁵ which may briefly be summarised thus: Cecil Armitage and June Granta were both invited by friends to spend a week at Overmantle at a Georgian

¹ H. G. Wells—*The World of William Clissold*, Vol. III, p. 760.

² *Ibid.*, p. 791.

³ *Women in Love*, p. 33.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁵ Alec Waugh—*The Last Chukka* (Chapman & Hall, Ltd., 1923), p. .

Country House. June was pursued by two lovers at this place, and each of them appealed to Cecil to make the coast clear for himself by engaging the other in talk. But instead of listening to their requests he contrived to send the two of them chasing each other and laughed over this with June as a very good joke. He soon found that from laughter to love-making was but a step. In short, he was accepted by June as soon as he proposed to her.

Huxley suggests that ennui and itch¹ are at the bottom of more than half of the world's 'affairs.' Sometimes they are lifted by imagination to the plane of love. Sometimes the work is done by experience, making two people form some permanent attachment. These 'affairs' may be suddenly terminated as well, and then they end as abruptly as they begin.

The actuality of love often contrasts strangely with the ideal picture of love cherished in the mind. Philip² had indulged in a glorious prevision of love. He imagined himself in a ball-room where he would suddenly turn round and see *her* with the knowledge "that the gasp in his throat was in her throat too." "She was tall and dark and beautiful with eyes like the night." He would greet her unhesitatingly and she would respond, murmuring, "You've come at last." But in place of this ideal woman, he was in love with Mildred Rogers, a waitress, whose name he thought grotesque, and whose features seemed unattractive if not positively repellent when he went over them one by one. This was not all. He was aware of her vulgarity, the emptiness of her mind and her odiously genteel manners and speech. Philip recalled her insolence and in the next moment he was wishing to box her ears. But the deep distaste the thoughts raised in his mind seemed by some magical process to become converted into a deeper tenderness. "Perhaps it was the thought of hitting her or the recollection of her tiny, beautiful ears, he was seized by an uprush of emotion.....He wanted her."³ Far from discovering rapture

¹ In the language of Psycho-analysis it will be described as *libido*.

² In "Of Human Bondage" by Maugham, p. 342. The title of the novel has evidently been taken from Spiroza's "Ethics of Human Bondage or the Strength of the Emotions."

³ *Ibid*, p. 343. In another novel ("The Painted Veil") by the same author, the lover confesses to a knowledge of his mistress's stupidity, fully conscious of a passion he cannot conquer. The situation there is similar to the present one, although Walter Fane, the hero of the story, is not merely the lover of Kitty but her husband and during his married life of two years he has treated her with the greatest kindness and consideration. His opinion of her was his secret which he sprang on her when he discovered her intrigue with Charles Townsend and her desire for a divorce. Walter thus speaks to Kitty: "I had no illusion about you," he said, "I knew you were silly and frivolous and empty-headed. But I loved you."

in love, Philip was dismayed to see in it a bitter anguish such as he had never known before. With her he was in despair, without her in wretchedness. But the faults which were so apparent in her character and appearance did not wean him from his love. On the contrary, he loved them too. He thus felt in him a strange force which swayed him against his will, contrary to his interests.

Francis Chelifer¹ has experiences of love which bear some resemblance to those of Philip, discussed above. When he saw Barbara he was an adolescent, and his feeling assumed the form of a religious passion. In her presence he was awed and felt something like fear as if he had been in some mysterious way transported into the presence of life itself. Chelifer had "desired all beauty, all that exists of goodness and truth, symbolized and incarnate in one face."² But Barbara was entirely different from this idealised picture. She was selfish, thirsty for pleasure of the most vulgar sort, was stupid and a liar. Chelifer realised her distance from the ideal he had cherished in his mind and saw that no possible possession could make him happy. Yet he would persist in believing that Barbara was in some unaccountable manner related to his ideal, and loving the ideal he found his desire for her becoming more and more fortified, in spite of all the facts which his reason could suggest to him. The emotion he felt did not submit itself to the curb of the rational element in his personality, and he endured all the pain and humiliation which could arise from being slave of such a mistress.

One of the characters in the same story seems to be very near the mark when he says: "After all, the person you're really violently in love with is always your own invention and the wildest of fancies."³ But this is no discovery. Every age recorded it in its own fashion. Shakespeare wrote about it in his sonnet on Blind Love:

"O me! what eyes hath Love put in my head
Which have no correspondence with true sight."

I knew that your aims and ideals were vulgar and commonplace. But I loved you. I knew that you were second-rate. But I loved you." (*The Painted Veil*, Wm. Heinemann, Ltd., 1926, pp. 78-79). But Walter Fane was not anxious to be loved and he found all the satisfaction he needed in loving Kitty. He was prepared to receive as a favour what most husbands expect as a matter of right.

¹ "Those Barren Leaves" (Rotunda), p. 146.

² *Ibid.*, p. 71.

³ "Those Barren Leaves" (Rotunda), p. 71. This view may be compared with what d'Almeida tells Mr. Travers (Joseph Conrad—*The Rescue*, J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1920, p. 120): "You do not love because of what is in the other. You love because of something that is in you—something alive in yourself.....A capacity in you. And not every one may have it—not every one deserves to be touched by fire from heaven."

It is interesting to note in how many different ways love manifests itself in the life of a single man. Whether it progressively increases its power as it gathers fresh experience by periodically changing the object of its attachment, as Shelley seems to suggest in the lines quoted below, is a problem which is not going to be discussed here. Proof of opposite kinds may be brought together and the conclusion left indefinite unless perhaps it is that in loving as in other things mistakes are possible, and that more than one experience may be needed to correct them. Shelley's views are extreme and it is difficult to accept them as true :

" Love is like understanding that grows bright,
Gazing on many truths;.....

Narrow

The life that wears, the spirit that creates
One object, one form, and builds thereby
A sepulchre for its eternity."²

Such a point of view will break up social cohesion and deprive love of its age-long sanctity. The standard of the poet, however, is not the standard of the world, and a single attachment if deep and abiding is never held to be undesirable. Birkin, for instance, wants to love and realise " the finality of love " by which he means " just one woman."³ But it is admitted as possible that a man will fall in love more than once. William Clissold, to refer to an example, met three women whom he loved in succession and the relationship in each case was " unique in root and branch and substance." How the three women moved him may best be indicated in Wells's own language: " With Clara I was animated by the sexual egotism of the young man, with Sirrie by a profoundly tender protectiveness, with Helen by the glamour of a beautiful personality."⁴

Walter⁵ was simultaneously in love with Marjorie and Lucy, although the latter undoubtedly exercised a greater fascination over him. Men have usually been held to be polygamous by instinct

¹ " True the ideal is one woman—but how find her, except by trial and error?" Richard Aldington—*All Men are Enemies*, (The Phoenix Library, Chatto and Windus, 1935).

² *Epipsychidion*, lines 163-64, 169-73.

³ *Women in Love*, p. 68.

⁴ *The World of William Clissold*, Vol. II, p. 551.

⁵ In " Point Counter Point."

while monogamy is thought more natural to woman.¹ Masculine detachment is suggested by Aldous Huxley as an explanation of man's ability to get pleasure out of chance encounters. Women are differently built and they cannot accept anyone without being in love more or less. Huxley draws the character of Lucy as an exception. "She can separate her appetite from the rest of her soul."² Havelock Ellis, however, holds that women are as wide-awake to the charm of novelty and variety as men are and that they are "just as able—if not better able—to love two persons at the same time."³

The languor and listlessness along with an unconscious waiting which come from love's supremacy over all other feelings have been beautifully depicted in the following passage: "Strolling in at the dusk, Sandra would open the books and her eyes would brighten (but not at the print) and subsiding into the arm-chair she would suck back again the soul of the moment; or, for some time, she was restless, would pull out book after book and swing across the whole space of her life like an acrobat from bar to bar. She had had her moments. Meanwhile the great clock on the landing ticked and Sandra would hear time accumulating, and ask herself, "What for? what for?"⁴ Yes, what for? Unless it was to explore the mystery of love and make life yield all the joy it held in store.

A view regarding the nature of love is proposed by D. H. Lawrence, which militates with many of the cherished ideas on the subject, such, for example, as those in Shakespeare's Sonnet No. CXVI⁵. It is a reaction against the romantic conception of love, and denying supremacy to love it insists on putting it on the same level with the other emotions. According to this view, love is only part of any human relationship and like sorrow or distant joy it cannot always be felt⁶. Neither is it all-satisfying. For at the very last, one is alone, beyond the influence of love.

¹ This view is popular rather than scientific, for Keyserling writes: "Primarily, every one is by nature polygamous, and woman more so than man as her eroticism is more delicately graded." (The Book of Marriage, pp. 5-6, Jonathan Cape, 1927.)

² Point Counter Point, p. 401.

³ Havelock Ellis—Psychology of Sex, p. 339.

⁴ Virginia Woolf—Jacob's Room, p. 263.

⁵ Let me not to the marriage of true minds
Admit impediments Love is not love
Which alters when it alteration finds,
Or bends with the remover to remove;
O, no! it is an ever-fixed mark
That looks on tempests and is never shaken;
It is the star to every wandering bark.....

⁶ Women in Love, pp. 133, 150.

A habit of chewing the cud of recollection, of living over again the past, and minutely examining the least little word, look, or smile appears to be common to all lovers. Philip¹ spent long hours in interpreting the smiles and phrases of Mildred, and Stephen² on returning from Mary analysed "those nothings, questioning their nothingness, making out of things too submerged and impalpable..... promises and indications."

Love has been described as a kind of rebirth, like being born again. But this rebirth comes after a kind of sleep to which also a comparison has been suggested. Love like sleep is thus a source of freshness, revival, although it may be "vulnerable as a baby that just comes into the world."³

There is at least one picture of a woman in contemporary English fiction who liked the idea of love, although recoiling from lovers, whom she always wanted to hold at an arm's-length so that she could carry on "a cultured and verbally burning love by post. A correspondence course of passion was for her the perfect and ideal relationship with man."⁴ This is no imaginary picture. In real life there are women who have a nun-like quality in them, suggesting a Quaker austerity. They have generally a predisposition for things spiritual, and if they ever fall in love it is to satisfy an imaginative impulse, divested of all the associations of an earthly love except the language in which its ardours are sometimes painted.

It is in common experience that conflict often contributes to the heightening of love. Lovers will one day find their relationship chilled and frozen by a quarrel or misunderstanding. Their happiness will seem to be at an end and they will even feel each other's presence too upsetting to endure. Next day the clouds will all dissipate and a pure love will come in sunbeams between the lovers. The appreciation of this fact has led to many delightful scenes of idyllic happiness being painted. One of great beauty occurs when Anna⁵ saw in William something of all-comprehensive value to her—he became sun, moon, and stars in one, after a day of strained relationship under the stress of which all life seemed ruined, desolate, and laid waste.

¹ In "Of Human Bondage" by W. Somerset Maugham.

² In "The Passionate Friends" by H. G. Wells, p. 59.

³ Women in Love, p. 194.

⁴ Aldous Huxley—Point Counter Point, p. 89.

⁵ In "The Rainbow" by D. H. Lawrence, p. 156.

The worshipful attitude¹ in love which addresses itself to the best in a man, refusing to deal with those faults and weaknesses which constitute an integral part of the character, will often appear irritating to the object of idolatry. Nobody will care deliberately to climb down from the pedestal where he is installed above all human failings but the rarefied atmosphere of such a region does not supply the nourishment needed to sustain life. Hence there will be a feeling of resentment, even of hatred, for thus falsifying facts and the individual man or woman will perpetually oscillate between the pleasure of gratified vanity and the resentment caused by having to play a part. Thus Paul² half the time hated Miriam and yet could not leave her, because in one way she did hold the best of him. He could not stay with her because she did not take the rest of him and Paul saw in his acceptance by Miriam the combination of flattering admiration and humiliating disregard.

Love divorced from a sense of respect fails to satisfy. It may have everything else that is necessary—the fascination of mystery, and the affection bred by familiarity. A woman would love the common movements in a man when he has raised admiration in her by habitually suggesting power and energy. She would respect him as far as he is related to her. But she would disappoint him when her curiosity would not take her to the work and ideal in the midst of which the man feels at home. She may have nothing to do with them, but they supply a key to the personality of the man and reveal the manner in which he specially desires to be admired and respected. The sense of deficiency which love experiences sometimes show proceeds from the lack of comprehensiveness in the emotion when it chooses only a few elements from the human personality as object of special attention and leaves the rest out in the cold.³

After all that has been said to indicate the different forms in which love has manifested itself in contemporary fiction, it may be well to remember that a great passion is by its nature incommunicable and that no amount of analysis will reveal its subtle being which

¹ Hamar in "An Indian Day" pours out his love to Hilda Mantering in a passionate language and says: "You are not a woman, you are a goddess!" (Edward Thompson—*An Indian Day*, Ernest Benn, Ltd., 1931, p. 127). Hilda's reply was, however, entirely discouraging: "You have not known me, I have not known youI thank you with all my heart. But it is impossible." (p. 129.)

² D. H. Lawrence—*Sons and Lovers*, p. 309.

³ *The Rainbow*, p. 180.

like rainbow or the fire breaking into star showers must be realised by means of a direct experience.¹

In conclusion it may be observed that the restless age through which we are now passing has analysed love without deeply feeling it. Hence although the study of fiction will yield hundreds of aspects in which this emotion has been conceived, it will scarcely bring us into contact with love whose absolute nature is preserved against the intrusion of charm-dispelling philosophy or some view or circumstance which robs it of its primacy. The present age lacks faith and spontaneity and is too much dominated by a technique of behaviour to permit men and women to appear in their true nature. Besides, the enfranchisement of women having brought them out of the domestic sphere has deprived them of some of the glamour by which they were once surrounded. Women too have become sceptical—and love has been dethroned from its heights to play physician to a sense of ennui by which men and women are often oppressed. In spite of all this, however, even this disillusioned age affords glimpses of it showing that when the thirst for knowledge and psycho-analysis becomes a little assuaged, love will emerge into something rich and strange, ascending to that heaven where the imagination of ancient poets and philosophers had assigned it a home.

¹ H. G. Wells, in *William Clissold*, Vol. II, p. 549, has thus emphasised this fact, "The essence of every great passion is by its nature a thing untellable."

UNDERSTAND YOUR CHILDREN

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THE present century is that of the child. On all sides there is an increasing interest in the child, his nature and his needs, and a growing concern is manifested over his welfare and education. It appears as if the child has just been discovered and in a sense it has been, for fresh knowledge of child development, new ideals and methods of education, habit clinics, mental hygiene, experimental schools are not only in vogue but have forced us to revise our everyday attitude towards children and their ways. Every advance in our psychological knowledge of children has revealed to us larger possibilities of their education and has strengthened our faith that through a fuller education and the right guidance and environment the inherent goodness in human nature can be brought out and freer and better adjusted personalities can be developed. So deeply has this realisation worked into our everyday thought that we have not infrequently begun to demand, secure and establish what we call "the rights of children." Our traditional attitude towards them is one of vacillation and easy indifference. Many of us in India think that our children belong to us by an inherent right, they are a part of our indisputable and absolute possession as are our cattle and womenfolk and it is nobody's but our look-out how we treat them, whether we educate them or not, or how well or ill we educate them if we educate them at all. Others think that the child is always with us, why be so urgent in attending to his needs? His education at home is a matter of adult leisure and recreation. If we learn about any of his harmful traits we are inclined either to minimise their importance and excuse him for being a child, hoping that he will outgrow such harmful traits with age, or to take too radical if not too monstrous a step of beating, strapping or practising some ingenious device of mental torture. But if the child is the father of man, if he or she is the man or woman of tomorrow, can there be anything more urgent and important than the demands of his physical, mental and moral growth

and should not we bring in the latest and the most reliable scientific knowledge to bear upon the supreme and vital task of child upbringing? Parenthood is a sacred trust, it involves not only privileges but also obligations. Every parent is a trustee of the future progress and happiness of the race and it is his bounden duty to work for it with knowledge and care.

Let us try to understand in greater detail some of the values and purposes of child study. What after all is the use and objective of getting into closer contact with the little people at home and what new advantages are likely to accrue both to the teacher and to the parent from such knowledge and understanding of childhood? The problem is anything but simple, and that for two reasons. In the first place the child is a growing personality and we have to obtain a genetic picture of individual development through all stages. No one stage is intrinsically more important than another. Each has its special scope, it leads to the other and should be studied and treated in relation to that which follows. Secondly, our knowledge and insight in this field is growing day by day and with this growth newer values are sure to dawn on us.

We cannot help educating our children—if not intentionally, then unintentionally. The process of education starts very early and goes on irrespective of whether we will it or not. The child from inner necessity is urged on to react to his environment and is in its turn affected by it. This education is inevitable and its tragedy is that it has no direction, no motive and no purpose. The child drifts on rudderless in a world of chaos. Its only hope is the parental instinct. In the past when life on this globe was simpler, this instinct was sufficient to guide the child through such difficulties as he had in his early years. Today life is thoroughly socialised, so closely knitted round highly evolved institutions that this instinct alone simply will not do unless it were controlled and educated to meet everchanging demands and situations. The paternal instinct, suited so admirably to the needs of the primitive life, fails to deal with those of the present age. Its inadequacy has been brought home to us by the recent growth of psychological knowledge and its manifold applications to the study of children. It has revealed to us that the earliest days of childhood play a rôle whose importance has so far been grossly undervalued, not to say completely ignored, that before the age of ten when the task of education is popularly believed to begin, the child has

formed most of the "mind sets," received most of the shocks and is no longer as plastic as we assume it to be, and that most of the stubborn mental disorders and consequent instability, so widespread in minor degrees, are traceable to the early repressions and taboos. Should we in the presence of so much reliable knowledge, resulting from methodical analysis, allow ourselves to be guided by blind faith, superstition and impulse? If knowledge and science give understanding and discrimination, if they impart direction and purpose to all that we undertake, certainly they are needed most in the all-important business of education, child-study and child guidance. If our influence on the development of children is inevitable, let it be modified by science, knowledge, understanding and discrimination, rather than be controlled by blind impulse which may work for good or for evil. "Understand your children for I am sure you do not know them." This reproach of Rousseau administered to Europe more than a century back may well be administered now to parents and teachers in India. If we wish to improve, extend and vitalise education, our efforts and measures should be based on our knowledge of child nature and his needs. If childhood shows the man as morning shows the day, if it reveals the potentialities, the extent and scope, of his future development and perfection, it deserves far more attention, understanding and consideration than it has hitherto obtained. Only then can we hope to eliminate a good part of the waste and miseducation that has become a fashion to bemoan.

Almost every parent has the good and welfare of his children uppermost in his heart. He feels perturbed over any slightly undesirable trait displayed by his child. Most of the parents are quite conscientious in their anxiety about the welfare of their children, but they themselves are responsible for their education. What a child becomes in later life is to a large extent the reflection of his parents' ambitions and wishes, their hopes and fears, their thoughts and ideals, in brief their entire behaviour and attitude towards the child. If parents realise this, they should start worrying as to what they should do, how they should set about the task of his education and how they should modify their own behaviour towards him. Let their sense of responsibility steer clear of vague anxiety and fears, and become constructive by calling aid of knowledge and wisdom. Let them not learn half-truths about children

through haphazard trial and error, for slight mistakes may have very far-reaching consequences. Let them profit by our fast-increasing knowledge of children and through understanding manipulate the environment, adapt it to the needs of their child and thus assure a wholesome growth of his personality. The undesirable traits of the child will no longer alarm them but will present them fresh opportunities for knowing, and thereafter educating, their child better. Thus child-study and understanding will dispel doubt, anxiety and alarm which disturb and mar domestic peace and consequently the growth of children.

But inducements to understand children aright are not only subjective and domestic but also social. If children are successfully educated, they benefit not only themselves and their parents but also society at large, in which later, as adults, they will live, move and have their being. Thus it is that child education and guidance offers vast opportunities for social reform and reconstruction. Looking about us today we find that in no age was society more unstable than it is at present. "Everywhere old forms are collapsing, old methods are proving futile. Chaos is increasing, civilisation is endangered." But whether this change is for the worse or for the better, it no doubt calls for a readjustment, a new orientation in almost every direction and we are face to face with the problem of creating a culture adapted to modern life, of building a new and better world. The brick and mortar for building this humanity of tomorrow is a living material which grows, develops and hardens into shapes too difficult, if not impossible, to alter and recast later. Any attempt, therefore, to engraft the new culture on humanity must begin with the early impressionable years of childhood. What children are and what they can be should be of prime importance not only to the parent and the schoolmaster, but also to the legislator, the priest, the public worker, in fact to everybody who is anybody in the wild field of educating the younger generation to "a finer shape, a fuller reality."

One of the most important truths which knowledge of child life has made clear is that the child and the adult differ not only in degree but also in kind. Two decades ago even front-rank psychologists held this view that there was no reason for studying the mind of the child as distinguished from the mind of the adult. They maintained that "if we could find out how the mature mind was constituted and how it functioned, we would know how the child mind was constituted and

how it functioned, because the latter was simply a miniature copy of the former." They did not realise "that in the development of the human mind from birth to maturity changes occur which make it different, not only in strength or range or power but also in other important respects, in the adult stage from what it is in infancy, childhood or youth." * Even today many people really believe that the child is a small man or woman. Nothing could be farther from truth or a greater injustice to child nature. Do you measure the food needed by a young man of twenty and divide it by his years to find out the amount of food needed by a child of one? Or do you decide it by proportionate weight or size? Does the doctor prescribe for the child simply the twentieth part of what he would have prescribed for the young man of twenty? Does the teacher administer to the first primary class one-tenth of the knowledge he imparts to the tenth class boy? His food, treatment and education are decided on a different basis than a merely mathematical proportion. The child is a creature different from the adult. His needs and problems are different, to understand him in the light of adult motives and impulses is to understand him not. The mental life of the child has its own laws and we grown-ups find it difficult to study because we have forgotten how we used to feel and behave when we were children. Besides children are ever growing and changing. Today the child is different from what he was yesterday and he will be still different tomorrow. This observation may be discounted by many whose knowledge of children does not go beyond that of outward features and behaviour. No doubt the child continues to be the same physical mechanism, he has the same sensitive organs and his responses are not very much different from day to day, but his interests and attitudes do suffer rapid and constant changes. What appeals to him today, stirs his imagination and commands his attention, may pass unnoticed tomorrow. At one time he is susceptible to some influences and quite indifferent to them later. Children cannot help us to understand them for they are not likely to understand our catechism. They are quite innocent of adult logic and their answers would hardly satisfy our standard. The child is original; the same act may have different motives in the child and in the adult, in different children or in the same child at different times or ages. An adult breaks a thing because he no longer regards it as valuable, because it has annoyed him,

* O'Shea—The Child : His Nature and His Needs : Children's Foundation.

or because he wishes to annoy its owner ; and a child may break and destroy things because he loves them and out of his love wishes to move them more rapidly than they ordinarily would, because he is so full of energy that he cannot sit still, wishes to do something, to work a change in his environment and throws it to have the sheer joy of exercising his limbs, because he is curious to know what will happen when it is broken, or because he is tired of playing with it for so long. For children the distinction between constructing and destroying does not exist, for they have no knowledge of the values of things, and when they construct or destroy, they do so most often to satisfy their sense of self-expression, both physical and mental. Thus all those who have anything to do with children should guard against the danger of considering the child as a mere miniature copy of the adult and of interpreting its behaviour in terms of adult motive and interests.

Among children as well as among adults, the fact of individual difference is too patent to pass unnoticed. No two children are alike. They vary in size, health, knowledge, intelligence, temperament and in numerous other characteristics, physical, mental and social. "There are the giants and the dwarfs, the tall and the short, the blondes and the brunettes, the beautiful and the ugly, black and white, good and bad, choleric and phlegmatic, brilliant and stupid, blue-eyed and brown-eyed, and other extremes too numerous to chronicle. Between these extremes there are all grades and shades of apparent difference. Besides these obvious differences there are innumerable variations which are not so apparent and hence thought not to exist." * This fact of individual differences has some important bearings on child study and guidance. In the first place every child should be given individual attention and study. Though parents and teachers are called upon to study children in general, to know what general tendencies and impulses they display, to trace their growth and development under certain general influences and to label them into certain general heads as superior, inferior or normal, they should know their children individually and intimately in the light of this knowledge of childhood in general. They should proceed to apply this general knowledge to the particular child they have under their charge after due consideration of the peculiar situation, influence and environment in which he is being brought up. The science of child study can only indicate broad lines of child

* Bolton—Psychology for Teachers.

guidance and in view of numerous individual differences among children, individual deviations of treatment shall have to be determined by individual parent and teacher in the light of what he or she knows about his or her child. The vast amount of knowledge about children should only help to suggest, not prescribe, what treatment and guidance your child needs. Do not treat children *en masse* nor think that the method which helps your neighbour with his child will help you with yours, though you can profit by his experience. Each child is a unique individual and deserves and needs individual treatment.

Again, we should not fret if children under our charge do not turn out to be just what we would like them. Often parents get impatient, so that even though their child is quite healthy and normal both in body and mind, he is far different from the spirit they had wanted to infuse into him. This alarm is baseless, for every child starts with his own mental capital and invests it in his own way. His slight variations from the parent stock, far from disappearing, grow, for it is not easy to provide identically similar environment and thus lead him to develop different tastes, inclinations and traits.

In a family with more than one child parents should recognise the fact of individual variations a bit too well. They should know that while A takes to heart every piece of instruction, B treats it lightly and C is sure to go against it impulsively. Parents who recognise this difference do not treat each child in a uniform way, under pretence of fairness and justice, but modify their attitude and treatment in the light of each individual child's temperament and mental make-up.

Another fact that the scientific study of child life has emphasised is that the process of education starts very early. Even long before parents have any idea, the infants under their care are forming their mind-sets and permanent attitudes to life and environment and hardening into shapes which later it will cost dear to alter or reconstruct. Whately tells of a mother who once asked a clergyman when she should begin the education of her child, who she told him was then four years old. "Madam," was the reply, "you have lost three years already. From the very first smile that gleams over an infant's cheek your opportunity begins." The earliest days of childhood play a rôle whose importance has so far been grossly underestimated, not to say completely ignored. It is usually assumed that the "serious task" of education must begin round and about the twelfth year of life. Some persons hold that before a child is seven years old education is of

no moment. Now according to the findings of psychologists, a child of seven has already gone beyond the age when its affective life is plastic, for the decisive shocks come before the sixth and even before the fourth year. A child of tender age should never be handed over to the care of second-rate persons. Psycho-analysis emphasises the fact that a very young child's psychical development is already well advanced and extremely complex, so that education is of primary importance from the outset. The mind is extremely sensitive and, as 'psycho-analysis' has revealed, receives several rude shocks in infancy, as for example, at the time of weaning, separation from mother or from fraternal rivalry. A wise parent will take care that such shocks are made as mild as possible through understanding, sympathy and goodwill. •

Again, the danger of studying and interpreting child behaviour in isolated acts is very great. A child is an incipient personality, his mind and character is an organic growth and his casual behaviour is a poor index to what he is now or what he is likely to become in future. If the same outward act can be differently motivated in different children or in the same child at different times, it is very necessary to know him more intimately in greater detail and to interpret his motives after due consideration of his habitual behaviour. Study the child as a whole, not piecemeal. The integrated whole can seldom be deduced from our knowledge of the parts, the functions of the organism are something more than the functions of mere organs. Therefore, if we are to deal with children at all, we must deal with the entire child. That should be the focal point in our study. Instead of singling out particular acts and activities of children, we should try to reach the basic unity of individuality which underlies them. To that end it is very necessary that we know the child-in-relation; we should know the child at home, the child in school, the child among his playmates, the child among his brothers and sisters, and so on.

Child study and guidance is keenly alive to the influence of parents and teachers themselves. Both of them most often forget that they themselves are a very important and effective part of their children's environment. They are not only responsible trustees of the child's possibilities of future growth and development but also an inevitable model for the child to follow. The parent needs to be a good example, a good model for the child, to copy and try to emulate. Children are so situated that quite instinctively they desire to be like their

parents. "The parent is the first model and it is very important that it should not fail. It is not what the parents say and profess that is of significance, rather it is what they do and what they are. Wise parents will not only preach, instruct and coax but live and practise those ideals with which they wish their children's personalities to vibrate. They will share their children's joys and sorrows, tasks and tribulations, their play and work most intimately and informally and it will be during this intimate and informal community living that they will be able to project into their children's personality details of desirable standards of moral and social conduct. When there is a mutual give and take, and a bond of respect based on understanding and sympathy, an acceptance of each other's values develops more easily. Verbal instructions and precepts do not avail if they are contradicted by the everyday behaviour of parents and teachers themselves. If the latter behave consistently, conduct themselves with dignity, honesty, frankness and sympathy, if their actions are marked by spontaneity and self-control, if they are masters of themselves and hold out a worthy example, the children under their charge will surely develop the same ideas and ideals. Adults are a very powerful part of the child's environment and their influence will be for good if they set a worthy example in their own behaviour.

The most common defect in the attitude of parents towards children is over-repression. The child is not allowed to feel and behave as a child and to develop its incipient personality along lines suited to its inherent nature. No doubt the behaviour of the child in early age is crude and undirected and will continue to be so if it is not adequately directed by education, example and precept. But to many parents this direction means nothing less than a continuous and uncompromising system of "don'ts" which provide but too little opportunity for self-assertion and the development of initiative. Children are hedged in with prohibitions and repressions that stifle any spark of initiative that may be smouldering within. Parents dominate them autocratically and they lose all self-confidence and courage, growing into timid, dull and stupid people. Do not, therefore, in the name of discipline, order the children about and deprive them of legitimate freedom for play, assertiveness, initiative and social intercourse. Let them breathe greater freedom, trust and courage. Let them take the initiative in as many things as possible, make a choice and arrive at a decision. Let them meet difficulties in the way and

solve them. Give them more opportunities for self-expression, originality and development. In fact, let every child be a child. "The child has a right to be a child. The more completely he is himself, the more apt he is to become an adult who is worthwhile."

But with the best of intentions and effort on the part of both the teacher and the parent, the child may not be able to adjust himself easily to the new situation and may develop traits and attitudes which interfere with his adjustment in the family, school or social group. He may grow to be a problem or difficult child whose behaviour is not in line with those who surround him and who is a source of trouble and annoyance to his elders. He may be addicted to telling falsehood, stealing, phantasy, disobedience, to any of the several forms of social maladjustments. Sometimes his behaviour is the result of very commendable motives but the method he follows to carry them out is at fault. A desire to please is not a bad motive but if it leads to stealing money from home in order to buy tit-bits for friends, it is hardly desirable. Such problems in child behaviour are common both in the home and in the school. How are we to tackle them? Very often such problem behaviour has developed in spite of the effort and care on the part of the parent and the teachers, due to influences over which they have no control nor are likely to have any. But this does not mean that they should excuse themselves on that account and sit down under a feeling of despair and ineffectiveness. Mental hygiene offers the hope and the regimen. Let them set about studying such behaviour, find out its peculiar motives and circumstances, alter undesirable influences and environment, and re-educate the child to a better social adjustment. Happily we have amassed a great deal of knowledge about children based on extensive studies of individual behaviour and in its light it is growing more and more possible to re-educate children to a healthy and harmonious living, integrate and absorb them into the community and ensure social progress, for without harmony progress loses both meaning and value.

Parents and teachers and all who are in any way responsible for the upbringing of children should work with understanding, knowledge, insight and sympathy to make their wards normal, that is, like the great majority of people, capable of growth, development and achievement. A normal child will have normal lapses such as he will outgrow in the course of development. A child throws things, cannot carry his cup as well as we do, cries at the smallest provocation or obstruction

but we do not take much notice of them for we are confident that with age even unassisted he will steer clear of these handicaps. Thus a normal child is not a perfect or ideal child : such a one would have his abilities so fully developed as to leave no room for further development. On the other hand the normal child will require all the help and encouragement which the common run of children requires. He will be neither super-normal nor sub-normal. Of course, it is difficult to draw a hard and fast line to denote the average or the normal, and most of the children do show slight deviations from the normal on the plus or the minus side, for after all we are dealing with growing organisms, not static things. But there is certainly a standard of efficiency which most of us can expect from normal people. The super-normal, quicker at knowing and doing things, will need superior opportunities for a freer and fuller growth of his superior abilities, and the sub-normal, inferior in knowledge and accomplishment, will need an extra dose of attention and encouragement to breathe greater self-confidence and come in line with the average. Mistakes every child makes. Whoever grows, tries, errs and improves and the child growing at a rate far faster than the adult is liable to make more numerous mistakes and stumble at every new advance. But his lapses, far from being run down and condemned, should be approached with love and sympathy. A friendly lead, a kindly word and a helping hand will smooth the course and avert the stumble.

ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN FRANCE

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FOR administrative purposes France is divided into 90 districts (*départements*). Each *département* is sub-divided into several *arrondissements*, and each *arrondissement* into a number of *cantons*, the latter comprising several *communes* which are the smallest administrative units. For administration of Public Education three or more *départements* are grouped under one *Académie*; there are 16 *Académies* in France (excluding the Academy of Algeria).

The Minister of Public Education controls the majority of educational institutions, though some of his colleagues in the cabinet have sole authority in the management of certain types of institutions; as for example, the agricultural schools and colleges are in the hands of the Minister of Agriculture; the deaf and dumb schools and the school for the blind are under the Minister of Public Health; the naval school is administered by the Minister of Marine; the national school of mines and the national school of civil engineering are controlled by the Minister of Public Works; the polytechnic school, the Saint-Cyr military school and other special schools are under the Minister of War; the technical schools of all grades were, until recently, under the Minister of Commerce. The existence of more than one head causes some complications in educational administration, and hence public opinion to-day in France is in favour of placing all educational institutions under the Minister of Public Instruction.

The Minister of Public Instruction has wide powers in general administration of the education department; he makes all important appointments except the following—Rectors of Academies, Directors of Education, Under-Secretaries of Education, Inspectors-General, Academy Inspectors, and Professors holding chairs in the Universities. These appointments are made by the President of the French Republic. With or without the approval of the Higher Council of Public Instruction the Minister can introduce any change in the

programme and methods of teaching in State schools ; he can create new posts and abolish existing ones ; he determines the amount payable as subsidies, scholarships, and maintenance-grants ; he issues orders from time to time affecting all grades of education ; and he is the final authority in deciding appeal cases coming up from the Lower Courts, University Councils, Academy Councils, and District Councils of Primary Education.

The Minister is assisted by two Under-Secretaries, one of whom is in charge of Technical Education, and the other is in charge of Fine Arts (*Beaux Arts*). Under each of them there is a Director-General. The Minister is assisted by four Directors—Director of Higher Education, Director of Secondary Education, Director of Primary Education, and Director of Accounts and Staff. All these Directors, Directors-General, and the two Under Secretaries hold their offices in the ministerial building at Paris.

Attached to the Ministry are a Higher Council of Public Instruction and a Consultative Committee. The Council consists of members of the teaching staff nominated by the President of the Republic, and representatives of the Institute of France, the College of France, the Universities, the secondary schools—lycées and collèges, and of the primary schools. The Council holds its sittings under the chairmanship of the Minister, decides the programme and methods of teaching in State institutions, makes necessary modifications of administrative regulations, issues instructions for conducting examinations, advises on the supervision of private schools, and considers applications of foreigners desirous of opening schools in France. The Council has to deal with a number of other questions, such as frauds committed during examinations, disciplinary measures for gross misconduct on the part of teaching staffs of public as well as private schools, unsettled disputes between local authorities and private organisations desirous of opening new schools.

The Consultative Committee of Public Instruction comprises three sections—one for Higher Education, one for Secondary Education, and one for Primary Education. It is composed of representatives of the teaching staff, and of *ex-officio* members—Rectors and Inspectors-General. These sectional committees hold their sittings under the chairmanship of respective Directors, and submit their proposals to the Minister regarding filling up of vacancies. For

administration of Technical Education there are a special Higher Council and a Consultative Committee.

For Fine Arts the following councils have been instituted—a Higher Council of Fine Arts, a Higher Council for teaching of Fine Arts, a Council of National Museums, and a Higher Council of National Conservatory of Music and Elocution.

The Minister is assisted also by Inspectors-General, and Local Educational Authorities. The Inspectors-General visit local institutions, and see to the proper functioning of these in accordance with the Ministerial orders; they submit their reports to the Minister through Directors. The general inspecting staff for supervising higher education has been dispensed with recently. The general inspecting staff for secondary education consists of six Inspectors-General for supervising the teaching of arts, four for science teaching, one for music, one for drawing, one for agricultural subjects, one for supervising the administrative services. Besides these, there are four Inspectors-General in charge of primary elementary education, and four Inspectresses-General in charge of nursery schools.

The power of administration is vested in the Rectors of the *Académies*, the *Prefets* of the *départements*, and in the Mayors of municipal *communes*.

At the head of each Academy is a Rector who is responsible for higher, secondary, higher primary, and technical education. The Rector is assisted by as many Academy Inspectors as there are *départements*, and by an Academy Council and a University Council.

The Academy Council consists of three types of members: firstly *ex-officio* members—Rector, Academy Inspectors, and Deans of Faculties; secondly, members nominated by the Minister from amongst the heads or *Proviseurs* of the secondary schools, and members of general and municipal councils; thirdly, representatives of secondary school teachers of whom two must be representatives of the private schools. The Academy Council deals with all important matters concerning secondary education. The University Council is responsible for administering only university education.

The *Prefet* who is the administrative head in the *département* is nominally in charge of primary education. He is assisted by the Academy Inspector and advised by the General Council and by the

District Council for Education. It is he who appoints teachers in primary schools on the recommendation of the Academy Inspector.

The General Council has its representatives in the governing bodies of training schools, *écoles normales*, and in the district Council for primary education. Each *département* must provide and maintain two normal schools, one for boys, and the other for girls, and thus the General Council is to grant every year recurring expenses for purchasing school equipments. The State pays subsidies up to 50% of the total cost for acquiring sites, constructing buildings, and for electric and other installations in normal schools. The State also provides salaries of teachers, and gives maintenance-grants to the pupil teachers who are admitted after a competitive examination. The majority of members of the governing body of the normal school are nominated by the Rector with a view to ensuring governmental control.

The District Council for primary education consists of *ex-officio* members (*Prefet*, Academy Inspector, Director and Directress of the two Normal schools), two Primary Inspectors nominated by the Minister, representatives of the General Council and teaching staff of the primary schools; representatives of private schools have also seats in the Council, but they take part only in the deliberations affecting their own schools. This Council issues instructions on the lines decided by the Higher Council of Public Instruction regarding the general management and pedagogic organisation in different types of primary schools. It can interfere with the teaching and is empowered to see how far the official programme and methods of teaching are being carried out by teachers. It makes arrangements for medical inspection of school children. It determines the number of schools and the nature of school buildings to be provided, and fixes the number of teachers in each school; but since the State pays salaries to the schoolmasters their decision on the latter point is not final, it must be ratified by the Minister.

But in reality, for all practical purposes, the Academy Inspector is at the head of all secondary and primary schools. He directs secondary education taking his authority from the Rector, and with regard to primary schools he receives instructions from the Minister through Inspectors-General and the Director of Primary Education. Thus he is absolutely independent of the Rector so far as primary education is concerned, and is nominally under the *Prefet* and the Councils where his voice always predominates.

The Inspector of Academy appoints teachers in primary schools first as probationers, and then recommends their permanent appointment to the *Prefet*. He is assisted in the administration of primary schools by the local inspectorate, Inspectors and Inspectresses for primary schools and Inspectresses for nursery schools. As a rule, there is one Inspector for each *arrondissement*. These Inspectors and Inspectresses, though placed under the direct authority of the Academy Inspector, may receive instructions from the Minister. They inspect primary schools, both public and private, help heads of schools in the grouping of children in different classes, approve the time-table, report on newly-constructed school buildings, advise on the procedure for opening and closing of schools, the establishment of private schools, the organization of school funds and adult courses. The Academy Inspector compiles his annual report on the progress of primary education from the reports submitted to him by the District Inspectors and Inspectresses on all important matters affecting primary education, as for example, efficiency of individual teachers, general activities of individual schools, and teachers' conferences, and decisions of text-book, examination and school attendance committees.

For administration of technical education, there is a separate committee, in the central office in each *département* consisting of three types of members—*ex-officio* members, *Prefet*, Academy Inspectors, Inspectors for technical education, members nominated by the *Prefet*, and representatives of the General Council and teaching staff, and of federations of employers and employees. This committee advises on the procedure for opening of State technical schools, and determines the amount payable as subsidies to private technical schools. Each *département* is to provide and maintain industrial schools either directly or paying subsidies to Municipal Councils. The State provides salaries of all the qualified teachers and pays other recurring and non-recurring expenses up to 50% of the total cost.

For agricultural education there is also a District Council consisting of the *Prefet*, the Director of Agriculture, the Conservator of Waterways and Forests, and other agricultural experts.

The Municipal or *Communal* Council consists only of elected members, and is charged with certain powers in educational administration. The Mayor who is the chairman of the council, though nominated by the elected members, is responsible to the *Prefet* and to the central authority. In the field of secondary education the

communes are partly responsible for boys' secondary schools known as *collèges*, and for girls' secondary schools of all types. The management of boarders in such secondary schools is entirely in the hands of the Mayor. The *communes* provide the sites and buildings for *collèges* and *secondary courses*, and sanction annual recurring expenses for their maintenance. In the field of higher primary education the *communes* provide sites and buildings, and installations for new schools. They receive a subsidy up to 50% of the total cost from the State. In the field of primary education they provide the sites and buildings for primary schools. For educational administration the Mayor is assisted by a school board consisting of delegates from *cantons* nominated by the Academy Inspector, and of members representing the *communal council*. The school boards have very little real power in the administration. Their decisions may be overridden by the district councils for education and by the *Prefets*, who have the right to force *communes* to close existing schools, to open new ones, to set aside the selected site and to provide new buildings. The functions of the school boards are mainly to provide school buildings and to encourage school attendance. A ministerial order limited their functions in the following terms: "It is not within your province to burden yourselves with the subjects of instruction, with the criticism of methods, books or equipment."

The central authority controls every phase of education ignoring completely local dialects, languages, customs and tradition. The local educational authorities have certain financial obligations, but no real voice in the administration of educational institutions. They may have certain powers which they cannot exercise independent of the Minister. There has been a movement in France to introduce decentralization in educational administration by giving wider powers to local authorities and greater freedom to the teachers.

VOLTAIRIANISM

ASUTOSH CHATTERJEE, M.A.

ANY one who wants to familiarise himself with the ideas at the back of any revolution—political, social or religious—has to go to school, as a matter of necessity, with these two great French protagonists, Voltaire and Rousseau. Voltaire made a most fierce onslaught on religion, rent into tatters men's superstitious beliefs, and laid the greatest stress on justice and toleration in man's dealings with man. Religion itself has been made the cloak of, by the base and the self-seeking all the world over, to re-inforce their sense of superiority, or to hide their rapacity and oppression. It is idle to affront the present Bengal Cabinet with its oft-quoted slogan "Islam in danger," for such was the history of the Christian Church in Europe also, when sect warred against sect, and when abuses, tortures and blackmail became easy to practise under the cover of a zeal for religion.

We do not propose to enumerate here the innumerable writings which Voltaire's facile pen produced every day—an enormous production, astonishingly variegated, in which is mixed up the good with the mediocre. These are his tragedies *Tancred* (1760), *Olympia* (1762), *Julius Caesar* (1764), *The Scythians* (1767), *The Guebres* (1769), etc.; his satires in verse with a spirit and a verve that look like those of one possessed by the devil, *The Poor Devil* (1760), *The Russian in Paris*; epistles with a grace and good sense that seem to be winged, to *Mme. Denis* (1761), to *Boileau* (1769), to *Horace* (1772); little poetical pieces, stanzas, couplets, stories in verse, epigrams, historical works, *History of Charles XII* (1732), *Century of Louis XIV* (1752), *History of the Russian Empire under Peter the Great* (1759), *Summary of the Century of Louis XV* (1769); philosophical romances with an irony less bitter and corrosive than in his verse, *Candide*, *the Guileless* (1767), *The Man of Forty Crowns* (1768), *The Princess of Babylon* (1768), *Jeannot and Colin* (1764), the *History of Jenni* (1775); works on literary criticism, the *Commentary on Corneille* (1764); works on religious polemics, the *Sermon of the Fifty*, *Life and Extracts from the Thoughts of J. Meslier* (1762), *The Ignorant Philosopher* (1766), the *Dinner of the Count of Boulainvilliers* (1767), *History*

of the *Foundation of Christianity* (1777), to which we should add the innumerable pamphlets and brochures from four to twenty pages, which stream in a never-ending sequence from the "factory at Ferney"; philosophical works, of which some are of the first rank, the *Philosophical Dictionary* (1764), *The A. B. C.* (1769), *We should take a part or the Principle of Action* (1772), which, according to Condorcet, "contains perhaps the strongest proofs of the existence of a Supreme Being which it has been possible for man to bring together"; works on humanitarian propaganda, *History of Elizabeth Canning and the Calascs* (1762), *The Treatise on Toleration* (1763), *The Account of the Death of the Knight of La Barre* (1765), *Commentary on the Book of Crimes and Punishments* (1766), *The Voice of the Curata* (1772), *The Cry of Innocent Blood* (1775), *The Fragments on India* (1773), etc.; all these and more, without prejudice to his *Letters* which form by itself a most considerable volume of work. Voltaire had to write or dictate up to thirty letters a day; we have of these more than ten thousand, which, however, do not represent all that he had written, and which, by reason of the variety of the ideas which they embody, the vivacity of his ever-new impressions and the exquisite naturalness of their style, form perhaps the most perfect masterpiece that he has left written.

It would be useless to speak separately of each of these works. At the bottom, during at least the last twenty years of his life, it is always the same work that appears under a hundred different forms. One might say that the patriarch of Ferney had twaddled a little. In him the man of letters was eclipsed by the philosopher. All his writings, directly or indirectly, bear on the philosophical propaganda which was henceforth the great business of his life. Tragedies, stories, pamphlets, dialogues, romances, satires, under various forms and adjustments, expound and defend against the spirit of authority, of monarchic or religious tradition, the same positive rationalism, the same natural morality.

The philosophy of Voltaire is at bottom a spirit of incredulity. There is not a single one in his writings during this period of maturity where the priests are not railed at or mocked for their superstitions, where the religious or philosophic dogmas of all times and places are not ridiculed, sometimes with irony and sometimes with indignation, and where the sectarian crimes are not relentlessly brought to book. No writer has done more than he to ruin the authority of all positive religions. Moses, David, St. Peter, the Doctrine of Trinity have all

been analysed and covered with ridicule and the character of the Jewish Jehovah has been irrecoverably blackened as that of a mad and immoral egoist.¹ Their vices, to his eyes, are first of all to be irrational. All religions are so; but, of them all, it is Catholicism which requires of reason the greatest sacrifices.² It is also against Catholicism that he had always directed his blows. All his polemics, from this point of view, proceed from two principles. First, Christianity is a natural and human phenomenon, which should be studied by a purely scientific and rationalistic method which we apply to the study of other historical facts—in this way anticipating sociology. We should examine the writings of the saints with eyes of reason, discuss their authenticity, their dates, eliminate the part of ignorance, credulity and superstition, on the part of their authors, we should read their numbers, in a word, and collect, in the midst of so many errors and contemptible absurdities, the parcels of reason and truth that meet our eyes. Secondly, Christianity is not a privileged religion, to the eyes of the philosopher: it is a variety, a specimen, more lively, if you will, more complete, but, not in its nature, other than any other religion. To explain it, we should compare it with other specimens. If one would take the pains to see, one would find that the Theologies and rites of the Egyptian and Greek religions would explain those of Christianity. And we should fully avow that Voltaire had plied, without much delicacy and without much industry, and with more of narrow common sense than fine critical acumen, the instruments which he had forged.

As much as the absurdity of all positive religions, Voltaire denounces their intolerance and, if truth were told, their immorality. He pursues with his indignation the crimes engendered by fanaticism, the religious persecutions, the inquisitions, the St.-Bartholomew massacres, the murder of Henry IV, etc. He revenges the anathemas and the calumnies with which the Christian apologists had charged the master of ancient wisdom, and, in the ideal Pantheon which he had erected to the mild and tolerant philosophers, "who had lighted and consoled the earth," he places, in front of Jesus, Pythagoras, Socrates, Anotonius, Marcus Aurelius and Julian. We should listen to his words of toleration and peace, to his admiration and thankfulness for the wisdom and the goodness of all good and wise men, whatever epoch

¹ Vide his "*Questions à Zapata, Epistle aux Romains, and Sermon of the Fifty.*"

² The *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* by Cardinal Newman is an apologia from the point of view of faith—blind and unquestioned—to which he submits to get away from the storms of discussion and unbelief.

or sect they might belong to, and we have in him a powerful precursor to Ernest Renan himself.

This detractor of Christianity knew how to do justice to the virtues of the Christians. This incredulous man, given to persiflage and buffoonery, is inclined to a respectful and sincere attitude before the figure of Jesus and has applauded in passionate accents his doctrine of peace and love. More than this—this fiery rationalist has energetically refused to confound religion with superstition, and, in combating the latter, he believes that he was doing some service to the former. "Religion has produced millions of crimes. Superstition is a snake that holds religion in its coils; we should smash its head without hurting what it poisons." And elsewhere, in a letter, he reproaches Lord Bolingbroke by saying that "he had wished to cut up by the roots a tree which he could have rendered very useful by lopping off its branches and clearing its mosses." But when one has said all this, it remains to notice that the violence of his attacks, the narrowness of his criticism, the baseness of certain of his pleasantries, and, above all, his profound intelligence of whatever might produce a mystical sentiment in the soul enfeebled the range of his anti-Christian polemic, and, to our sight, which is more detached and clairvoyant, discredited it.

To these positive religions "capable of all the crimes in the name of the Lord," Voltaire opposes the religion of nature, a deism "without dispute and without bigotry." This deism, at the same time metaphysical and moral, though it is not a very original and profound philosophical conception, does not merit perhaps all the contempt which they affect to heap upon it. They accuse it of not being a self-consistent system. It is quite true that Voltaire, gifted with an intelligence that was the most supple, rapid and passionate that had ever been, was incapable of confining himself within the limits of his own ideas, of patiently circumscribing them and adjusting them. It is also true that, defying all systems and all presumptuous affirmations, and convinced that the "limits of our intelligence are at the tip of our nose" (*Philosophical Dictionary*, Vol. XXVII of Bouchot's edition, p. 403), he has preferred a wise and prudent positivism, and a sort of agnosticism to hazardous metaphysical speculations. Nevertheless, in the midst of what has unjustly been called a "chaos of clear ideas,"¹ it is easy to discern some great lines of metaphysics and of a neat and visible ethics beneath the continual mobility of his gushing ideas.

¹ Emile Faguet, *Etudes Littéraires de, XXVIII, Siècle*, p. 219.

The metaphysics of Voltaire lies almost entirely in the affirmation of the existence of God. In considering the universe, we see that "everything is in movement, everything acts and re-acts." "Some constant and uniform laws" govern this movement. "There is then a unique, universal and powerful intelligence which acts always by these invariable laws." This idea of a God, whose wisdom has once for all ordained the world, has nothing in common with the Christian idea of Providence. What is otherwise the nature of this intelligent and superior Being, of this prime mover which animates the world's secret springs, "Voltaire does not at all bother himself to enquire into it, for verily it is there that knowledge is interdicted to our weak intelligence." The existence of God is to him an idea that is self-evident, and in every case has been so to him. It is also, if one might say so, an idea to which he strongly adhered and which, far from being, for his mind, an idea "in the air and which held to nothing—an idea which he believed to have had, and not an idea of which he took full possession," was, on the contrary, an idea of the things which had most solicited and occupied, in the strongest sense of the word, his thought. Reading all his philosophical works carefully, one would see (unlike Brunétiere) that his positivism was more due to his prudence rather than his indifference. Perhaps he owed this attitude, we admit, to his study of Locke or Bayle. The questions on God, morals and religion are "of an importance to which everything succumbs,"² he repeats. He is indignant with "the indolent stupidity in which most men wallow on this most important subject."³ One can even say that the idea of God, familiar to our intelligence, is not a stranger to our heart. Certain pages of his *Philosophical Dictionary* have an accent really penetrating. Without going so far as to say, with M. E. Champion, that "Voltaire was a religious spirit, we also turn away from the judgment of G. Lanson, "that he never had the sense for religion, the sense for the mysterious or the infinite," we hold that we should render him this simple justice that in the presence of the unknown and the unknowable he had more than once strongly felt that anxiety and metaphysical emotion which are at the source of our religious sentiment.

¹ E. Faguet, *op cit.*, p. 209.

² *Traite de métaphysique*, Vol. XXXVII (Edition Bouchot), p. 298.

³ *Examen important de milord Bolingbroke*, Vol. XLIII, p. 45.

This, God, "the eternal geometry of the world," whom Voltaire had so obstinately defended against the atheism of Holbach and certain encyclopaedists, is not merely a metaphysical God. Voltaire has also found in Him a moral God who rewards and punishes. That is also one of the ideas which he has attempted much to support; and the railleries and criticisms of Diderot, Holbach and Frederic II could not swerve him from it. Should we find in this obstinacy an index of a profound and sincere attachment? We do not think so. Voltaire did not believe in this God the rewarder and revenger with all the force of his intelligence: he did not, on its own account, and by an intimate conviction, embrace this idea. He simply saw in Him a useful idea, good to preach, and, therefore, good to defend. "The belief in a God, the remunerator of good actions, and punisher of the wicked, and pardoner of light sins, is the most useful belief of mankind; it is the only restraint of powerful men who insolently commit crimes towards the public; it is the only restraint of men who adroitly commit secret crimes."¹ One should catch the difference: Voltaire believed in God, the author of this world, and it was necessary that others should believe in God, the justicer. It is in this sense that one should understand the famous verse, so often wrongly interpreted—

"If God did not exist, we had better invent one."

Voltaire has often been reproached for this conception of God as the "policeman." They have wished to see in it nothing but a "form for his timidity," a "suggestion of the terror," of an egoistical bourgeois. It would have at the same time been just to find in it a "suggestion" of his pity for the feeble and the persecuted, of his horrors for injustice and oppression, if he always presents to us this faith in a future justice as the only "resource that remains to us against the violence and the persecution of the powerful, as the only check capable of "restraining the Neroes, the Alexander VI's and the secret scrolls."² Why should we not find in these beautiful verses the real depth of his thoughts?—

"Kings, if you oppress me, if your might disdains
The tears of the innocent, which you cause to flow,
My avenger is in heaven, learn you to tremble."³

¹ *Histoire de Jenni*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 419.

² *Dictionnaire philosophique*. sur Nécéssité de croire à un être suprême.

³ *Épître à l'auteur des trois imposteurs*, Vol. XIII, p. 265.

What might be easily proved is that this idea of a revengeful God was not in him a profound belief ; that he came to it, while he was reasoning philosophically and for the philosophers, and that he renounced it without difficulty. " There are other checks than the faith in hell, there are those of honour, of laws and of divinity, which no doubt will incline one to be just, whether one be in hell, or out of it." ¹

So much this idea was to him of an entirely practical order, that he did not very much care for the contradiction which it presented *vis à vis* his ideas on the nature of the soul. As he had prohibited himself from making any categorical affirmations on this point, he did not hide his estrangement from spiritualism. Ceaselessly he sets up against the systems, which make the soul a different substance from the body, an *entelechy*. Why should it not be a simple " property given to our organs," which perishes at the same time with them? " Why should we wish so eagerly to have one ? Perhaps it is for vanity. If a peacock could speak, it would have boasted of having a soul, and would have said that it was in its tail." ² This conception of a materialistic soul towards which he inclines and his idea of recompenses and sufferings in the life to come are evidently irreconcilable. Voltaire has not chosen between them. One might suppose that it is the second that he would willingly sacrifice.

The reason to him was that the idea of the immortality of the soul is not necessary to our morals. Now, it is the morals alone which interested Voltaire. According to him, it is not derived from a supernatural commandment ; it is not inscribed in the tables of laws dictated from the heights of a mysterious Sinai. Entirely human and practical, they are founded on the rational knowledge of man and his nature. If it be a fact given to us by observation and comparison of human conduct, and of the ideas and sentiments of men, it denotes the existence of a natural law, which exists beneath local and accidental peculiarities, in all times and in all nations. For Voltaire, the variable and contradictory formulas in which the ignorance and foolishness of men have expressed themselves regarding this law of nature prove nothing against its existence and its universality, any more than the diversity of religions and rites prove anything against the existence of God :—

" Thus Eternal God who deigns to animate us
Has thrown into our hearts the same seeds.

¹ *Dictionnaire philosophique*, Vol. XXIX, p. 120.

² *Les Oeuvres de comte de Chesterfield*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 435.

Heaven has made virtue, man its appearance.
 He can dress it up with imposture and error ;
 He cannot change it ; his judge is in his heart.”¹

And further: “The more I have seen men made different from one another by climate, manners, language, laws, culture and measure of their intelligence, the more I have observed morality at the bottom of them all.”² What is then this law of nature ? It is thus summarised: “Never do unto others what you would not wish they should do unto you.”

The formula appears to us to be somewhat negatively put. We should like it to have been: “Do unto others what you would wish they would do unto you.” But the commentary which Voltaire has made upon his thought does not leave any one in doubt. His ethics, if it is founded on the idea of justice, is completed and crowned by his idea of humanity. First of all let us be just: the idea of justice is one of those “verities of the first rank” independent of all laws, of all pacts, of all religions, to which the entire universe gives its assent.”³ Then let us be tolerant; we have not received “a heart to hate ourselves and hands to throttle ourselves.” Would to God that the little shades which distinguish the atoms called men do not become signals of hatred and persecution!⁴ At last and above all, let us be human; let us help ourselves “mutually to carry the load of a painful and transient life.”⁵ Let us be “compassionate towards the animals” and “charitable to men.” Without humanity, a virtue which comprehends all virtues,”⁶ one does not deserve the name of man. All the ethics of Voltaire is expressed in three words—justice, toleration and humanity. We are still far off from realising them, though we are free to disdain his ethics as coming from the hands of an “irreligious” man.

And, after this, it would not affect him very much if Voltaire has been, as people have, with great persistence, reproached him with being⁷ “insolently aristocratic and monarchistic.” It

¹ *Poème sur la loi naturelle*, 1ère partie.

² *Le Philosophie ignorant*, Vol. XLII, p. 583.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XLII, p. 583.

⁴ *Traité sur la tolérance*, Chapitre XXIII.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Elements de la philosophie de Newton*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 42.

⁷ Brunetiere, *Études critiques*, 1ère série, p. 734.

would be easy to prove, text in hand, how much this summary judgment neglects the *nuances*.¹ What is certain is that Voltaire's social philosophy is entirely penetrated with justice and humanity. He has detested and attacked all oppressive institutions, all iniquitous traditions, light for the great, but heavy for the small, the venality in the functions of magistracy, the diversity of the laws, the tortures, the Gothic cruelty of criminal justice, the secrecy in judicial procedure, the privileges in the matter of imposts, the feudal rights, etc., etc.

And we know sufficiently well that he is most limited, on this point, to a merely theoretical affirmation. During the last twenty years of his life, he was a man of action—he lived his philosophy. Without doubt one should regret that Voltaire adopted very late, and as if pushed by his intellectual honesty, this career of beneficent activity. Would it be just, however, to admire him less for it? Full of years and glory, rich, independent at the hour of repose, he takes pity on the lowly, the feeble, those who are tormented and persecuted. He thinks of using in their favour his strength of opinion, his relations, his wealth. He expands around himself his activity, his prosperity, his diligence. The little village of Ferney was nothing, when he came to live in it, but a miserable hamlet where fifty inhabitants were vegetating. Voltaire had healthy houses built in it, created a factory and some workshops and model farms, and attracted many workmen, the village was peopled and enriched; and one could count two hundred inhabitants when Voltaire died. His neighbours, the peasants dependent on the Abbey of Saint-Cloud were crushed by the rights of mortmain (inalienable property like *Debutter*) which the monks of the Abbey exercised with harshness. Voltaire supported their proceedings against the Abbey and declared his opinion in favour of the abolition of their serfage.² His proceedings were unsuccessful, but he took advantage of the accession of Turgot to his ministerial office, in saving the little land of Gex from the tyranny of the farms. When the great Edicts of 1776 appeared, carrying with them the abolition of the *corvées* (taxes on grains) and the liberty of trade in grains, Voltaire applauded

¹ Voltaire has always spoken with great admiration of the republican government as the most perfect of all. Under this question, see the text collected in E. Champion's *Voltaire études critiques*, p. 250 et seq. See also Voltaire's *A. B. C.*

² *Le Voix d'un curé.*

them, and upheld the minister against his enemies with all his popularity and with all his reputation. He heard that a grand-niece of the great Corneille (the famous tragedian) had come to Paris in her distress. In all haste he made her come to Ferney, adopted her, placed her under tutors, endowed her with the income of his *Commentary on Corneille*, married her to a cornet of the dragoons, and watched over his young charge under his roof.

But it was nothing, so to say, except the small change, an inessential fraction, of his benefactions ; more splendid acts of his humanitarianism soon manifested themselves. In 1762, a Protestant merchant of Toulouse, Calas, whose son, recently converted to Catholicism, had hanged himself, was accused by public rumours of having assassinated him out of hatred for his conversion. The judges, blinded by religious passions, and prevailed over by the clamour of an indignant fanatical populace, condemned him to be broken on the wheel. This iniquitous sentence was executed. The widow and her sons, being panic-stricken, fled. Voltaire heard of this affair, brought the fugitives to him, and gained the conviction that Calas had fallen a victim to a monstrous judicial error. He denounced this iniquity, published a *Recueil de pieces originales* (1762) ¹ and a *Traite sur la tolerance* (1763) ² and, carried off by the emotion which his hot complaints produced through public opinion, obtained the revision of the judgments and the re-instatement of Calas.³

In 1765, a new affair, closely analogous to the first, happened. A. Castres, a poor girl, being over-excited for being about to be placed in a nunnery, committed suicide ; her father, the Protestant Sirven, was charged with murdering her to prevent her from embracing Catholicism. More happy than Calas, Sirven fled. He went to Switzerland and took refuge with Voltaire, who took up his cause, and, with the help of the advocate, Elis de Beaumont, came to prove his innocence and had him acquitted.—Another instance: In 1766, a young man of twenty-eight, the Chevalier (knight) of la Barre, was beheaded in Arras for refusing to uncover his head when a religious procession was passing. Voltaire, beside himself with horror, protested against such a cruelty, and, provoked by his

¹ i.e., *Collection of Original Accounts.*

² i.e., *A Treatise on Toleration.*

³ *Histoire d'Elisabeth Cauning et des Calas.*

writings (*Cri du sang innocent, Relation de la mort du chevalier de la Barre*)¹ a movement of public opinion against the penalty of death.—In 1766, his *Commentaire du Traite des delits et des peines*² prepared the ground for the revision of the code of criminal laws. He conducted a campaign against the *parlement* which ended in the *coup d'etat* (stroke of policy) of Maupeau (1771). He again intervened in the proceedings against Martin, Montbailli and Morangies. At last, at the age of eighty, he undertook the rehabilitation of the memory of Lally-Tollendal (Count de Lally), unjustly condemned for the faults of his predecessors in India; his last joy was to learn of this restoration. "There are many things over which my heart bleeds. I am to some extent the Don Quixote of the miserable."³

After this, if one should like to see in all these acts of generosity and beneficence an almost feverish activity on his part, in which his care had been to keep his popularity always on the alert, one may do so. One might then only wish, since his love of fame and his need of action always took these forms, that there were fewer cases of ingratitude, and little more of partiality, towards him. It would be simpler and more just to recognise that what, in the last part of his life, animated Voltaire, long before the allegation of these interested motives which people enumerate with so much complacency, was a noble motive: an idea, a will and a passion to ameliorate the lots of men. It is a fruit of Voltaireanism so often condemned—a fruit so precious that one should hesitate to condemn the tree. If there is, in France, and for the matter of that, in Europe, a little more of justice, of toleration in manners and customs, a little more of softness in public intelligence, they undoubtedly owe it in a great measure to Voltaire.⁴

¹ i.e., *Cry of Innocent Blood, An Account of the Death of Chevalier de la Barre.*

² i.e., *Commentary on the Treatise on Crimes and Punishment.*

³ *Lettre à Richelieu*, 18th September, 1769, Vol. LXVI, p. 26.

⁴ Notice this tone of "damning with faint praise" on the part of a great French critic: "By his indecencies, his taunts, his calumnies, his intelligence, Voltaire has given to us our liberty, and prepared the ground for our justice." See G. Lanson's *Histoire de la littérature Française*, p. 772.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

P. E. N. Congress

On the invitation of the Swedish Centre, the 1939 International Congress of the P. E. N., a world Association of poets, playwrights, editors, essayists and novelists, will meet in Stockholm from September 4 to 7.

It is expected that 300 authors will attend. Mr. H. G. Wells, the former International President of the P. E. N., Miss Storm Jameson, President of the English Centre, and Mr. Hermon Ould, International Secretary-General, P. E. N., have been invited from England, and among other prominent writers who, it is hoped, will be present, are H. T. Mann, M. Romain Rolland, M. Paul Valéry and Signor Benedetto Croce.

A welcome reception at the National Museum, Stockholm, on September 3, will precede the formal opening of the Congress which will take place on the following day at the City Hall. At the formal session subjects of universal interest will be discussed.

New "Hindustani" Style

Mr. Nepal Singh, Assistant Director of Public Instruction and Secretary of the Hindustani Academy Inquiry Committee, Allahabad, had issued a questionnaire to 138 prominent gentlemen residing in the United Provinces and outside, inviting their opinion whether it is desirable and practicable to create and develop a separate style for Hindustani or to let it continue to countenance the free and copious use of the classical material from Sanskrit and Persian as now.

From an examination of the publications of the Academy the Inquiry Committee has found that it has not been easy for the authors to keep to the ideal of the Hindustani style.

Bengal Government State Scholarship

Miss Razia Sultana Ahmad, M.A., a distinguished scholar of Calcutta University, has been awarded a State Scholarship of £335 per annum by the Government of Bengal for three years for higher studies abroad. Miss Ahmad, who is a daughter of Khan Bahadur Badrud-Din Ahmad, First Assistant Registrar, Calcutta High Court, has had a brilliant University career, standing first with First Class Honours in B.A. and topping the list in the First Class in the M.A. Examination in Persian. Along with Western education Miss Ahmad has received a sound religious education, having studied Islamic theology. She will shortly sail for England where she intends joining the Cambridge University.

Royal Empire Society's Gold Medal

The Royal Empire Society's gold medal has been awarded this year for "An African Survey," by Lord Hailey. The medal is awarded for a book

or books written in recent years on economics, history, politics, or science, or for meritorious services to the Empire, which, in the opinion of the award committee, have contributed to the objects of the Society as defined in its Royal Charters of Incorporation.

Hostel for College Girls

The Chhatrī Niketan (hostel for college girls), which has been established at P261, Rash Behari Avenue, under the auspices of the Hostel Committee of the Calcutta branch of the All-India Women's Conference, was opened by Mrs. P. K. Roy in the presence of a distinguished gathering of ladies.

The hostel is situated in a healthy and convenient quarter of the city. At present it has accommodation for about 20 students. Arrangements will be made for games, cultural activities, recreation and social service. The staff consists of a Lady Superintendent, a matron and an honorary supervisor. Besides, the members of the Hostel Committee will pay occasional visits of inspection.

"Stone Age" Men

A Reuter message from Java states:—

The discovery of a huge tribe of "stone age" men is reported here by a Netherlands American expedition that has just returned from a full year of exploration in the depths of Dutch New Guinea.

Characterised as one of the most interesting ethnological finds of recent years, this tribe is said to number about 60,000 individuals, and not one of its members is stated ever to have laid eyes on a white man before the arrival of the exploring party.

The explorers say that the tribesmen were found using only stone implements and spoke an unknown language. They wore almost no clothing at all, and looked upon the eating of their enemies as a justifiable reward for victory in warfare carried on with the neighbouring Papuans. On the other hand, they were not unfriendly towards the explorers and willingly sold sweet potatoes and pigs in return for shells.

The expedition was organised purely for biological research and succeeded in making a remarkable collection of birds and mammals previously unknown to science. The characteristics displayed by these specimens are said clearly to indicate the close relationship between New Guinea and the continent of Australia.

Dr. Montessori's Visit—Training Course at Adyar

The organisers of the First Indian Training Course in Education to be conducted by Dr. Maria Montessori, M.D., D.Litt., write:—

Registration for participation in the First Indian Training Course in Education to be conducted by Dr. Maria Montessori in October is now very heavy. May we ask applicants for the prospectus to send stamps for six pies if they want only the prospectus and for two annas if they want a letter of information with it?

Dr. Montessori will be leaving Europe in the "Strathallan" on October 7, arriving in India about October 19, and at Adyar on October 22, but the dates are a little uncertain.

Enthusiasm and support for the visit of Dr. Montessori among the leaders and educationists of this country is very warm. Mr. Gandhi has written: "I had the privilege of meeting Dr. Montessori in London. I have no doubt that her coming to India cannot but be beneficial. I am glad you have been able to induce her to consent to give India six months." In consenting to be a Patron of the Course, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru says: "I shall gladly do what I can to help her during her visit here."

Many other great leaders of thought have welcomed the opportunity to support Dr. Montessori by becoming Patrons of this her First Indian Training Course. They include H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Sir Mirza Ismail, Dewan of Mysore, Sir Akbar Hydari, Dewan of Hyderabad, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, Sir Annamalai Chettiar, Dewan Bahadur S. E. Runganadhan, Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University, Srimati Rukmini Devi, Mr. C. Jinarajadasa, Dr. J. Cousins, Rev. C. F. Andrews, Mr. Jamshed Nusserwanji, Mr. K. Venkataswami Naidu, Mayor of Madras, and others. Passages from the letters of these friends speak of "their delight that Dr. Montessori will soon be in India," that they "warmly welcome the event" and feel that "it provides an unrivalled opportunity to come into contact with a great educational genius" and hope that "our teachers and workers with children will avail themselves of it."

Departments of Education in several provinces are deputing teachers to attend the Training Course.

After her three months' course at Adyar, Dr. Montessori will make a short tour of India, and it is hoped that she will lecture before Universities and other learned bodies before she has to leave India to fulfil engagements in Europe in March. Details of her tour are not yet worked out. Further information as to the course may be obtained from Mr. K. Sankara Menon, M.A., Hon. Secretary, Montessori Training Course, Olcott Gardens, Adyar, Madras.

Miscellany

RURAL FAMILIES ON RELIEF IN AMERICA

Rural families in the United States were subjected to a number of unusual forces during the period 1930-35 which resulted in severe economic distress in all sections. Some regions suffered directly from only one force or received the diffuse effects of several. In other regions the full brunt of various forces focused on the area and resulted in the almost complete collapse of normal economic and social activities.

While rural distress was caused in considerable part by long-range factors, the effects of the business depression were nevertheless of great importance in the rural relief situation. The drop in the price of farm commodities, because of cyclical fluctuations in the money market, was only one factor in this situation as it affected the farmer and the village dweller. Included also were price movements resulting from the weather and from crop conditions in foreign countries and the long-time trend in agricultural production and exportation. Thus, all of the agricultural price movements resulted in a decline in prices and sales. This included both the drop in value and quantity of exported goods and the change in the urban market with the depression.

Another force bearing on the rural population and helping to determine relief needs, which can also be identified with the business depression, was the change in non-agricultural work opportunities which accompanied the decline in the industry and commerce. This affected primarily the large numbers of part-time farmers who live in densely settled and relatively urbanized areas. These families were forced to a more complete dependence on the soil and to a more self-sufficient type of farm economy.

Partly connected with the business depression and partly dependent upon a long-time trend has been the decline in the utilization of natural resources. Activity in isolated coal and iron mining areas has decreased or stopped entirely and the lumber industry has been sharply curtailed. These are typical examples of industries which give employment to rural families either on a part-time or full-time basis. In some areas the depression coincided approximately with the exhaustion of natural resources so that the shut-down has been permanent rather than temporary. For the most part rural families suffering under the pressure of these forces are located in mountain and wooded areas.

A factor which was not connected with the business depression was the drought. Short-time cyclical movements of rainfall and dry weather have not been unusual on the plains of the great West, but in 1934 and 1936 were droughts which have been unequalled for both extensity and severity during this generation. The most extreme effects of the drought were found in a belt running north and south through the two Wheat Areas and bordering both the Corn Belt and Western Cotton Areas, but minor effects of the drought were found in almost every section of the country.

Agricultural occupations accounted for about the same proportion of the heads of rural relief families in June, 1935 as did the non-agricultural occupations, 40.6 per cent. as compared with 41.2 per cent. Considering

that relief represented only one of four public measures to assist agriculture, it is disheartening that so many farm families had to have this form of assistance. The proportion of agriculturists among the heads of rural relief families varied from more than two out of three in the Spring Wheat Area to one out of eight in New England.

Among the agriculturalists there were two and one-half times as many farm operator as farm labourer families on relief. This is not surprising since there are considerably more than twice as many farm operators as hired farm labourers in the United States. Within the farm operator group, however, tenant families constituted a greater proportion of the relief cases than did farm owner families although the country as a whole contains about three farm owners for every two tenants.

Unskilled labourers accounted for by far the largest proportion of heads of non-agricultural families. In New England there were also a large number of relief families whose heads were skilled and semi-skilled workers.

Families whose heads were non-workers accounted for 15.6 per cent. of all relief cases, reflecting the tendency for relief rolls to include a large number of families that for various reasons contain no bread-winner. In 2.5 per cent. of the cases the head of the family had no usual occupation. —C. C. Zimmerman and N. L. Whetten (U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1938).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE ANGLO-ROUMANIAN AGREEMENT

A successful issue to the trade discussions between the Roumanian Government and the British Commercial Mission visiting Bucharest under the leadership of Sir Frederick Leith-Ross was announced by the President of the Board of Trade in the House of Commons on the 11th May. The Protocol signed on that day on behalf of the British and Roumanian Governments embodies various measures designed to promote trade between the two countries, primarily through normal commercial channels.

Various measures are to be taken in order to maintain and stimulate the flow of exports from Roumania to the United Kingdom. The Government of the former country is to encourage by various means an increase in the production and export of oil and also, by the use of modern refining machinery, an improvement in its quality. They propose to accord to oil companies in which there is a substantial British financial interest most-favoured-nation treatment in the giving of permits for exploration and exploitation of new lands and in all matters concerned with the grant and operation of concessions and with the production of oil. In addition, the British Government will be prepared to purchase for Government stocks up to 200,000 tons of Roumanian wheat from the next harvest if available at world prices, while the Roumanian Government will take action to simplify the machinery of export control so as to facilitate the export of timber to the United Kingdom. Furthermore, British assistance is to be given in securing expert advice in connection with Roumanian export goods as to the best methods of meeting the requirements of the United Kingdom market.

It is recognized, however, that one of the main objects in developing Roumanian exports to the United Kingdom is to secure an increase in Roumanian purchases of British goods which in certain cases are hampered

by existing exchange conditions. It is stated that in order to ensure that trade between the two countries shall be conducted on a sound economic basis, the rates of exchange between the leu and sterling should be such as to attract exports to the United Kingdom from Roumania without making the cost of United Kingdom goods too high for the Roumanian market. As a step towards the attainment of a freer system, alterations are proposed in the provisions and working of the Anglo-Roumanian Payments Agreement of 2nd September, 1938, including arrangements to avoid the wide fluctuations in the rates at which sterling has been dealt in and which have tended to create difficulties for trade. If these arrangements fail to have the desired effect, changes may be made by consultation in the existing agreement for allocating to particular purposes specified percentages of the sterling resulting from Roumanian exports to the United Kingdom. In addition, the Roumanian Authorities will establish a market for forward exchange dealing in the sterling allocated to the Anglo-Roumanian Clearing Office and held in the United Kingdom Goods and General United Kingdom Accounts.

Other proposals for the development of mutual trade of the two countries include the setting up of trading organisations; the granting of free zones in Roumanian ports, consultation on questions of import or export restrictions, and an examination of the possibility of establishing direct air and shipping services between the United Kingdom and Roumania. A provision of special importance is that any privileges or concessions agreed to for the development of trade between Roumania and other countries shall be available to United Kingdom interests trading in Roumania.

The British Government have agreed to provide guarantees up to a total of £5 million through the Export Credits Guarantee Department in connection with purchases for export to Roumania by the Government of that State of goods manufactured in the United Kingdom and also with other approved expenditure by the Roumanian Government in this country. The arrangement will take the form of a guarantee of sterling Notes issued by the Roumanian Government up to a total sufficient to meet the expenditure. The Notes are to bear interest at 5 per cent. per annum, and their maturities are to be arranged so that the capital and interest will be repaid by equal annuities over a period of twenty years.—*Barclay's Bank Monthly Review* (London) for June, 1939.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

COTTON'S SYNTHETIC RIVALS

Cotton farmers and the cotton trade are studying with apprehension the comparatively high rate of growth in synthetic fibre production and use. The publicity accompanying developments in the synthetic fibre field and the novelty of producing wearing apparel from such materials as wood, coal, and skim milk have created much interest and some confusion about the nature and importance of synthetic textiles. For this and other reasons, it seems timely to state briefly the synthetic fibre situation, giving particular attention to its relationship to the use of cotton, says C. H. Robinson in the *Agricultural Situation* (Washington, D. C.) for April, 1939.

Rayon is the leading synthetic fibre used in the textile production. World production of rayon is equivalent roughly to one-sixth of the world

output of raw cotton. Rayon is used principally for clothing, especially dress fabrics. But it is used to some extent also in household articles such as bed-spreads and curtains, and to a limited degree in industrial materials.

Rayon is made from cellulose obtained commercially, principally and almost exclusively from wood pulp and cotton linters. No raw cotton is used as a source of industrial cellulose, not because cotton is not physically suited to the purpose but because it is too costly relative to wood pulp and cotton linters. Experiments of various kinds are under way here and abroad to use other plant materials as a source of cellulose but the commercial use of these materials is limited.

Rayon used in most textiles is either continuous filament yarn or staple fibre. Filament yarn is manufactured into a continuous thread at the rayon factory and is sold for use in weaving or knitting by textile manufacturers. Staple fibre rayon is produced from the same raw materials and by practically the same process as filament yarns, except that the filaments are not continuous but cut to definite lengths for spinning on cotton, wool or silk spinning systems. Staple fibre rayon may be spun alone or in mixtures with other fibres.

World rayon production increased during the post-war period from a total of only 33 million pounds (equivalent roughly to 80,000 bales of cotton) in 1920 to 1,900 millions (equivalent to something like 4,500,000 bales) in 1938. It is difficult to determine accurately the effect of the development and use of rayon upon the use of other textile fibres. It is fairly obvious, however, that fibres used for clothing have been affected most since it is in this group of materials that rayon has been most extensively used.

The principal clothing fibres other than rayon are cotton, wool and silk. These are also the fibres used commonly for household purposes. Cotton is used in much larger quantities than all other fibres combined for clothing and household purposes and it seems probable that rayon has been substituted for cotton more extensively than for any other fibre and possibly rayon has displaced more cotton than it has all other fibres combined.

Despite the inroads of rayon into such important uses for cotton as dress fabrics, underwear and hosiery, world cotton consumption increased during the post-war period from 17,150,000 bales in 1920-21 to nearly 28,000,000 in 1938. Thus, world cotton consumption has increased at an average rate of a little more than half a million bales annually during the last two decades. This upward trend may be explained in large part by an increased world population and the expansion in the use of cotton for industrial purposes.

From 1929 to 1938, world rayon production averaged nearly 960 million pounds annually (2,400,000 bales). If it should be assumed conservatively that less than half of this quantity displaced cotton directly or indirectly, it might be argued that cotton consumption averaged about 1,000,000 bales less annually or a total of 10,000,000 bales during the past decade than if rayon had not been developed. This quantity of cotton is equivalent to almost half of the world carry-over of cotton at the beginning of the 1938 season. These comparisons, however, are useful only for illustrative purposes and should not be taken in any sense as an accurate appraisal of the effect of rayon competition upon cotton consumption.

In Germany, where rayon has been substituted for cotton, under compulsion of Governmental decrees, total cotton consumption in 1937-38

was about 1,100,000 bales against a 5-year average of slightly more than 1,300,000 bales (1929-33). German rayon production in 1937 was 345 million pounds (equivalent to 800,000 bales of cotton) against a 5-year average of only 65 millions (150,000 bales). The important question of the extent to which increased rayon production has depressed cotton consumption must be, of necessity, largely a matter of opinion, but it seems fairly obvious that considerably more cotton would have been consumed during the past few years had there been no significant increase in the use of rayon. This is certainly so, if it is assumed that total textile consumption would have been maintained.

Germany is not the only country in which the use and mixture of rayon with cotton has been enforced by law or Governmental decree during recent years. In Japan and Italy, and possibly in a few other countries, a similar situation exists. In these countries, rayon consumption has increased more than in countries where such measures have not been enforced and where a shortage of foreign exchange and efforts toward national self-sufficiency have been less pronounced.

Great strides have been made in improving rayon quality and in reducing production costs. For example, in the United States the price of a typical quality of rayon yarn was quoted at \$2 00 per pound in 1925 against about 50 cents in 1938. Viscose staple fibre rayon is currently quoted at 25 cents per pound, against less than 10 cents for Middling 1.1/16 inch cotton at Carolina mill points, but cotton contains a larger proportion of waste than staple fibre.

In a recent study of the development of synthetic fibres, by the United States Department of Agriculture, it was concluded that "some further expansion in the use of rayon during the few years is to be expected, but no such tremendous relative gains as those . . . in past are likely. Rayon is approaching industrial maturity; that is, considering its present properties, and its price relative to prices of competing fibres, it is approaching a limit of expansion into those fields for which it is suitable."

Rayon is the only synthetic fibre of much commercial significance as compared with cotton, wool silk and other important fibres. There are, however, at least three other synthetic textile materials that seem worth mentioning—lanital, glass fibre and 'Nylon.'

Lanital is generally considered a wool substitute and is made chiefly from casein obtained from skim milk. Commercial production was first begun in Italy in 1936. Reports regarding the use of this material are somewhat conflicting but some advices from Italy indicate that it has not been entirely satisfactory as a textile material.

Glass fibre is another development which so far as textiles are concerned is not commercially important but is claimed to have potentialities for use in curtains, draperies and insulating materials.

'Nylon' is the trade name of a new textile material developed by a large rayon and chemical manufacturer in the United States. It is said to be made chiefly from materials derived from coal, water and air. 'Nylon' is claimed to be especially adapted as a substitute for silk in ladies' hose but it is said also to be adapted for thread and other products. A large plant is now in construction to manufacture the product.

With the exception of rayon, however, synthetic textile materials have not displaced a significant quantity of cotton, whatever their potentialities may be.

Reviews and Notices of Books

The Man Behind the Plough.—By Khan Bahadur Aziz-ul Huque, C. I. E., B.L., Speaker, Bengal Legislative Assembly, and Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University. Published by the Book Company, Ltd. Price Rs 5. p. 386.

I do not intend to make any reference to the first-hand knowledge and long experience of the author in matters agricultural for, even if these were not referred to on the cover of the book, the most careless of readers would find evidence of these in almost every page. Nor shall I mention the very adroit way in which the enormous and almost unmanageable mass of materials available in different Government publications have been ransacked, all extraneous matter not bearing directly on the problems dealt with sifted out and relevant facts marshalled in such a way as to establish the thesis of the writer in a most convincing manner.

Even those inhabitants of Calcutta—and these are not few in number—who take pride in their ignorance of rural problems have it driven home into their minds how unsatisfactory the conditions are under which 'the man behind the plough' has been living for generations and how with every generation that passes his condition is getting worse and worse till it appears almost irremediable. Here, for the first time, the data proving this state of things have been brought together in an easily accessible form. In this book we have at last a faithful and an accurate picture of the Bengal peasant, all phases of whose life are touched upon with great brevity and perfect mastery.

Only the man who has attempted to study and interpret the actual condition of the agriculturist from the badly written and worse arranged Government publications can have some idea of the herculean nature of the task. This has been done—and done very thoroughly. The author deserves the gratitude of those who have neither the time nor the inclination to go through what we call the "source" books of the agricultural economics of Bengal. It has been one of my hobbies to do this and I personally feel that a very valuable piece of work has been done—and done extremely well.

I have no desire to draw invidious distinctions. There are other books on the agricultural economics of Bengal but I have yet to come across one which deals so briefly and yet so fully with every aspect of the rural life of our province.

The author is also to be congratulated on his scientific approach to his subject, the boldness with which he has drawn his conclusions and the solutions he has suggested. As one who believes in and, in a very humble way tries to practise, Christian Socialism, these conclusions seem to err on the side of moderation, yet they are valuable as presenting what is ordinarily characterised as the sane and moderate view of our agricultural problems. His fearlessness in quoting certain facts not easily available in ordinary publications has placed much valuable material in the hands of those who know how to use it for pressing for the adoption of a more rapid pace in agricultural improvements and the introduction of what may be called a revolutionary policy in agrarian reforms.

It seems almost ungracious to offer any criticism of a work so well informed, so carefully planned and so brilliantly executed. It is suggested

that it should be provided with an index and a bibliography, the former for the man pressed for time who might like to utilise the very valuable information scattered throughout the book, and the latter for the reader who might be tempted to probe more deeply into any particular aspect of the agricultural problems of India.

A book of this type ought to be on the shelves of every political worker, every student of agricultural economics and every public man.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

The Nyaya Theory of Knowledge—A critical study of some problems of Logic and Metaphysics. By S. C. Chatterjee, M.A., Ph. D. Published by the University of Calcutta. Price Rs. 5. pp. xx+421.

The great importance of Nyāya philosophy, among the systems of Indian thought, is nowadays generally recognised by competent scholars. Its special merit, which is mainly derived from its entirely objective outlook and the scientific rigour with which it treats of its subject-matter, is all the more obvious today when the philosophic world appears to be dominated by realistic modes of thinking. Unfortunately, the literature of Nyāya, especially in its later developments, is not easy to read, and so far we had no treatise in English which dealt with this important school and could be said to have done full justice to it. Books on Nyāya certainly there are, but as far as we know they never succeed in giving their reader any idea of the subtle, acute and elaborate analysis of the problem of knowledge which we find in Nyāya philosophy. Indeed, it is in the field of Theory of Knowledge, more than in any other, that the Naiyāyikas may be said to have made their lasting contributions; and even those who differ widely, in their metaphysical persuasions, from the Naiyāyikas, do not hesitate to follow their lead in epistemology. There was thus a great and obvious need of a book dealing adequately and worthily with the Nyāya Theory of Knowledge. We are, therefore, very grateful to Dr. Chatterjee for supplying this long-standing need.

His book is divided into five parts and twenty chapters. The first part is devoted to a discussion of general epistemological problems, such as the nature and forms of knowledge, the conditions and factors of valid knowledge, the test of truth and error, etc. The problem of perception, in all its aspects, is treated in the second part. Various definitions of perception and different kinds of perception are discussed; the conditions of perception, both ordinary and extraordinary, are also determined. The third part deals at length with inference and treats also of the fallacies. The fourth part deals with *upamāna* or comparison, and the last part discusses testimony and other sources of valid knowledge recognised in Indian philosophy.

On every subject the Nyāya view is faithfully presented and thoroughly discussed and is also compared with the views of other systems of Indian philosophy on the same topic. There are frequent references to parallel views of Western thinkers which are always very illuminating. The book gives everywhere ample evidence of the vast learning of the author and of his deep insight into philosophical problems. In my opinion this one book, if carefully studied, would give an excellent knowledge, not only of the Nyāya system, but of all systems of Indian thought, so far, at least, as the problem of knowledge is concerned.

The author, although always sympathetic towards the Nyāya position, has at places criticised the Nyāya view and expressed opinions which will not be acceptable to a genuine follower of Nyāya. This only testifies to the author's independent judgment and is not to be regretted inasmuch as the author's personal views, whatever their worth, have not in any way vitiated or confused his interpretation of the Nyāya position.

RASVIHARY DAS

Indian Realism.—By Jadunath Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Philosophy, Meerut College. Kegan Paul, London. Price 10s. 6d. Pp. xvi + 287.

This book is a clear and comprehensive account of the long controversy between subjective idealism and realism in Indian philosophy with regard to the existence of the external world. In it we have a fairly complete exposition of the Yogācāra position and an exhaustive statement of its criticism by the different schools of Indian realism. Both the exposition and the criticism of Yogācāra idealism are based on the original works of some of its illustrious followers and many of its eminent critics. There are frequent references to Western thinkers and their thoughts, which serve to bring out the main points of agreement and difference between the Indian and Western schools of idealism and realism, and also to make the work an interesting study in comparative philosophy.

The book is divided into eight chapters. Chapter I gives an account of Yogācāra idealism, based on the works of Mādhavācārya, Śāntarakṣita, Kamalaśīla, and Vācaspati, and compares it with the subjective idealism of Berkeley and the sensationism of Hume. The epistemological and metaphysical arguments in support of subjective idealism have been clearly explained here in all their details. Chapter II briefly explains the realism of the Sautrāntikas as compared with the representationism of Descartes and Locke, and states the Sautrāntika criticism of Yogācāra idealism from Mādhavācārya's *Sarvadarśanaśaṅgraha*. Chapter III is an account of the Yogācāra criticism of the Sautrāntika theory of representationism as based separately on the works of Jayanta, Pārthasārathi and Śrīdhara. Chapter IV gives us the Jaina exposition and criticism of Yogācāra idealism and contrasts the direct realism of the Jaina with the indirect realism of the Sautrāntika, and summarises the Jaina criticism of Sautrāntika realism from *Sarvadarśanaśaṅgraha*. Chapter V states the Sāṅkhya-Yoga exposition and criticism of Yogācāra idealism from the works of Aniruddha, Vyāsa, Vācaspati and Vijñānabhikṣu. Chapter VI is an account of the Mīmāṃsā exposition and criticism of Yogācāra idealism from the works of Śabara, Kumārila, Pārthasārathi and Prabhākara. Chapter VII deals with the Yogācāra idealism as explained and criticised by the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika realists like Guṭama, Vātsyāyana, Udyotakara, Jayanta and Śrīdhara. Chapter VIII opens with a statement of the contrast between Sāṅkara's absolute idealism and the Yogācāra's subjective idealism, and gives an exposition and criticism of Yogācāra idealism as contained in the works of Sāṅkara Rāmānuja, Nimbārka, Madhva and other Vedāntins. In some chapters we find also a criticism of Sautrāntika realism by other realistic thinkers like Prabhākara, Śrīdhara and Rāmānuja.

It will appear from the above that the author has given in this book a very elaborate account of Yogācāra idealism from almost all the original texts dealing with this subject. His interpretation of the texts and statement of the main positions and arguments of the different realistic and

idealistic schools of Indian philosophy are, on the whole, correct and satisfactory. But the exposition and criticism of Yogācāra idealism being stated separately from different treatises, there is a good deal of repetition of the arguments for and against subjective idealism. This could have been avoided by a classified statement of the Yogācāra's main positions and arguments as well as those of his critics. The author's familiarity with Indian and Western thought has enabled him to throw much light on the controversy between realism and idealism by referring to parallel views in Indian and Western philosophy. He has, however, contented himself with pointing out the general agreements and differences between Indian and Western systems of philosophy, and has not fully developed the logical distinctions between them. But there is no doubt that his elaborate and thorough treatment of the subject, and his constant reference to original texts in support of his statements, make the work a valuable contribution to Indian philosophy. It is undoubtedly a scholarly work on which students can rely for authentic information about and accurate knowledge of one important school of Indian thought. Supplying, as it does, the Eastern parallel to the Western controversy between idealism and realism, the book will be useful not only to students of Indian philosophy but also to those of modern Western philosophy.

S. C. CHATTERJEE

Sādhanā or Spiritual Discipline—Its Various Forms (Expository and Critical). By Śaḍhu Śāntinātha, Poona, 1938. Pp. 19 + 157 + cxxxvii + xviii.

This work is a thoroughly rational criticism of the religious life with special reference to its practical aspects and theoretic conceptions. Its main object is to show that no religion can stand rational scrutiny of its contents. On its practical side, every religion enjoins on its followers a system of culture and discipline for the attainment of the highest good of life—the *summum bonum*. On its theoretical side, it accepts, as valid, a number of beliefs and doctrines regarding ultimate realities like the absolute, God, self, etc. The first is the aspect of sādhanā, and the second is the philosophical basis of the first. By a critical examination of the first, the author seeks to show that no sādhanā can lead to objectively valid results, although it may have some subjective utility for the religious aspirant in producing a sense of serenity and satisfaction in him. Similarly, it is shown that the metaphysical realities, on which different religions pin their faith and by which they seek to explain the world of experience, are no better than misty conjectures which cannot stand the criticism of reason. It is in this spirit of destructive criticism that the author exposes the futility of various forms of sādhanā and the unsoundness of their respective metaphysical foundations. It is his honest conviction that no sādhanā stands on objectively valid grounds, nor does it lead to any objectively valid experience. Religious authorities, saints and prophets, may claim to have some kind of spiritual experience or intuition of absolute truth as the final state of their sādhanā. But this is, so thinks the author, only a case of the wish being father to the thought and constancy of thought about the desired object developing into a subjective realisation of it. So at the end of a long and arduous course of critical enquiry he offers certain suggestions for sādhanā without metaphysical assumptions, and this, he thinks, is the only possibility left to a sincere rationalist.

In order to substantiate his position, the author criticises various forms of *sādhana* as follows: Buddhist *sādhana* consists in moral discipline and contemplation of the truths about the nature of things, *viz.*, 'all is sorrow,' 'all is momentary,' 'all is unique,' and 'all is void.' None of these truths can be proved to be objectively valid; nor are they consistent with a moral and religious life of *sādhana* to attain liberation (*nirvāṇa*). The self being momentary, we cannot speak of it as being liberated from a previous state of bondage. Jaina *sādhana* consists chiefly in moral, devotional and ascetic practices which lead to the soul's liberation through destruction of the effects of karma. These practices may have subjective utility, but they do not produce any objective and permanent state of blissful consciousness. Further, the Jaina conceptions about self, karma and liberation suffer from serious defects and inconsistencies. Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika *sādhana* is just the contemplation of the self as distinct from the mind-body structure. Continued meditation on this truth results in the intuition of the true nature of the self and thereby leads to the cessation of suffering. But this is not possible in so far as mere intuition cannot cut off the real connection between soul and body or mind. For similar reasons, the Sāṅkhya-Yoga *sādhana* must be rejected as ineffective and impossible too. Karma-*sādhana*, as advocated by the Mīmāṃsakas, consists chiefly in the performance of religious rites and duties as enjoined by the Vedas. But it makes certain unwarrantable assumptions regarding the Vedas, karma and *apūrva*, and cannot, therefore be acceptable to any rationalistic thinker. Bhakti-*sādhana* consists in cultivating the emotion of love and admiration for God, and in the regular habit of meditation and prayer to Him. It takes different forms according to the different conceptions of God. But it is vitiated by a perverse belief that God appears in visible form before the devotee and communicates with him. Further, the conflicting assertions of the devotees themselves prove that their religious experiences are all subjective and have no reference to objective reality. The incarnation of God and the kingdom of God are figments of the imagination. Jñāna-*sādhana* is held in high esteem by the intellectuals of every age. According to it, ignorance is the ultimate cause of our bondage and suffering, and liberation consists in the direct knowledge of absolute truth which removes ignorance once for all. This direct knowledge is a supersensuous perception of absolute truth which is to be attained through constant hearing about, and reflection and meditation on, the truth. But, like other forms, this *sādhana* makes certain impossible demands on its advocates to realise the individual self as identical with or as a part of absolute reality. The wide divergence of opinions that we find among the followers of this path also shows that it has no firm basis in any objective reality, but is dependent on the subjective experiences of different individuals.

Three appendices have been added to the book. In the first, the author has criticised the law of karma as found in Indian systems of philosophy and in non-Indian theistic faiths like Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity and Muhammadanism. In the second, after examining metaphysical realities like absolute, God, self and matter, he comes to the conclusion that the human understanding is not competent to solve metaphysical problems about supersensuous reality. It is in the last appendix that we get some constructive suggestion from the author for *sādhana* without metaphysical assumptions. His idea is that we can minimise our sufferings and enjoy life to some extent by purging it of impurity, weakness and fickleness. This is to be effected by self-control,

self-teaching and meditation. In meditation our attitude should be one of indifference, in which the self lets the flow of thought go on but not affect it, and itself remains 'the disinterested onlooker of the mechanical flow of thoughts.' In conclusion the author criticises and rejects the doctrine of the harmony of all faiths as an ungrounded assumption.

The book is a remarkable production. It combines in itself the results of mature critical thinking and prolonged spiritual training. It gives clear evidence of the author's vast erudition in philosophy and religion, and of his powers of acute, penetrating analysis. But the results of his critical enquiry seem to be defective from the standpoint of both philosophy and religion. The central issue raised by him, namely, whether *sādhana* has reference to any objective supersensuous reality, can be decided only in the light of actual experience of it. That the author has himself no such experience is no ground for denying its presence or possibility in others. The course of *sādhana* recommended by him is closely analogous to that of the Buddhist and, like it, cannot dispense with the possibility of a supersensuous experience of the self as a transcendent reality. How otherwise can he speak of "objectless meditation" which is obviously an experience of the self as pure consciousness? How, again, can he recommend an attitude of meditation in which one says: "Let me watch the mental states,.....let not *myself* be affected by them, let *myself* be the disinterested onlooker of the mechanical flow of the thoughts?" It may be true that we cannot explain how this is possible. But for that we should not deny the reality of pure self-consciousness. We may not be able to explain the origin of life, and yet we have no doubt about its existence in the body. In his anxiety to secure logical certainty in all matters, the author goes so far as to say that the intuition of supersensuous reality (*i.e.*, self) is a subjective experience which has no objective validity. But we are not given to understand what he exactly means by 'objective'. If by 'objective' he means what is given through sense, then the experience of self is certainly subjective and it is illegitimate to try to make it objective, since of the supersensuous we cannot have a sensuous experience. If, however, by 'objective' he means what is independent of all experience, then perhaps nothing can be objective, for what is independent of all possible experience is unknown and unknowable. Further, if the different forms of *sādhana* have subjective utility and give us subjective satisfaction, is it not reasonable to think that they must have an objective basis? Can anything which is purely imaginary give us permanent satisfaction? Religion is, above all, a way of life, a mode of living, which is based on certain peculiar and unique experiences of the self. It does not matter much for the religious life, if it is connected with a good metaphysic or a bad metaphysic. As the author himself says, 'the human understanding should ultimately surrender itself to the consciousness that the mystery of the world is insoluble.' If this be so, a religious man should take better care of his life than of his philosophy. If his life is satisfying to himself and gives satisfaction to others, then that is all we require of him; it makes little difference if his metaphysic is good, bad or indifferent. Buddha gave us no metaphysics but the way of living a pure life of love and service to all. If any *sādhana* develops and stabilizes this ideal life in us, let men follow it and let us not mar the harmony of their life by raising problems which are either insoluble or illegitimate.

National Reconstruction.—By Chandra Chakrabarty. Published by Vijaya Krishna Brothers. Price Re. 1. Pp. 126.

The author is a prolific writer on subjects so varied as theology and botany, medicine and politics, sexology and public administration, history and dietetics. This encyclopædic sweep is not, however, maintained by the author's performance. The present book purports to be a plan for reconstructing India on a rational basis. Poverty, ignorance and superstition, we are told, are the three maladies from which India suffers today. On the economic side, according to the author, collective and co-operative farming and high industrialisation "have become the vital need of the country. The problems of economic reconstruction are, however, hardly tackled by the author. Politically, India needs a representative democratic government which must be inexpensive and at the same time effective." The author draws up an ordinary scheme of Federal constitution based on the admission of India to Dominion Status. A sound system of village self-government is to be the foundation of the constitution. "Indian Nationalists" argues the author, "should also realise that however desirable may be the ideal of independence, it is not *real politics* yet."

On the social side Mr. Chakrabarty advocates a thoroughgoing reform of Indian food, dress and marriage system. He would have us—men and women—go about in shorts or trousers and straw-hats; he recommends the preparation of 'synthetic food' and increase of food supply by 'electro-culture' and 'utilisation of solar rays,' he proposes divorce, pre-nuptial love and compulsory medical examination of intending parties to a marriage. The suggestions, though not novel, are interesting.

In the first two chapters of the book the author attempts, ineffectually, the herculean task of summarising the trend of Indian history from Mohenjo-Daro to the present day. The chapters contain a lot of useful information, ill-arranged and ill-digested. Composition and style of the author leave much to be desired.

NIRMALCHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

India Speaks.—By B. Koyal, M.A. Published by S. K. Lahiri & Co., Ltd. Price Re. 1. Pp. 106.

The book contains a selection of speeches by Indian leaders and is primarily meant for school students. Mr. Koyal, the able editor, deserves our thanks for the production. The book reminds us of our national struggle, of the leaders—past and present, of their services in different fields of national activity. A careful study of the book would afford a liberal education in patriotism.

The art of speech is an indispensable instrument of popular government. Coming of democracy in India, therefore, demands an increasing cultivation of the art. So a publication of this nature is really opportune. It is all the more welcome, because public speaking appears to be a neglected art in Bengal to lay. The deterioration of the average standard of speaking in our province strikes any casual listener at assemblies, conferences and public meetings. Few of our speakers seem to realise what the editor of this useful brochure seeks to emphasise: Effective speech depends on the capacity and willingness to take pains for it. In this connection the editor has set out in the introduction a good summary of the principles of public

speaking formulated by great exponents of the art like Lord Chesterfield, Gladstone and John Bright.

There is room for difference of opinion as to the inclusion of some of the speeches contained in the book. Again, readers will miss very much in a book like this, an example of the finished parliamentary eloquence of Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, the ablest parliamentarian of modern India, none of whose speeches has been included in the selection. The bibliography might have been enriched by the addition of Curzon's 'Modern Parliamentary Eloquence' and other standard treatises on the art of speech. But these are minor matters. The book can very confidently be commended to the reading public.

NIRMALCHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

Ourselves

[I. Sir S. Radhakrishnan Honoured.—II. University Representative on Provincial Text Book Committee.—III. Dr. Satyacharan Chatterjee.—IV. Proposed Changes in the Regulations.—V. New Rules for Female Candidates for the Matriculation Examination.—VI The Date for the Supplementary Matriculation Examination.—VII. Supplementary Matriculation Examination, December, 1939.—VIII. A New Fellow of the University.—IX. The University Bureau of the British Empire.—X. A New D.Sc.—XI. A New Endowment for the Award of a Medal.—XII Report on the L.T. and B.T. Examinations.—XIII. Report on the B.A. Examination, 1939.—XIV. Report on the B.Sc. Examination, 1939 — XV. Report of the Board of Examiners for the D.P.H. Examination, Part II, May, 1939.—XVI. Report on the Teachers' Training Examination, April, 1939.—XVII. Report on the Teachers' Training Examination in Geography, April, 1939 —XVIII. Reports on the Preliminary, Intermediate and Final Examinations in Law, June, 1939.—XIX Dates for Teachership and Training Examinations — XX. Dates for the next D.P.H. Examination, Parts I and II—XXI Subjects for the Jubilee Research Prize in Arts and Science, 1941.—XXII. Post-Graduate Courses at the Imperial Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi.—XXIII. Dr. Maryla Falk Arrives in Calcutta.—XXIV Government Proposal of Discontinuing Publication of University Results in the Calcutta Gazette—XXV. Cotton College, Gauhati.—XXVI. The *Viśva-Bhāratī*.—XXVII. The International Congress of Mathematicians.—XXVIII. Government Grant to Non-Government Colleges]

I. SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN HONOURED

Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, George V Professor of Philosophy, Calcutta University and Spalding Professor of Eastern Religion and Ethics, Oxford University, has recently been elected a Fellow of the British Academy. He is the first Indian to be so honoured.

We offer our congratulations to Sir Sarvapalli on the high honour bestowed on him.

II. UNIVERSITY REPRESENTATIVE ON PROVINCIAL TEXT BOOK COMMITTEE

Mr. Sailendranath Mitra, M A., has been nominated by the Syndicate to be the University representative on the Provincial Text Book Committee for a period of three years. Mr. Mitra served on this Committee last year also.

III. DR. SATYACHARAN CHATTERJEE

We congratulate Dr. Satyacharan Chatterjee, D.Sc., F.R.G.S., on his having obtained the Premchand Roychand Studentship in Scientific

Subjects for 1938. Dr. Chatterjee's thesis was on 'A Preliminary Note on some basic and ultra-basic rocks found near Garumahisani Pahar, Mayurbhanj.' Dr. Chatterjee is the first Doctor in Geology of this University.

IV. PROPOSED CHANGES IN THE REGULATIONS

Certain changes in the Regulations are under consideration by the University. It is proposed to allow a candidate who fails at an examination to reappear only in the subject or subjects in which he has failed. This concession will be available to a candidate for two years after the first failure. At the end of this period he will have to sit for all the subjects. A candidate who thus appears in one or two subjects only, when successful, will be declared to have merely passed the examination without being placed in any division. This rule, when formally passed by the Senate and approved by Government, will apply to the I.A., B.A., I.Sc., B.Sc., and B.Com. Examinations. But the compartmental system of examination will not be allowed at the Matriculation stage.

As regards B.A. and B.Sc. Honours Examinations, a candidate who fails in the Honours subject will have free choice between the Honours and the Pass course in the subject. If he passes the Honours examination during the two years after the first failure, a star mark will be placed against his name to show that he has received qualifying marks for Honours.

The following Committee was appointed to consider the proposed changes in the University Regulations and report to the Syndicate:—

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor

Bhupatimohan Sen, Esq., M.A. (Cantab.), M.Sc.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice C. C. Biswas, C.I.E., M.A., B.L.

Pramathanath Banerjee, Esq., M.A., B.L., BARRISTER-AT-LAW,
M.L.A.

Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Esq., M.A., B.L., D.LITT., BARRISTER-
AT-LAW, M.L.A.

Rev. Allan Cameron, M.A., B.D.

V. NEW RULES FOR FEMALE CANDIDATES FOR THE MATRICULATION EXAMINATION

Every female candidate seeking admission to the Matriculation Examination will have to state in her application whether she has previously read in any school ; if so, the class from and the year in which she left must also be mentioned by her.

The explanatory note added to the above rule runs as follows:—

“ Female candidates who have attended any recognised school within one year previous to the examination shall not be allowed to appear as private students. If this fact is suppressed, the admission of the candidates to the examination will be cancelled.

“ Students who had discontinued their studies from a class lower than the Matriculation Class will not be permitted to appear at the examination until the time when they would have completed the Matriculation course if they had continued their studies in a recognised school. The Syndicate may relax the operation of this rule in the case of a candidate who with the previous permission of the Syndicate appears at and passes the test examination held by the Inspectress of schools or under her orders or by any school approved in that behalf by the Syndicate.”

* * *

VI. THE DATE FOR THE SUPPLEMENTARY MATRICULATION EXAMINATION

The Supplementary Matriculation Examination under the existing Regulations will commence on Monday, the 4th December, 1939. Applications and fees for admission to the examination should reach the Controller of Examinations on or before Monday, the 18th September, 1939.

* * *

VII. SUPPLEMENTARY MATRICULATION EXAMINATION, DECEMBER, 1939

The Registrar, Calcutta University, has issued a notice in connection with the Supplementary Matriculation Examination, December, 1939, to the effect that the following classes of candidates will not be

required to apply to the University for special permission to appear at the examination:—

(1) Regular candidates from recognised High Schools.

(2) Regular candidates who were unsuccessful at the last or any previous examination and desire to appear at the Supplementary Examination as private candidates on passing the test examination of the recognised High Schools from which they appeared at the previous examination.

(3) Regular candidates who were eligible to appear at the last examination but could not, for some reasons, sit for it, and desire to appear at the Supplementary Examination as private candidates on passing the test examination of the recognised High Schools where they had previously read.

(4) Private candidates who will appear at the test examination to be held by a Divisional Inspector of Schools.

(5) Private candidates who appeared at the test examination of a recognised High School specially selected or authorised by the University for the purpose but failed at the last Matriculation Examination and desire to appear at the Supplementary Matriculation Examination as private candidates on passing the test examination of the same school.

Candidates who failed at the Matriculation Examination, shall produce before the Head Masters concerned their Admit Cards which should accompany their application forms for admission to the examination.

Candidates other than those mentioned above must obtain the permission of the University for appearing at the Supplementary Matriculation Examination.

* * *

VIII. A NEW FELLOW OF THE UNIVERSITY

Lt.-Col. J. C. De, M.B., M.R.C.P., M.R.C.S., I.M.S., has been nominated an Ordinary Fellow of the University, *vice* Lt.-Col. T. C. Boyd resigned. Lt.-Col. De has been attached to the Faculty of Medicine. He has also been appointed a member of the Board of Studies in Medicine.

* * *

IX. THE UNIVERSITY BUREAU OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

The following gentlemen have been nominated by our University for election to the Executive Council of the University Bureau of the British Empire. The election will take place on the 30th September, 1939, when the Annual General Meeting of the Council will be held :—

1. Sir William Ewart Greaves, KT., M.A., D.L., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.
2. Sir S. Radhakrishnan, KT., M.A., D.LITT., F.B.A.
3. R. Littlehales, Esq., C.I.E.

The members elected will hold office for one year only.

* * *

X. A NEW D.Sc.

Mr. Dineschandra Sen, M.Sc., who submitted a thesis entitled “The Theocarbonyl Group” in support of his candidature for the Degree of Doctor of Science, has been admitted to that degree. His work was examined by a Board consisting of the following examiners: Sir William J. Pope, K.B.E., D.Sc., F.R.S., Sir G. T. Morgan, O.B.E., D.Sc., F.R.S., and Dr. Harold King, D.Sc., F.R.S.

We congratulate Dr. Sen on his success.

* * *

XI. A NEW ENDOWMENT FOR THE AWARD OF A MEDAL

The Secretary, “Satyasram,” has placed at the disposal of the University Rs. 500 in 3½ per cent G. P. Notes for the creation of an endowment for the annual award of a silver medal to be called “Sri Srimat Taracharan Paramahansa Medal.” This medal will be awarded at the Convocation of the University to the candidate who is placed first in the First Class with Honours in Bengali. If, however, there is no First Class in Bengali in a particular year, it will go to the candidate who secures the highest number of marks from among the successful candidates at the B.A. Examination with Honours in Bengali, Sanskrit, Philosophy or History.

* * *

XII. REPORT ON THE L.T. AND B.T. EXAMINATIONS

The number of candidates registered for the L.T. Examination, 1939, was 19, of whom 16 passed.

Of the successful candidates 5 passed in the First Class and 11 in the Second.

The percentage of passes is 84.2. The percentage of passes was 100 in 1938.

The number of candidates registered for the B.T. Examination, 1939, was 275, of whom 2 were absent.

The number of candidates who actually appeared was 273, of whom 209 passed.

Of the successful candidates 39 passed in the First Division and 152 in the Second.

The percentage of passes is 76.1.

The percentage of passes was 68.1 in 1938.

* * *

XIII. REPORT ON THE B.A. EXAMINATION, 1939

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 4,536 (including those registered to appear in one, two and three subjects only), of whom 164 were absent. The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 4,372, of whom 6 were expelled, 3,016 were successful and 1,350 failed. Of the successful candidates 2,615 were placed in the Pass List and 387 on the Honours list. Of the candidates in the Honours List 39 were placed in the First Class and 348 in the Second Class. Of the candidates in the Pass List 184 passed with Distinction.

The number of candidates who have passed in one subject only is 3 and in two subjects is 8 and in 3 subjects is 3.

The percentage of passes is 68.9.

The percentage of passes was 61.2 in 1938.

* * *

XIV. REPORT ON THE B.Sc. EXAMINATION, 1939

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 901, of whom 21 were absent. The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 880, of whom 3 were expelled, 667 were

successful and 202 failed. Of the successful candidates 557 were placed in the Pass List and 103 in the Honours List. Of the candidates in the Honours List, 15 were placed in the First Class and 88 in the Second Class. Of the candidates in the Pass List 192 passed with Distinction.

The number of candidates who have passed in one subject is 7.

The percentage of passes is 75·8.

The percentage of passes was 71·3 in 1938.

The admission of some candidates to the B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations was cancelled for adopting unfair means.

* * *

XV. REPORT OF THE BOARD OF EXAMINERS FOR THE D.P.H. EXAMINATION, PART II, MAY, 1939

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 6, of whom 3 passed, 3 failed, none was absent.

* * *

XVI. REPORT ON THE TEACHERS' TRAINING EXAMINATION, APRIL, 1939.

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 61, of whom 2 were absent.

The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 59, of whom 48 were successful.

Of the successful candidates 3 passed with Distinction.

The percentage of passes is 81.

The percentage of passes was 90·1 in September, 1938.

The percentage of passes was 84·6 in April, 1938.

* * *

XVII. REPORT ON THE TEACHERS' TRAINING EXAMINATION IN GEOGRAPHY, APRIL, 1939

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 133, of whom none was absent, and 125 were successful.

Of the successful candidates 5 passed with Distinction.

The percentage of passes is 93·9 (April, 1938—95·5).

* * *

XVIII. REPORTS ON THE PRELIMINARY, INTERMEDIATE AND THE
FINAL EXAMINATIONS IN LAW, JUNE, 1939

Preliminary Examination in Law, June, 1939

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 416, of whom 34 were absent.

The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 382, of whom 195 passed, 186 failed and 1 was expelled.

Of the successful candidates 10 were placed in the First Division and 185 in the Second.

The percentage of passes is 51.

The percentage of passes was 58.43 in December, 1938

Intermediate Examination in Law, June, 1939

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 295, of whom 22 were absent.

The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 273, of whom 206 passed and 67 failed.

Of the successful candidates 17 were placed in the First Division and 189 in the Second.

The percentage of passes is 75.4.

The percentage of passes was 74.01 in December, 1938.

Final Examination in Law, June, 1939

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 313, of whom 25 were absent.

The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 287, of whom 196 passed, 91 failed and 1 was expelled.

Of the successful candidates 13 were placed in the First Division and 183 in the Second.

The percentage of passes is 68.2. (December, 1938—66.24%)

* * *

XIX. DATES FOR TEACHERSHIP AND TRAINING EXAMINATIONS

The commencing dates of the undermentioned examinations have been fixed as follows :—

(1) Teachers' Training Certificate (General)—4th October, 1939.

(2) Teachers' Training Certificate (Geography)—2nd October, 1939.

(3) English Teachership Certificate—3rd October, 1939.

* * *

XX. DATES FOR THE NEXT D.P.H. EXAMINATION, PARTS I AND II

The following dates have been fixed for holding the D.P.H. Examinations, Parts I and II:—

D.P.H., Part I—Monday, the 4th September, 1939.

D.P.H., Part II—Thursday, the 21st September, 1939.

* * *

XXI. SUBJECTS FOR THE JUBILEE RESEARCH PRIZE IN ARTS AND SCIENCE FOR 1941

The following subjects have been selected for the Jubilee Research Prize in Arts and Science to be awarded in 1941:—

Arts

1. Economic Planning in Bengal as a solution for the Problem of Unemployment.

2. India's Cultural Contact with the Chinese Empire during the Hindu Period.

Science

1. Standardisation of Illumination with particular reference to width, surface and traffic condition of modern roads in a city.

2. Causes of blindness in the villages of Bengal and statistical collection of the number of partially blind and blind in Bengal.

* * *

XXII. POST-GRADUATE COURSES AT THE IMPERIAL AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, NEW DELHI

The Director of Agriculture, Bengal, has written to the University on behalf of the above Institute, requesting that names of suitable candidates for admission to the Post-Graduate courses in Agriculture may be sent to his office so that they may be forwarded to the Imperial Agricultural Institute with the recommendation of the Provincial Selection Committee by the first week of September, 1939.

The Agriculture Department of Bengal has decided to award two scholarships of the value of Rs. 50 per month each for two years to deserving candidates, one of whom would be required to study Mycology and the other Entomolgy. The awards will be made to applicants to be selected by the Agriculture Department, Bengal, from among those whom the University will recommend for admission to the Post-Graduate courses in Agriculture at the Imperial Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi

The University has authorised Professors Jnanendranath Mukherjee and S. P. Agharkar to recommend names of suitable candidates for the course.

* * * *

XXIII. DR. MARYLA FALK ARRIVES IN CALCUTTA

The Polish Ministry of Public Instruction in co-operation with the Warsaw University has delegated to India Dr. Maryla Falk, a distinguished lady Indologist who has published many learned articles in English, French, German and Italian. She formerly held the Readership in Polish Language and Literature in Rome.

Dr. Falk proposes to deliver a series of lectures at this University with a view to facilitating Indian as well as Polish scientific research in the field of Philology

* * *

XXIV. GOVERNMENT PROPOSAL OF DISCONTINUING PUBLICATION OF UNIVERSITY RESULTS IN THE *Calcutta Gazette*

The Education Department, Bengal, has invited the opinion of the University to its proposal of discontinuing from next year the publication of the lists of candidates who pass the different examinations held by the University, in view of the fact that authoritative lists are now being published by the University and that the *Calcutta Gazette* in which they are published again are issued at a later date and are sold at a higher price. The Education Department has been informed that the University will communicate its views on the subject by the middle of August, this year.

* * *

XXV. COTTON COLLEGE, GAUHATI

The Cotton College, Gauhati, has been granted affiliation in Biology to the I.A. and I.Sc. standards with effect from the beginning of the present academic session (1939-40).

* * *

XXVI. THE VIŚVA-BHĀRATĪ

The Viśva-Bhāratī (Santiniketan) has been recognised to the B.A. Honours standard in Bengali from the commencement of the present academic session (1939-40).

* * *

XXVII. THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF MATHEMATICIANS

Our University has sent its good wishes to the International Congress of Mathematicians on the occasion of its forthcoming session to be held in Cambridge, Massachusetts from September 4 to 12 in 1940.

* * *

XXVIII. GOVERNMENT GRANT TO NON-GOVERNMENT COLLEGES

The Government grant for the year 1939-40 amounting to Rs. 80,000 has been distributed by the University to the non-Government Colleges, the sum of Rs. 3,000 being held back out of this grant to meet special requisitions from the colleges during the session. The grant has been made available for the expansion and equipment of libraries, laboratories, gymnasiums, playgrounds, swimming pools, etc. The grants received by the different colleges are shown below :—

A. M. College (Mymensingh)—Rs. 2,500 ; Ashutosh College (Calcutta)—Rs. 3,500 ; Bangabasi College (Calcutta)—Rs. 2,500 ; Bankura College—Rs. 2,000 ; B. M. College (Barisal)—Rs. 2,500 ; Burdwan Raj College—Rs. 1,500 ; Carmichael College (Rangpur)—Rs. 2,500 ; City College (Calcutta)—Rs. 3,000 ; Hindu Academy (Daulatpur)—Rs. 2,500 ; Edward College (Pabna) Rs.—1,500 ; Feni College—Rs. 2,500 ; Narsingh Dutt College (Howrah)—Rs. 1,500 ; Saadat College (Karatiya)—Rs. 3,000 ; Krishnachandra College (Hetampur)—Rs. 2,000 ; Loreto House

(Calcutta)—Rs. 750 ; Midnapur College—Rs. 1,500 , P. K. College (Contai)—Rs. 2,000 ; P. C. College (Bagerhat)—Rs. 2,500 ; Rajendra College (Faridpur)—Rs. 2,000 ; Ripon College (Calcutta)—Rs. 3,000 ; Scottish Church College (Calcutta)—Rs. 3,000 ; Serampur College—Rs. 1,500 ; St. Helen's College (Kurseong)—Rs. 250 ; St. Joseph's College (Calcutta)—Rs. 500 ; St. Paul's College (Calcutta)—Rs. 2,500 ; St. Paul's College (Darjeeling)—Rs. 500 ; St. Xavier's College (Calcutta)—Rs. 2,500 ; Uttarpara College—Rs. 1,500 ; Victoria Institution (Calcutta)—Rs. 3,000 ; Victoria College (Narail)—Rs. 1,500 ; Victoria College (Comilla)—Rs. 2,500 ; Vidyasagar College (Calcutta)—Rs. 2,500 ; Gokhale Memorial Girls' College (Bhowanipur)—Rs. 1,000 ; Salesian College—Rs. 500 ; St. Joseph's College (Darjeeling)—Rs. 500 ; Sir Ashutosh College (Chittagong)—Rs. 2,000 ; Haraganga College (Munshiganj)—Rs. 1,000 ; Bogra College—Rs. 2,000 ; South Calcutta Girls' College—Rs. 1,000 ; Krishnath College (Berhampore)—Rs. 2,500.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

Annual Subscription Rs. 7-8

IMPORTANT NOTICE

With the September issue The CALCUTTA REVIEW will complete another year of its fruitful career. The REVIEW of the outgoing year has been considered by competent authorities to have been in some respects a refreshing departure from its past, maintaining at the same time the high standard and traditions with which it has been associated since its inception,

Attempts are being made to make the REVIEW a better and brighter journal from the beginning of the new year. It will delight our readers to know that we have been able to rally round ourselves a good number of contributors, eminent in public life and in their respective spheres of activities, all over the world.

The OCTOBER issue, the first of the New Year, will be a special one, in which there will be included articles together with illustrations from some eminent literary celebrities of India.

Our subscribers are earnestly requested to renew their subscriptions in course of this month (September). Those who do not, however, intend to continue as subscribers should intimate their unwillingness to this office on or before the 30th September, 1939. For convenience sake subscribers are requested to send their subscriptions by *Postal Money Order* so as to reach us by the end of this month. Otherwise, the REVIEW for October will be sent per V. P. P. for Rs. 7-10, which, when refused, causes unnecessary loss and inconvenience to the Management.

SENATE HOUSE,
Calcutta University.

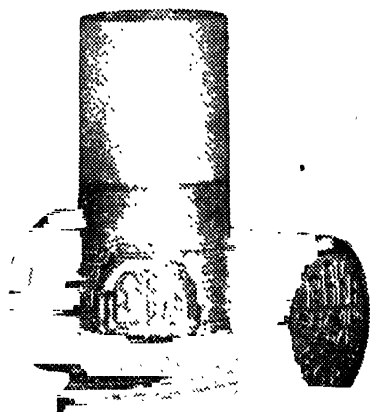
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MANAGER,
The Calcutta Review.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

SEPTEMBER, 1939

THE COMMUNAL AWARD AND INDIAN NATIONALISM

PROFESSOR H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., PH.D.,

*Fellow, Calcutta University; Member, Legislative Assembly, Bengal;
President, Bengal Evangelistic Mission; President, Baptist Lay Association, Bengal;
President, All-India Conference of Indian Christians.*

[T was Mahatma Gandhi who pointed out years ago that India is the land of divisions. For instance, even before we dreamt of enjoying local self-government, we had States India and British India. Within British India, we had Hindu India and Muslim India. Recently within Hindu India we have High caste, Intermediate caste and Scheduled caste India. From what will be said later on, it will be abundantly clear that in Muslim India also there is apprehension of a Shiah and a Sunni India, of a Shareef and a Razeel India and of a Momin and a non-Momin India. Similarly, in Scheduled caste India, we may, before long, expect the appearance of various sub-groups. All this was anticipated years ago and warnings issued but they were not heeded.

It has, however, to be said in all fairness that before the Communal Award was made in August, 1932, the Indians who were called to the Round Table Conference were afforded more than one opportunity to discuss the matter among themselves and to arrive at an

agreed solution. It has to be admitted with regret and humiliation that this was not done and that difficulties were put in the way by our own flesh and blood. These facts should be borne in mind by those uncharitable nationalists who try to lay all the blame on the British Government for introducing this most mischievous of devices for subdividing our countrymen into conflicting groups.

Nor can the British be held entirely blameless. It was on the 1st October, 1906, when Lord Minto received a deputation of Indian Muslims, that the British Government, through the Governor-General, committed itself to the acceptance of the principles underlying the communal award. It is now known that the deputation was not altogether spontaneous and that the inspiration had really come from Simla. It is held by National India that the Home Department was aware that the Reforms were imminent and that it sought to counter them by creating division between the two largest communities in India. The position of the unofficial Englishmen was summed up in the statement: "If Hindus and Muslims united, where should we be?"

Lord Morley in his celebrated despatch of 1908 tried to minimise the evil by suggesting joint electorates with reservation of seats, but agitation against his proposal was immediately engineered in India. The Government of India found this proposal unacceptable and defined its policy on the question through Sir Herbert Risley, one of the ablest and most reactionary of officials. In the Mussalman community men were not wanting who aimed at securing an advantage to their community by organising communal agitation against the proposal of Lord Morley and thus strengthening the hands of its official opponents. This opposition found spokesmen in the House of Commons, the most conspicuous among whom were the Earl of Ronaldshay, the present Lord Zetland and the late Sir William Joynson-Hicks, afterwards Viscount Brentford. Lord Morley had to yield probably because he felt that if he resisted, his bill would be wrecked in Parliament.

The Montague-Chelmsford Report discussed the principle of separate electorates fully and accepted it. On the plea of securing just representation to all communities, this pernicious system so destructive of Indian nationalism was recommended by the framers of the Indian constitution. It was in reality the decision of the British Government. It was very unfair to the Hindus and most so to the Hindus of Bengal and the Punjab where they form minorities. Sir

Samuel Hoare, the then Secretary of State for India, thrust the communal award on us. Following in his footsteps, the Viceroy in Council gave a communal award with regard to recruitment to the public services.

I well remember that when the Indian National Congress was born in 1885, it was characterised as a "Babu" Congress because many of the prominent leaders were Bengali intellectuals. Later on, when it had as Presidents progressive leaders from Madras, Bombay, Punjab, U. P., Bihar and C. P., it was called an organisation of "the educated and discontented microscopic minority middle classes" and that as such it could not be regarded as a representative body reflecting the political opinions of the country at large. It was also contended that the uneducated masses had no political opinions at all. When Mahatma Gandhi appeared on the scene and when political mass consciousness was aroused, when Mazdoor Sabhas and Kishan organisations were to be seen in every part of the country, when the Congress had about 4½ million primary members, and we do not know how many million sympathisers, we are expected to accept the view that because some Indians are members of communal organisations such as the Muslim League or the Hindu Mahasabha, there is such organic lack of unity in our motherland that we cannot be expected to govern ourselves well, that the majority if entrusted with power will ill-treat the minorities for all times to come and therefore the latter need all kinds of safeguards such as are sought to be provided under the communal award.

One may well ask whether in any democracy which has the system of party Government, there is ever an absolute unanimity. The different parties have to learn the value of unity in things essential by fighting and quarrelling and then compromising with one another. No foreign Government, however benevolent its intentions, can either forestall or prevent altogether this more or less painful process of unification. However pure and unselfish its motives, intervention is always liable to be interpreted—or, if you prefer the term, misinterpreted—as proceeding from interested motives. And this misinterpretation is only too likely in the case of Britain in view of the large financial and other stakes she has in this country, the financial drain to which India has been subjected for nearly a century and a half for her benefit and the slowness with which she is relaxing her grasp over India. I acknowledge that we too would have done the same

and perhaps worse things if we had occupied the position of Britain. None the less it is only natural if criticism of this type is levelled against what is, after all, foreign domination.

The acceptance of the principle of separate electorates by the Lucknow Congress, probably in the hope of winning over the Muslims, might have been a good move from the point of view of expediency, but I contend that it has produced evil consequences of a far-reaching character, and no one can say to-day to what further evil it will ultimately lead. It is likely that if, from the beginning, a national organisation like the Congress had put up a vigorous fight, we would have, if not joint electorates, at least something which, while a sort of compromise, would not have established the cleavage among Indian nationals we see in our country to-day.

We in India are reaping to-day the fruits of this most objectionable of political measures. I propose to deal with the evil effects of this measure in some only of its many aspects.

TYRANNY OF THE MAJORITY

The communal award with its implication of separate electorates has made it possible for many undeserving people to enter the different legislatures by appealing to the narrow communalism of the groups from which they come. In order to ensure political support, such people have been compelled to make large promises which they constantly attempt to carry out. Naturally, there is difference of opinion between such narrow-minded men whose only aim is the immediate benefit of the groups they represent and the more liberal-minded, who prefer the slow but sure and peaceful progress of the country as a whole. This clash of opposing ideals has taken many forms but the one proposed to be dealt with here is the tyranny which is exercised by the majority over the minority when the former desire to carry through their plans without vocal opposition from any quarter.

In September, 1938, the Opposition in the provincial legislature of Bengal tabled no confidence resolutions against the present cabinet. This move was defeated only with the help of the 25 European and 3 Anglo-Indian members. At that time, monster processions of Muslim supporters rendered the streets impassable; access to the Council Houses was almost impossible. Many members of the Opposition were insulted and some actually assaulted. Inflammatory literature

which proclaimed that the defeat of the present cabinet would be followed by the demolition of mosques, difficulties in procuring printed copies of the Muslim scriptures and other equally highly misleading statements were circulated. These matters were raised in the House but, so far as I am aware, no steps were taken to find out and punish the guilty. I do not suggest that either the cabinet as a whole or particular members had engineered this unparliamentary way of showing the sympathy of certain sections of the Muslims of Calcutta for the present cabinet. It cannot, however, be denied that the fruits of this indirect intimidation were enjoyed by those in power at that time and also that their hold on the country if gauged by the votes of Indian nationals was so slender that it needed buttressing by the support of foreigners. I maintain that this kind of tyranny of the majority over the minority is more likely to be found in a communally-ridden atmosphere than elsewhere and that, but for the communal award it would not have assumed such objectionable proportions.

Where the majority community is unreasonable and is determined to break down all opposition it can, if it so desires, prevent discussion of controversial matters in public meetings. For instance, the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Act which has lately been passed by the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council was vehemently opposed by the Hindus of Calcutta and the nationalist section of the Mussalman community. A number of public meetings were called in order to discuss this highly controversial piece of legislation. Many of these could not be held on account of the disturbance created by a certain section of the Muslim community which favoured the measure probably on communal grounds.

Similarly, the Jamait-ul-Ulema Conference of Bengal which met in Calcutta on the 3rd June, 1939, could not hold its sittings on account of the rowdiness of those opposed to the political opinions of this organisation. This association is composed of Mussalmans holding progressive political views and its opponents are said to consist of members of the Muslim League. Cries of "Muslim League Zindabad" and similar other slogans were shouted for hours at a stretch so that in spite of loud-speakers, the audience could not hear a single word of what the speakers said.

It is true that a moderate amount of heckling at meetings has come to be regarded as permissible but, even then, the audience is expected to preserve a certain standard of decorum. In all these

cases, the police had to intervene in order to prevent serious clashes between the organisers of the meetings and their sympathisers on the one hand and the rowdier elements of the Muslim League on the other. The growing tendency to deny the minority party freedom of speech and discussion is coming to be a very disquieting feature of public life. And this is one result of the communal award under which rowdyism of this type is not checked by leaders who prefer to keep themselves in the background while enjoying to the full the advantages contingent on this kind of behaviour on the part of their followers.

It is a regrettable but none the less an undeniable fact that communal riots have occurred in our motherland with lamentable frequency. It is also equally true that, without the co-operation of the leaders of the different communities, the unaided efforts of the provincial governments cannot be expected to restore good feelings between the contending parties. This method has been tried with notable success in Bihar and U. P. I can speak on it with some degree of authority as I was in those parts of India when this work was being done. In such matters, one naturally expects the representatives of the people in the legislatures to take a prominent part. It is not implied that they failed to do so in these provinces. My contention is that a representative whatever the religious faith he professes so long as he is returned from a general electorate has a greater hold on the people as a whole than one returned from a separate communal electorate. The former even if he is a communalist at heart must maintain an outward show of goodwill and sympathy, preach good feelings, while it is to the interest of the latter to keep apart the contending parties as much as possible, for thus only can he consolidate his position.

It has been stated in the papers that the communally-minded Muslims of Sind are finding fault with the Allah-Bux ministry because it has not carried out a resolution accepted unanimously at the Sind Muslim League Conference which met at Karachi in October, 1938. This resolution recommended that 70 per cent. of all appointments under Government should be set apart for Mussalmans and that Hindu recruitment should be stopped till this percentage was reached. This percentage was fixed because in this newly-created province the Muslims constitute about 90 per cent. of the total population.

In the Punjab where the proportion of Muslims to the total population was about 56 per cent. in 1931, the cabinet has reserved 50 per cent. of all Government posts for Muslims and the rest for non-Muslims. Complaints are occasionally heard about the way in which the highly paid posts are supposed to be kept out of the reach of non-Muslims. There is evidence to prove that in the local self-governing bodies, the communalist Mussalmans have often taken advantage of their majority to get rid of non-Muslim employees on the plea of retrenchment and, after keeping the posts vacant for some time, filling them up by engaging their co-religionists. This grew into such a scandal as to draw forth a *communiqué* from the Punjab Government to which I refer my readers for fuller details.

In Bengal, the communal award has given a statutory majority to our Mussalman brethren who, in 1931, constituted about 56 per cent. of the total population. They passed a resolution reserving 60 per cent. of all Government appointments for Mussalmans, 20 per cent. for members of the Scheduled castes and 20 per cent. for the rest. As the result of pressure from various quarters, the proportion has recently been fixed at 50 per cent., 15 per cent., and 35 per cent..

The principle to be adopted in recruitment from the Mussalman and Scheduled caste communities will be the possession of minimum qualifications, though in the case of those who do not come under these two categories this principle will not be followed. As a justification of this unusual policy and it has been stated that the Muslims expect fairer treatment from Muslim than from non-Muslim officers—a charge never brought before against this class of hard-worked, honest Government officials. One would like to know how Mussalman officials who will be in a majority in the future would relish a similar charge of undue partiality towards their co-religionists if any such is brought forward by the Hindus.

Since the above lines were penned, the Premier of Bengal has advanced another rather curious argument to justify the demand for minimum qualifications only from those selected from the Muslim and the Scheduled caste communities to fill up vacancies in certain Government departments. He says that the work of these officers is confined almost exclusively to the rural areas where they have to talk in the local varieties of the vernacular with the peasantry. There is thus no necessity for them to utilise the knowledge imparted in our

colleges. On the other hand, through disuse they forget the "high brow" learning they may have acquired during their career as students. From the above facts the conclusion drawn by our Premier is that the Hindu community which, according to him, can only produce book-learned graduates is not in a position to meet adequately the demand for efficient officers of this type who, in his view, can be had in much larger numbers from among the Mussalmans and the Scheduled castes. Our Premier who is also the Minister in charge of Education is either not evidently aware of, or he very conveniently forgets, that very old and universally accepted theory of education according to which its only aim and purpose is the training of intellectual faculties. For instance, every student has to study a certain amount of mathematics, which is the Premier's own subject, not because he is likely to use it daily or even frequently in his future life but because without this training his mind would remain inadequately developed in one of its many sides. The editor of one of our vernacular monthlies commenting on this most unconvincing of arguments observed that if want of that type of education, which has fitted the Premier himself for the position he is holding to-day in the public life of Bengal, is to be regarded as a qualification, the sooner all the 70 odd colleges of Bengal are abolished and our students sent to the paddy and jute fields of Bengal, the better their chances for securing Government appointments !

Coming back to the point we were discussing, we find that injustice of this type has gone further. The Hindus form about 74 per cent. of the total population of Calcutta, contribute about 78 per cent. of the municipal taxes and constitute more than 75 per cent. of the total number of qualified voters. Mussalmans constitute about 24 per cent. of the total population, contribute 5.41 per cent. of the taxes and form 13 per cent. of the qualified voters. Under the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Act passed recently by the majority Muslim party in our provincial assembly, the Hindus have been artificially reduced to a minority and have been given about 48 per cent. of the seats in the Calcutta Municipal Corporation. And this has been done on the excuse that the Municipal Congress Party has been mismanaging Municipal affairs. The Muslims, on the other hand, have been given a slight weightage. It was openly stated in the House that the only reason for the introduction of the Amendment Bill was to reduce the power of the Congress in the civic administration of Calcutta.

The above examples taken, more or less at random, from different parts of India, merely prove that, in actual working, the communal award tends to produce very mischievous results specially when it places political power in the hands of those not accustomed or trained to use it with discretion.

It may be that such interference with freedom of discussion, injustice in the distribution of Government patronage and similar other matters are to be found in one or other of the Congress provinces as well. Age has taught me that not every Congressman is an angel and that there must be undesirable persons in this large All-India organisation with a membership of over 4½ millions in just the same way as there are similar people in other organisations. My contention is that such things whenever found are a possibility on account of the communal award and further that the only satisfactory method for eliminating these undesirable things is to abrogate it.

DISINTEGRATION IN THE HINDU COMMUNITY

On the 19th October, 1938, a largely attended meeting of the Barber caste was held in Calcutta, at which a resolution was adopted unanimously urging Government "to give the barbers adequate representation in the Legislature." Another drew the attention both of Government and the Calcutta Municipal Corporation to the necessity for providing free education for the children of barbers.

On the 14th December, 1938, a member of the Mahishya community wrote a letter to the *Statesman* in which he stated that the claims of his community to Government patronage in the shape of reservation of seats have been overlooked. Quoting figures from the Bengal Census of 1931, he pointed out how his community which constitutes about 5 per cent. of the total population of Bengal and the highest among all Hindu communities is backward both economically and educationally. He claimed special and favourable treatment in order to stimulate education among the members of his community by creating definite opportunities for the educated among them for entering Government services.

And now still another group has made its appearance. I find from the papers that quite recently the Satchasi (cultivator) caste people held a meeting at Calcutta in which they urged that in the next Census, that of 1941, they should be regarded as "a cultivating

class under a distinct column of its own." They also expressed the desire that, as the Satchasi and similar other communities stand between the three higher castes and the Scheduled castes, they should be known as the Intermediate Hindu Caste, thus forming a new group inside the Hindu hierarchy. By another resolution, they entered their claims for "a certain percentage of posts in the services out of the 35 per cent. available for the Caste Hindus and also that they should be given preference in case any of the posts under the 15 per cent. reserved for the Scheduled castes remain vacant for want of suitable candidates."

Commenting on their attitude, one of the Calcutta dailies observed : "The organisers of the move would seem to be clever people indeed because their claim is double-edged—in case they cannot get a share out of the Caste Hindu ratio of posts, they ensure their interests by putting in a claim for posts reserved for Scheduled castes ! Is it a question of ' Heads I win, tails you lose ? ' " This is how the communal award is operating in breaking up solidarity in the Hindu community, and no one can say to what length this tendency towards disruption will proceed.

My point is that the acceptance or, to be more correct, the enforcement of the principle of communal award has placed a weapon in the hands of Indians which can be used with deadly effect by the selfish for the attainment of their own purposes and that such use is bound to have only one effect, *viz.*, the creation of further antagonistic groups in our unfortunate motherland, already torn asunder by party factions. What, one might well ask, was the utility of the Poona Pact if the restoration of goodwill between the Caste and the Scheduled caste Hindus is rendered nugatory by the appearance of splits inside the Scheduled castes themselves ?

The attitude responsible for meetings and resolutions such as those referred to already gives me great pain. To my mind they merely point the way the wind is blowing. These poor and probably ignorant people have learnt the lesson of selfishness from their social superiors and former leaders. It is only too probable that they will be better than their teachers at this game. And so unless something is done, India will degenerate into a battle-field where questions will be decided not on their merits but on communal groun's. I shudder to think of the time when instead of Caste Hindus and Scheduled caste Hindus and Mussalmans, we shall

have two or even three dozen parties, all out to get as much as they can in the struggle for the spoils of office. It may be that our countrymen are constitutionally more selfish than, for instance, the Englishman, the Frenchman or the American. I am, however, certain that their appetite has been more keenly whetted by the communal award than could have been done by any other device. And I am also equally certain that this cannot but lead to disunion which can be profitable only to third parties.

DISINTEGRATION IN THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY

The disintegrating effects of the communal award are not, however, confined to the Hindu community only which, for historical reasons, includes within its fold hundreds of castes, many of which have been victims of social tyranny and which are now showing their resentment not only in the social but also in the political field. Islam's greatest contribution has consisted in its spirit of democracy but even here the mischievous effects of the communal award are gradually making their appearance. The Secretary of the All-India Shiah Political Conference in an informal meeting of the Shias held at Chapra in North Bihar on the 22nd November, 1938, said : " The Shiahs have it to their proud privilege that they never supported separate electorates." The Shias, he added, had always believed that joint electorates are the only cure for all communal ills and that the system is absolutely essential for the growth of nationalism in our motherland. On the 12th April, 1939, the Organising Secretary of the All-India Shiah Political Conference in the course of a statement to the press said : " The Shiahs have always been opposed to separate electorates and have without any bargaining or safeguards joined the Congress and advocated the cause of joint electorates."

These two quotations to which others of a similar purport could be easily added represent the views of the nationalist Shiahs who form the bulk of their community but there are a fairly large number of Muslim Leaguers also among the Shiahs who believe in the practical utility of the communal award. The Muslim League, which includes in it both Shiahs and a very large number of Sunnis, was taking no active steps to compose the differences between the two sections of the Mussalman community over the Madhe-Saheba and the Tabarra controversy. The Shiah members who wanted to

show their displeasure adopted tactics which are of great interest to the student of human nature.

According to the *United Press*, on the 21st May, 1939 there was a meeting of the Shiahhs at Lucknow convened by some prominent Shiah members of the Muslim League. Here the discontent with the League on account of its policy of non-intervention with regard to the doctrinal controversy between the Shiahhs and the Sunnis was voiced. As a condition of their remaining within the Muslim League they demanded "the inclusion of Shiah ministers in the Punjab and Bengal cabinets forthwith, lending support to Shiahhs in their demand for the inclusion of at least one Shiah minister in every Congress province and particularly in the provinces of Bihar, U. P. and the North-West Frontier, and agitating for a separate electorate to Shiahhs or reservation of seats by mutual consent."

It further appears from the special correspondent of the *Statesman* writing from Naini Tal on the 3rd June, 1939, that there has been a recent meeting in Lucknow "where some Sunnis had demanded separate electorates and reservation of seats in the services."

So pernicious in its ultimate effects is the communal award that it presents itself immediately as a weapon for political disruption as soon as there is any difference of opinion between groups forming integral parts of a particular party or organisation. I am certain that when our Mussalman brethren in the language of Ramsay Macdonald were "inspired" to demand communal electorates in order that they might be able to shape the political destinies of their community without any chance of Hindu interference, they never dreamt, even for a moment, that the time might come when the weapon would turn in their hands and prove their own undoing as a community hitherto so well-known for its solidarity. Even the pillars of the Muslim League are coming to realise the untold possibilities for mischief which underlie this apparently harmless device for granting protection to the minority communities. The recognition of this aspect of the matter is probably responsible for the appeal for unity made by the Nawab of Chhatari.

Commenting on this new direction which the Shiah-Sunni controversy is taking, the Nawab of Chhatari has issued a statement through the press in which he has said: "This tendency towards a separation will lead to the disintegration of Muslims in these provinces and will do good to nobody. The real need of our country is to create

unity among various communities living in India. Our efforts should be directed towards unity between Hindus, Moslems, Christians and all other communities and not to create further divisions.' And this, I may be permitted to add, is the aim and the dream of every genuine patriot. All our communal and, along with it, much of our political, misunderstanding will come to an end automatically if once the need for this unity is recognised and given effect to.

Quite recently the Momin community has organised itself on an All-India basis. The aim of this All-India organisation is to bring this community "on one common platform to attain its political rights and claims which are being usurped by the capitalist and upper class Muslims." It is stated by the organisers that this movement has achieved such unprecedented popularity and success within a comparatively short time that it has greatly alarmed the upper class and capitalist Muslims. It has been stated that these are carrying on propaganda to crush this movement of the poor and down-trodden Momins. They do not welcome the idea that this particular section of the Mussalman community should grow so strong through organisation that it would be in a position to "resume their rights and shares which the former had so long been enjoying."

It appears that this organisation has become very active. On the 11th May, 1939, there was a meeting of the Muzaffarpore Momin Conference at a village in which the President of the Bihar Momin Conference took the chair. Here resolutions were passed declaring that the All-India Momin Conference was the only representative political organisation of the Momins, that it demands free education for the children of the Momins from the Bihar Government and claims proportionate representation of the Momins in Government services.

Towards the end of May, 1939, the 24-Parganas Momin Conference was held at Kankinara, an important railway centre close to Calcutta. It is said that it was attended by about 30,000 Momins. The President-elect was Mr. Abdul Qaiyam Ansari, the Bihar Momin leader. Speeches were also delivered by Mr. A. A. Md. Noor, M.L.C. (Bihar), Maulana Asim Bihari and Maulana Qazi Md Usman of Darbhanga. So far as one may judge from the reports which appeared in the newspapers, the audience was not only large, but also that the speakers holding high positions in the Momin community voiced grievances which are genuine ones.

In his presidential address, Mr. Ansari remarked that Muslim rule had failed in India owing to "the utter selfishness and love of power of upper class Muslims who had for their own interests turned a vast majority of the followers of Islam in this country into a low and backward community." Owing to their selfish attitude, "Muslims were unfortunately divided to-day into 'Shareef' that is upper and 'Razeel' that is lower sections." The Shareefs had constituted themselves into the guardians of the Razeels and had compensated themselves by "usurping all rights and shares of the latter." To-day out of the 9 crores of Mussalmans in India, 8 crores were poor like the Momin community. They had been systematically exploited by the Muslim politicians all of whom belonged to the "Shareef" or upper class and had demanded and obtained special privileges in behalf of these poor 8 crore Mussalmans and proceeded to enjoy themselves. Continuing Mr. Ansari observed that the game had been exposed and the Momins and the other poorer exploited Muslim masses demanded "their rightful share in seats of legislature, local bodies, in Government jobs on their numerical strength." In order to discredit them, the Shareef Muslims who are guilty "of creating un-Islamic divisions of castes among Indian Muslims for their own interest" were questioning the genuineness of the Momin movement and accusing the Momins of creating dissensions among Mussalmans. Mr. Ansari refused to recognise the Muslim League as the sole representative and the champion of the Mussalmans of India. The Muslim League leaders who professed such concern for them were so heartless "that they did not even use the hand-woven Swadeshi cloth which was the chief mainstay of the Momin community." When they are disinclined to help them in this particular way, it is no wonder that their sympathy is lip-deep.

Mr. A. Mohammad Noor, M.L.C. (Bihar) asked the Momins to join the Momin Conference and never to think of joining the Muslim League which had not done any good to the poor, toiling Muslim masses. He condemned the Pakistan movement and said that it would involve the poor Muslims in untold trouble and tribulation.

Mr. Ansar, the President, in his concluding speech delivered on the 31st May, 1939, said that the Muslim League was "a rendezvous of Muslim Knights, Nawabs and aristocrats and the poor Momins could, therefore, have naturally no confidence in such a body."

Criticising the Government of Bengal, he said that several of the Mussalman ministers owed their seats in the Assembly and thereby

the ministerships almost entirely to Momin voters. These ministers were drawing fat salaries but never cared for the poor.

In conclusion, resolutions were passed demanding from the Bengal Government seats in legislature and local self-governing bodies and representation in Government services according to the numerical strength of the Momins.

Here again is an interesting example of yet another unexpected way in which the communal award has been sought to be utilised. According to the Momins, they have been systematically exploited by their better-off and more educated Mussalman brethren. Smarting under what they seem to consider very great injustice, they are making an attempt to utilise the principle on which the communal award is founded in order to obtain redress of their grievances. They therefore demand the sharing of the amenities of life on the basis of their numerical strength. Does not this bear a very close resemblance to, if it is not identical in spirit with, the struggle in the Hindu hierarchy between the Caste and the Scheduled caste Hindu? If the demand is pressed home with sufficient determination as appears only too likely, there is no way out of the very difficult situation except by granting them their claims. Under these circumstances, we must have a Muslim Gandhi ready to fast unto death and a Muslim version of the Poona Pact in order to prevent the political disruption of the Mussalman party so long bound together by the common tie of self-interest seeking to extract as much as possible from the complaisant Hindu community.

It is most unfortunate for our Muslim brethren that, in this case, there was no wise Nawab of Chhatari to give the Momins a lead in the right direction. Probably this kind of advice coming from such a quarter would not have created any difference either in their attitude or in their opinions. At any rate, no one can deny that the masses are now coming to appreciate their strength and are determined to utilise it to the full, to which no one can possibly have any objection. But what is really regrettable is that, under the communal award, this power is not likely to be used in the most efficient of ways or ultimately to the best interests of the country as a whole.

INDIAN CHRISTIANS AND THE COMMUNAL AWARD

It is perhaps needless at this late hour to state that, from the very beginning, the Indian Christian Protestants were against the

communal award. As is well-known, the communal award was made in August, 1932 and yet, long before that date, the Indian Christian Protestants had been opposing it. As I am penning these lines, I have before me the proceedings of the All-India Conference of Indian Christians which met at Lucknow on 27th December, 1922. The Chairman of the Reception Committee, the Rev. (now the Right Rev. Bishop) J. R. Chitambar said: "Even if we get it (communal representation) in the various boards, councils and assemblies, what can we do against the overwhelming majority unless we enlist their sympathy through co-operation?" In the presidential speech it was stated that communal representation is "detrimental to national solidarity and progress." The following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

"The Conference views with alarm the increasing bitterness of intercommunal jealousy in India and believing that the principle of communal representation, specially when based on communal electorates in the council and local bodies, is contributive of its prolongation, recommends to the Government the discontinuance of communal representation, if possible, and communal electorates at any rate"

Since then we have travelled far. All our great leaders such as the late K. T. Paul, Dr. S. K. Datta, and Mr. P. Chenchiah have opposed it. This fact is so well-known that the Rev. P. O. Philip, who wrote a brochure entitled "The Christian Church and Social and Economic Action in India" for the Tambaram meeting of the International Missionary Society, says that the communal award with its separate electorates was thrust on us. I was merely voicing the opinion of the far-sighted among us when I pleaded for the giving up by our community of the system of separate electorates. At about the same time that I was putting forward this opinion before our community in Madras, Prof. A. Soares, in his presidential address at the All-India Catholic Congress held at Mangalore late in December last year, was saying the same thing. Since that time, our Catholic brethren have reiterated identical views in that most influential of their South Indian organs, *The New Leader*. It thus follows that Indian Christians, whether Protestant or Catholic, are now united in their condemnation of the communal award.

The official position of the All-India Indian Christian Conference, of which I have the honour to be President for the current year, may be stated as follows:—



(1) In principle we are against communal representation in any form and we would always therefore be influenced on the side of such forces as work towards its abolition.

(2) In case communal representation by reservation of seats through general electorates is accepted by major communities as a compromise, we shall gladly support this view.

(3) If separate electorates, however, are insisted upon and introduced, we expect that the claims of our community should be recognised.

Granting for the sake of argument that here and there the Indian Christians are or have been treated badly on account of their numerical weakness, I would still exhort my brothers and sisters in faith not to pin their faith for safeguarding their interests on communal representation but on the goodwill of their more powerful brothers in blood. It would be a tragedy if the slightest breath of persecution due to political causes is sufficient to make us desert these principles leading to All-India unity which were formulated and practised by our forbears. To even think of doing so can be explained in one or other of two ways only. The explanation which would suggest itself most readily would be that we are ignorant of the past political history of our community and, therefore, have no love for the traditions built up by our old leaders. Another explanation may be that we are so weak and helpless under any kind of political persecution that we are prepared to sacrifice principles to expediency. Carried to its logical conclusion, such an attitude cannot but lead one to think that we would be prepared even to abjure our faith under sufficient persecution. Let us remember how many Indian Christians of North India suffered martyrdom for their religion in the days of the Indian Mutiny, and with their glorious example before us, let us endure patiently till more favourable times come. A third explanation may be that selfishness has become so ingrained in us that we are prepared to sacrifice principles without any hesitation for the sake of some temporary, and, may be, personal advantages. Let all of us who try to faithfully follow the Lord and Master decide for ourselves and for our community whether this is the ideal we are prepared to place before our poorer and less educated brothers and sisters. If we do not wish to go back on our old traditions, we have to continue our protest against the communal award till it is abolished.

THE EFFECTS OF THE COMMUNAL AWARD

In conclusion let us try to sum up the effects of the communal award on India. This most objectionable of measures, if retained permanently, is bound to have the following mischievous consequences. As the result of the disruption in our political life which must follow disintegration among the different religious and social groups, it may indefinitely prolong our political servitude to the British Government. The presence of the British Government will be absolutely necessary in order to preserve an even balance between the rival claims of contending groups. These must always depend on the British Government to maintain peace and order whenever clashes are apprehended between conflicting groups. This again will have the effect of perpetuating our economic servitude. In the absence of unity in the political field, we shall experience almost insurmountable difficulty in evolving a common economic policy calculated to turn India into a self-sufficient country. Selfishness and greed which, as the result of the working of this principle, will be at a premium, will tend to retard social progress, specially when the legislation aimed at the amelioration of backward groups will imply the taxation of other selfish groups. Lastly, with every group becoming communally-minded, there will be a constant struggle between the groups for as large a share as possible of immediate advantages and so their fusion into a united Indian nation may be indefinitely postponed. We shall thus have a practical demonstration of the law of the survival of the fittest but the fittest in this case will be not the most but the least patriotic, not the least but the most selfish, and our country will never know the meaning of peace or amity either in public or private life. All these disadvantages of the communal award were realised when an Indian State like Hyderabad, in the reforms announced on the 20th July this year, refused to allow the elected representatives to be sent to its legislature on the system of communal electorates and substituted for it the system of joint electorates.

THE REMEDY

Ramsay Macdonald wrote that "the scheme is a fair and honest attempt to hold the balance even between conflicting claims." He

appealed to all concerned to regard it as an endeavour "to remove a serious obstacle from the path of constitutional advance." It was also stated at that time that "Government were prepared to accept any better scheme to which all the parties concerned might later give their full concurrence but they made it clear that they would not listen to any sectional representations."

I have very briefly referred to the kind of national disintegration for which I hold the communal award responsible. I am of course aware that the real trouble lies deeper and that this conflict is really due to the selfishness innate in sinful humanity. None the less it is equally true that this innate selfishness of man has found an easy method of expressing itself through the communal award with its infinite capacities for mischief. I have no illusions about a universal and a radical change of heart. I do not believe that there is much likelihood at present that all the different religious and social groups will come to a mutual agreement and present something like a joint petition to Parliament for the abolition of the communal award. On the other hand, it is only too likely that selfishness will filter downwards and that further social, economic and religious groups will put in their claims for a share in the good things of life. I only hope that this process will go on till it reaches such proportions as to make every Indian realise wherein his true interests lie. Then and then only will there be any likelihood of our coming to a common agreement and making our demand to the British Parliament.

I am aware that this attitude is characteristic of the pessimism of age but I would most gladly be called a false prophet if only I was certain that a less painful and quicker way out of this most difficult of situations could be found. And this solution of the problem has been offered by Margaret Barns. This lady reported in London on the three Round Table Conferences after which she came to India. Here she spent ten years in journalistic work and enjoyed exceptional opportunities of familiarising herself with Indian conditions. According to her, all political problems are really economic problems and, as such, unity among the different social and religious groups is inevitable. After her return to London she wrote a book entitled "India To day and To-morrow" from which the following lines are taken:—

"The problem of hunger is the same whether a man is a Hindu, Mohammadan, or Sikh. The struggle for existence is just as keen if he is a Christian or an Anglo-Indian.....Consider for one moment

the type of legislation which is likely to engage the attention of the legislatures. Whether it affects the maintenance of law and order, social conditions, fiscal policy, education, taxation, unemployment—it will affect the electorate as citizens and not as adherents of this or that religion. In spite of separate communal electorates, there is no insuperable obstacle standing in the way of formation of political parties on economic bases.”

Let every patriotic Indian pray incessantly to the God of Nations that He might in His mercy take pity on His unhappy children in India and give us sufficient political wisdom and sufficient unselfish love of our motherland to enable us to live in peace and harmony with our brothers in blood even though they might not be our brothers in faith.

KANT AND THE MODERN MIND

HUMAYUN Z. A. KABIR

MORE than two thousand years ago, Plato defined philosophy as "the criticism of its own presuppositions," and the experience of mankind has not, in the intervening two thousand years, made any appreciable advance upon the definition offered by him. For Plato's definition goes to the heart of the matter in refusing to admit that there is anything given or sacrosanct in philosophy. Unlike the special sciences which recognise the distinction between premises and conclusions, between postulates and criteria, philosophy takes within its survey all things that can in any way be regarded as objects of our experience. Its aim is, therefore, to seek for a viewpoint from which all aspects of our existing experience may, as far as possible, appear consistent with one another. From this it would at once follow that every man must have a philosophy of some sort in so far as he attempts to act consistently or rationally, and since no two men agree about the meaning of consistency or rationality, it would also follow that no two persons can have exactly the same philosophy. This is the meaning of Kant's famous dictum when he insists that "no one can teach us philosophy: one can only teach how to philosophise."

This principle of Kant at once strikes the keynote of the modern age. For the modern age may be regarded as essentially the age of science. This is true not only in respect of the achievements of science and its application to the practical problems of life, but also with regard to the temper and outlook of the age, and this mentality is even more important than the new science and the new technology. If we take isolated inventions of science, it is not unlikely that past ages may point to many instances of single inventions which compare well with any of its modern conquests, but if we, to use Dr. Whitehead's phrase, talk of the climate of thought of different ages, the difference between the modern age and all past ages becomes unmistakably clear.

This may be expressed in another way by saying that science was for earlier ages only one among the activities of the human mind.

Morality, religion and art are other such activities, and both co-operate and compete with science to frame for man his picture of the universe. But in every age, some one of these activities is the dominant interest of the human mind. This does not mean that it is the exclusive preoccupation of the age, but it does mean that the mentality of the age is tinged with the colouring of its imaginative background. Thus, an age in which morality is the supreme interest of the human mind will be characterised by intensity and earnestness, not only in its explicit moral behaviour, but also in the scientific, religious and æsthetic endeavours of the times. In a similar manner, science is today not only the primary interest of the age, but it also colours and influences the morality, the religion and the art of the epoch. If philosophy be the attempt to harmonise the different aspects of human experience, it would follow that philosophy must reflect the peculiar balance of science, morality, religion and art which obtains in any particular age. The change in the dominant interest of a period must, therefore, make a change in the imaginative background which colours its philosophy and this is what has actually happened. The rise of science in the modern world has altered the metaphysical presuppositions and the imaginative content of our minds.

This scientific temper of the modern age may be briefly described as "a vehement and passionate interest in the relation of general principles to irreducible and stubborn facts. All the world over and at all times there have been practical men, absorbed in 'irreducible and stubborn facts': all the world over and at all times there have been men of philosophic temperament who have been absorbed in the weaving of general principles. It is this union of passionate interest in the detailed facts with equal devotion to abstract generalisation which forms the novelty in our present society," and it is largely a contribution of Kant to the make-up of the modern mind.

A very brief survey of European philosophy before Kant will convince us of the truth of this saying. In the rationalist's interpretation of the universe, very little room was left for paying any attention to the individual and stubborn facts. Starting with Cartesian dualism, which inconsistently enough tried to account for the irreducible and stubborn facts of experience through the continuous intervention of an all-powerful deity, it developed into the geometricism of

Spinoza in which the particulars are mere functions of the nature of the absolute, while with Leibnitz, the attempt to maintain the independence of the individual and explain experience in terms of procedures of organisation was frustrated by the all-pervasive operations of the law of pre-established harmony. Thus, the rationalist's passionate interest in general principles was achieved only at the cost of sacrificing stubborn and irreducible facts of experience. The empiricists on the other hand started with the appeal to experience and refused to accept anything as valid that did not stand the test of conformity to stubborn and irreducible facts. The reaction against mere rationalism which began with Locke expressed itself in a constant and increasing appeal to facts, but the result was that in this preoccupation with brute facts as such, the human mind lost sight of the general principles which alone make these facts intelligible. Locke with his glorious inconsistency does not clearly reveal this gradual falsification of experience, for he somehow kept the unity and uniformity of nature inspite of the demands of his starting point. Berkeley was more consistent to Locke's principles than Locke himself and denied that we have the right to infer the existence of a physical universe which is outside and independent of the brute facts revealed to us in our sentient experience. Hume worked out the logical implications of the position and pointed out that the existence of a self-existent physical world and an equally self-existent spiritual world are not facts given to us by our experience. All that we really experience consists of sensations, some of which for some unknown reason are associated together in coherent successions and we call them mind, while others are associated in certain characteristic ways which physical science describes. Thus the empiricist's passionate interest in stubborn and irreducible facts is achieved only at the cost of sacrificing the rationality and coherence of the facts of experience.

Thus both rationalism and empiricism had failed to give any intelligible account of the scientific temper and it was left to Kant to frame the philosophical outlook of the modern age in his conception of synthetic *a priori* judgment. Here it is not necessary for us to enter into a detailed analysis of this philosophical concept. It is sufficient to indicate that in this formulation the passionate interest in detailed facts is reconciled to an equal devotion to abstract generalisation. In fact, it is not accurate to describe Kant's achievement as

a reconciliation of abstract principles with irreducible facts, for that suggests that there could be a conflict between the two, whereas the real point of Kant's philosophy is the recognition that abstract principles and stubborn facts have no meaning apart from one another. On the one hand, all the data of our perception of physical phenomena embody relationship to other phenomena, and on the other hand, these relationships have no meaning or existence apart from the phenomena in which they are exhibited. An isolated brute or stubborn fact is, therefore, merely an empty product of the imagination, while the general law or abstract generalisation is merely the relationship inherent in what is perceived.

For Kant, therefore, the perceived physical universe was no longer a universe independent of perception of it. It was a universe to which the relationships that are present in perception, and, therefore, belong to mind, give it form and thus enter into its constitution. We interpret and perceive it as a physical universe because mind is so constituted that we cannot interpret and perceive it otherwise. With this admission of the relativity of the world of experience to the human mind, the immensities of absolute time and absolute space become meaningless, for space and time are themselves seen to be in some sense manifestations of the mind. This recognition that forms of perception and categories are the relationships that determine the structure of the perceived universe is of the greatest importance for the understanding of the modern outlook on life. For one thing, it explains the subjectivism of modern philosophy, and one may add, modern science. Nor is its influence confined to the fields of speculative thought, for it has penetrated into the regions of the practical affairs of life.

The outstanding concern of modern philosophy is that of the problem and theory of knowledge. This epistemological bias is a direct outcome of the Kantian tradition in philosophy. Even more than that, it is a revelation of the importance of the subjective point of view in the modern world. The pre-Kantian world was preoccupied with the problem of the relation of body to mind and started with the absolute existence of both. The central problem of modern philosophy is the study of mind, considered from two distinct but related points of view. On the one hand, we have psychology or the study of mental functionings as considered in themselves and their mutual relations. On the other hand, we have epistemology or the theory of the

knowledge of a common objective world. In either case, it is the subject of experience that holds the centre of the stage.

In modern science also, we may trace the application and development of the Kantian relativity. For Kant, the physical universe is essentially a unified universe, and the concept of mutual relations or interdependence is basic to its very structure. He, therefore, thought of space and time, not as absolute entities, but as forms of perception or relationships inherent in the nature of the world perceived. In the hands of Einstein and other modern physicists, the principle of relativity was still further extended and applied in far greater detail than Kant had ever done. Kant had shown that there is no meaning in absolute motion or absolute rest, and Einstein pointed out that absolute flow of time or simultaneity is just as meaningless. Further, Einstein's discoveries showed more clearly than Kant had done that the forms of perception and the categories are not separable from one another, but imply and must imply one another. In Kant himself we find the suggestion that space and time cannot be understood in isolation from one another, though in Kant there is no explicit recognition that space and time form an indissoluble unity.

It only remains to notice the implications of Kantian relativity in the field of practical affairs. The subjectivism of the modern mind is directly related to the democratic temper of the age, for subjectivism must necessarily lead to an appreciation of the importance of the individual. We are not here concerned with the particular forms of government in vogue today, but the political mentality of the age, in spite of occasional and perhaps apparent variations here and there, is based upon the conception of the primary rights of man and the demand of the freedom of thought of all members of society. Side by side with this, we have a new emphasis upon the conception of society as an organic unity, in which the functions of the individual shall be controlled in the interests of the social whole. At first sight this appears somewhat paradoxical, for how are we to reconcile the demand of subjectivism with its emphasis upon the importance of the individual with the concept of the social good in which the individual is considered merely as an instrument in the furtherance of the social purpose? The invasion of the state or corporate society into the precincts of experience till now considered sacred to the individual seems incompatible with the claim of the individual implied by the

relativity of a subjective metaphysic. But here also the influence of the Kantian mentality reveals itself, for we may, from one point of view, regard it as the problem of synthetic *a priori* judgment in the field of political affairs. Kant faced the problem and tried to solve it in his conception of art in which unique individuality is reconciled with conformity to universal modes of human emotions. Society must also present the same unity of the individual and the universal, of the stubborn particular and the abstract form. Our problem of reconciling the democratic urge for individual liberty with the socialistic demand for universal equality is, therefore, a heritage of the Kantian outlook and our solution must also follow the general lines indicated in his conception of art.

THE ATLANTIC CABLE *

E. D. JOHNSON

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IN these days of rapid speech transmission over vast distances and considering the fact that thousands of us in India followed the recent tour of the King and Queen through North America, listening to speeches they made, listening to the welcomes they received at the same time as people within sight of their Majesties could also listen, it seems a long time ago to the days when it took nine days for a simple message to be conveyed from London to New York. Actually it is not yet 81 years since the first electrical signal was transmitted by electrical cable across the Atlantic Ocean from Valentia in Ireland to Trinity Bay in Newfoundland. This auspicious event took place on 5th-August, 1858, the Chief Engineer responsible for the laying and landing of the cable being Mr. C. T. Bright, then aged 26 years, who was made a Knight within a few days of the landing, being the youngest man ever to receive that distinction.

The first submarine cable was visualised by a Spaniard named Salva in 1795 and in 1811 two engineers carried out experiments with a soluble material—most probably rubber—for insulating the wire, the problem of an ocean cable being the insulation of the wire. Telegraphy on land was already an established fact, mostly by the railways, the electrical signal being conveyed by a bare conductor insulated much in the same way as an overhead line is today by porcelain insulators on wooden poles. The only wire insulation then known was cotton wrapping which could not be used under water. It is interesting to Bengal to know that the earliest records of practical telegraphy under water appear to indicate that the River Hooghly in 1838 was the first victim of man's progress in this direction. Dr. O' Shaughnessy (afterwards Sir William O'Shaughnessy Brooke, F. R. S.) laid a submarine cable across the River Hooghly in 1838 on behalf of the East India Co. His cable, to use his own words, was constructed as follows:—

“ Insulation, according to my experiments, is best accomplished by enclosing the wire, previously pitched, in a spirit rattan and then plying

* Lecture at Rotary Club, Calcutta, July 18, 1939.

the rattan round with tarred rope, or the wire may be surrounded by strands of tarred rope and this by pitched yarn. An Insulated rope of this kind may be spread across a wet field—nay even led through a river—and will conduct the electrical signals without any appreciable loss."

From this small start progress was not rapid. The next submarine cable we hear of was across New York harbour in 1842. In 1845 a cable was laid across the Hudson River to connect Fort Lee with New York. The cable was 12 miles long, worked well for several months and was ultimately broken by ice. Experiments in Kiel Harbour followed and in 1849 a conductor insulated with gutta-percha and 2 miles in length was laid in the English Channel.

The first submarine cable to connect two countries was that laid across the English Channel between England and France in 1849. That cable only lived to speak very few more or less incoherent words, one being a short message to Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, afterwards Emperor of France. It subsequently transpired that a Boulogne fisherman had hooked up the line with his trawl, mistaking it for a new kind of seaweed.

The financing of submarine cable experiments was a very difficult matter. Both the cable and the task of laying were expensive and the necessary sanctions were even more troublesome. Although the first cable across the Channel was not a striking success it proved the possibility and ultimately sufficient capital was raised to lay in 1850 to 1851 a cable that was so constructed as to be a lasting success and in spite of extensive repairs and splices over a period of years, this cable worked successfully for more than 50 years.

The work of these early pioneers proceeded, England was linked to Ireland, Scotland to Ireland, England to Holland, England to Germany, Denmark and Sweden. The Mediterranean was bridged by the cable engineer and then these early engineers aspired to close the gap of the Atlantic Ocean.

The immense step forward between laying cables across narrow seas and across 2,000 miles of the Atlantic Ocean was appreciated by those associated with electric telegraphy on both sides of the Atlantic. The greatest length of cable previously made had been 110 miles and the greatest sea depth encountered had been 300 fathoms. A survey of the Atlantic had shown that a plateau extended on the ocean bed for almost the entire distance between Ireland and America. The

depths averaged $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles (2,200 fathoms) shoaling rapidly on the Newfoundland side and still more rapidly on the Irish side. An oozy bottom, entirely suitable for submarine cable laying, was found throughout.

New York had been joined up by telegraph to St. John's Newfoundland in 1856 by land line to Cape Breton on the North coast of Nova Scotia, submarine cable to Newfoundland across the gulf of St. Lawrence and land line across Newfoundland. On the European side Ireland had been connected to London and in 1856, armed with concessions to land a submarine cable at all the possible spots on British North American territory, an American named Cyrus West Field arrived in London, to attempt to found a Company to lay and work an Atlantic telegraph cable. Field was purely a businessman with no knowledge of the technical side of cable laying. On September 26, 1856, an agreement was entered into between Field, an English businessman named John Watkins Brett and an engineer, Charles Tilson Bright, to form a Company to establish the working of an electric telegraph between Newfoundland and Ireland. The Company was to be called The Atlantic Telegraph Co. Like all pioneers they had a stupendous task ahead of them. A cable had been designed that had been found capable of being laid and worked on the ocean bed. Experiments made by Bright and Whitehouse had proved that signals could be transmitted over a distance of 2,000 miles. Soundings of the Atlantic Ocean were generally favourable except for the depth being so very much greater than ever previously encountered. Favourable landing rights were already granted and the Government on both sides recognised the practical value of the scheme. Pecuniary support was easily found, the necessary capital of £350,000 was raised within a few days, mostly by the cities of Liverpool, Glasgow and Manchester. There were only two real problems in the entire proposition, firstly the manufacture of such a large length of cable and secondly the provision of a suitable ship and the necessary apparatus for laying it. These happened to be rather serious problems.

Nowadays an electrical cable is entirely manufactured in a cable factory from the basic raw materials. In spite of the large variety of raw materials in electrical cable construction and the many types of operations, they all proceed under one roof or adjacent series of roofs. Eighty years ago a cable factory was a very tiny place. It was only capable of manufacturing the smallest of cables and quite incapable of providing the necessary external mechanical protection.

The order for what is termed the 'core' was given to the Gutta-Percha Co. of London and they manufactured and jointed up into two lengths a total of 2,500 nautical miles of a copper strand consisting of 7 wires insulated with three coatings of gutta-percha to a total overall diameter of $\frac{3}{8}$ inch. This was a greater thickness of insulation than had previously been employed but it was appreciated that the enormous pressure that would be experienced at the great depths to be encountered would be a severe test on the core. We know now that the conductor size was much too small and a still greater thickness of insulation was necessary. Apart from these two features a submarine telegraph cable made today would be almost identical with the original Atlantic cable. Copper still forms the conductor and gutta-percha the insulation. The serving and the external mechanical protection of today with iron or steel wires are still the standard. Actually Bright was very anxious to have a conductor 250% heavier and with still thicker insulation. That would have been considerable departure from standard practice in those days but would closely agree with present day standards. The business side of the directorate, for reasons of economy and also to ensure an early completion of the cable to allow for laying during the summer of 1857, overcame the wishes of the Chief Engineer. The business-like manner and the speed with which this proposition was entered into can be admired. It certainly compares favourably with some experiences of the present day for example the Howrah Bridge. At the same time it is rather a pity that more consideration was not given to such an important item as the dimensions of the core.

After the insulation of the core this was handed over to the pit rope makers for the application of an external mechanical sheathing. First of all the core was surrounded with a serving of hemp impregnated with a mixture of tar, pitch, linseed oil and wax. This served as a bedding for an armouring of iron wires which in the case of the main Atlantic cable consisted of 18 strands each composed of 7 wires having a diameter of 0.028". The cable was then finally drawn through another mixture of tar. In the case of the shore ends, for 15 miles at the western end and 10 miles at the eastern end, the armouring consisted of 12 wires each having a diameter of 0.324". At the shore end the abundance of rocks and the effect of tides made it essential to have greater mechanical protection. The contract price for the entire cable was £225,000, the core costing £40 and the armouring £50 per mile.

When it came to the question of laying there was much rather amusing controversy. Technicians could not decide whether the cable would really sink to the bottom of the ocean. The Astronomer Royal of that time announced to the world that it was a mathematical impossibility to submerge a cable in safety at so great a depth and that even if it was possible, no signals could be transmitted through so great a length. The general fallacy seemed to be that the pressure of the water would become so great when the cable had sunk say one mile or more, that the cable would stay in partial suspension and because of sea movement would be so strained that it would ultimately break. Even some distinguished naval men held this strange view. In view of this supposed difficulty it was quite seriously proposed to festoon the cable across the ocean at a given maximum depth between buoys and floats at which ships might halt, hook on and talk telegraphically with the shore. There were thousands of inventors, all with weird ideas. One man took out a patent to convert the largest possible ship available into an enormous floating factory with a view to manufacturing the cable on board in one continuous length and submerging it over the stern like a string of sausages.

Cable manufacture proceeded at an amazing speedy rate and as fast as the cable was made it was coiled into iron tanks ready for shipment. The arrangements with American interests were rather unfortunate because they entailed the laying of the cable by a specific date and left little time for the manufacture of the cable, the selection and the preparation of the ships and the manufacture of the paying-out gear. This being the first ocean cable, special apparatus had to be designed for the paying-out gear. Due to haste this gear was not well designed and gave trouble during laying. There were no special cable ships in those days. The Governments of Britain and the United States of America had promised their support and this took the form of two battleships, the H. M. S. "Agamemnon" and the U. S. frigate "Niagara" both screw propelled vessels, the latter the finest ship of the U. S. Navy. An escort of one U. S. ship and two British was provided, the whole being termed the "Wire Squadron."

For the first three weeks of July, 1857, the two vessels coiled the cable on board, the "Agamemnon" in the Thames and the "Niagara" in the Mersey and the two vessels met at Queenstown on 30th July. In the harbour at Queenstown an opportunity was taken to connect the two vessels together with a length of cable while they were

moored $\frac{3}{4}$ mile apart, and the entire length of 2,500 nautical miles was tested and worked throughout. The results were entirely satisfactory and the "Wire Squadron" set sail for Valentia Bay on Monday, August 3, 1857.

Bright as Chief Engineer wanted to start laying from Mid-Atlantic. His idea was to proceed there, wait for suitable weather for the splice and then the ships proceeded independently east and west respectively. This would have halved the laying time thereby reducing the chances of bad weather. The electricians, however, made much of the importance of being in continuous contact with the shore during laying operations. This latter proposition also appealed to the Board as they could then be kept in continual touch with progress. It was therefore arranged for the "Niagara" to start from the Irish coast and the "Agamemnon" to start, after splicing, from mid-Atlantic. On 5th August it took an entire day to land the shore end weighing 10 tons per mile. American officers and men landed the cable, handing it over to the Lord-Lieutenant acting on behalf of the Queen. This was intended as a compliment to America, it being proposed that the British Officers and men should make a similar presentation to the President of the Great Republic.

Early next day the ships got underway at a very early hour, paying-out commencing from the forepart of the "Niagara." Men were stationed along the entire length of deck to ensure that the cable reached the stern safely. The paying-out gear did not take kindly to the work, groaning continuously. After only 5 miles had been laid the cable caught in the machinery and parted. The ship put back, the cable was under-run for the entire distance, raised and spliced. This was a long and tedious task and when completed the speed of progress was reduced to 2 miles per hour for greater safety. This was continued throughout the night but as all went well it was increased next day to a rate of 4 and 5 knots.

On Monday, 10th July, they were over 200 miles out to sea and signals were being continuously maintained with the shore. By now they had reached depths of 2,000 fathoms. All went well until 3-45 p. m. on Tuesday, the 11th by which time 380 miles of cable had been laid. Bright had almost continually attended to the brakes of the paying-out gear himself and on that afternoon he had temporarily left them in charge of a mechanic. Before he had reached the forepart of the ship he heard the machines stop, he immediately called out

but before he could return to the machines, the cable broke. All this was caused by the brake control hand wheel having been turned the wrong way.

The loss of 380 miles of cable left insufficient to complete the task so all the vessels returned to Plymouth. In those days it was impossible to pick up cable from the sea bed at 2,000 fathoms. The cable was unloaded from both vessels into tanks at Plymouth because the vessels could not be spared by their respective Governments until the following year. A small paddle steamer proceeded to Valentia, succeeded in reclaiming 50 miles of the deep sea cable and buoyed the end of the shore cable ready for splicing next year. This adventure had cost the Company a total of £100,000.

Further capital was raised, a further 700 miles of cable was ordered and the paying-out gear entirely changed. A dynamometer was also introduced for indicating and controlling the strain on the cable. A more important step was an experimental expedition to enable all operations such as splicing, buoys, picking up in deep water, etc., to be thoroughly rehearsed. It was also agreed this time to start laying from mid-Atlantic.

By the end of May, 1858, the same two battleships were again loaded with their share of the cable and they set sail for their task. On the way they encountered a very severe storm which caused considerable damage to the "Agamemnon" including the shifting of the upper part of the main cable coil into a hopeless tangle which took several days to straighten out. On the morning of the 26th June the splice between the two cables was made, a bent sixpence put it for luck and it was slowly lowered over the side and disappeared for ever. After 3 miles the cable parted on the "Niagara," once again in the paying-out machine, being known at once the vessels put back, another splice was made and they set off again. Speed started at 2 miles per hour again increasing later to 4 miles. On 27th June another break occurred on the ocean bed and when the "Agamemnon" stopped to attempt to test the cable to ascertain the distance away of the break, the cable parted again a few fathoms below the stern wheel. Both vessels put back again and by this time even the most enthusiastic of the engineers must have begun to doubt their ability over to lay this cable successfully.

This time it was agreed, after the splice had been made, that if the ships had each proceeded less than 100 miles when any break or

fault occurred they would again return to each other. Should 100 miles have been exceeded they were both to return separately to Queenstown. On 29th June, late at night when it came to change over on the "Agamemnon" from the upper deck coil to the main hold coil, the cable broke again when the "Agamemnon" was 114 miles from their last splice. As the agreed distance had only been exceeded by 14 miles and as both vessels had still sufficient cable on board it was decided to return for still another splice. Unfortunately the "Niagara" had adhered strict to the agreement and could not be found and at 8 P.M. on 6th July the "Agamemnon" set out for Queenstown carrying aboard her some very disappointed men.

Coal and supplies were taken on board and on 17th July, 1858, the "Wire Squadron" again sailed on their task. This time with very little enthusiasm. Everyone ashore, including most of the Board, looked upon the venture as a mad freak of stubborn ignorance. The departure was without notice from the shore or vessels anchored in the harbour.

At just after noon on 29th July another splice was made in mid-Atlantic and the cable continued to be paid out over the stern of each vessel. This time both halves of the cable were laid successfully and on the 5th August, 1858, both ships arrived at their destinations and advised each other by signals that they were preparing to land their cable. The shore ends were duly landed, connected to their respective telegraph houses and that day messages flashed between the old and the new worlds.

There followed a period of congratulations and festive occasions and then the Company settled down to use the cable commercially. It was found that the insulation of the cable had improved by submersion, this being due to what is known technically as a steep temperature co-efficient which is a characteristic of gutta percha. The low temperatures of the ocean bed gave the insulation a higher value. Unfortunately, Mr. Whitehouse was not content to continue operating the cable with a voltage of just over a 100. He installed enormous induction coils five feet long, producing a potential estimated at about 2,000 volts. For about a week he attempted to use this apparatus, even increasing the potential without avail. He then returned to the original Daniell Cells and reflecting galvanometers and communications were resumed. Messages continued to be transmitted,

mostly greetings and congratulatory sentiments exchanged between the two Governments and their rulers. The first public news message was the report of the collision between two Cunard mail steamers, the "EUROPA" and the "ARABIC." It was found however that the insulation was gradually failing. The 2,000 volts of Mr. Whitehouse had been too much for it and on 20th October it "breathed it's last," having transmitted 732 messages in three months.

That cable, laid successfully, was not sufficiently large for the task. At the same time, had a high potential not been used, it would have continued to work, though slowly for a number of years. To use mechanical analogy, the failure was due to high pressure steam having been produced in a low pressure boiler.

The value of a cable across the Atlantic and the ability to lay it had been proved. It took some years to again collect the necessary capital but in those years cables were laid elsewhere including Suez *via* Aden to Karachi and much useful knowledge collected. In 1865 laying started again. This time from one vessel only, starting from the Irish side. This vessel was the famous "Great Eastern" a magnificent ship of 22,500 tons about 40 years ahead of her time. The shore end was landed late in July and a bad start was made, a fault occurring after only 84 miles of the cable was laid. Faults also occurred at 716 miles and at 1,186 miles. All were due to iron armouring wires puncturing the insulation and on repairing the third fault the cable parted and sank. The depth was 2,000 fathoms and in attempting to recover the cable all rope on board was lost and the "Great Eastern" returned to port.

The following year, with new cable, amended paying-out gear and a large store of grappling ropes the "Great Eastern" set sail again. Fourteen days after starting the cable was safely landed. During the same year the "Great Eastern" recovered the broken end of the 1865 cable, spliced another length to it and by the end of 1866 there were two cables across the Atlantic. A magnificent achievement. These two cables worked slowly at first but as apparatus at each end was improved the speed rose to 8 words and later to even 17 words per minute. With repairs, these cables continued to function for many years. Other cables followed until by the end of 19th century there were a total of 15 cables across the north Atlantic from U.S.A. and Canada to Europe.

BEAD ORNAMENTS OF ANCIENT INDIA

KALYANKUMAR GANGULI, M.A.

BEADS form a very formidable bulk of the antiquities discovered from all over the ancient sites of the east. The art of making beads is probably one of the earliest technical achievements of man and these elements have continued to remain as a very popular material for the making of ornaments from a very early age.

Chalcolithic sites in India such as Mohenjo-daro and Harappa have yielded a considerable number of beads, the wide variety of material, size, shape and such other characteristics of which affords a very interesting study. Semi-precious stones of different varieties were the main ingredient from which these beads were generally made but beads made of known metals such as gold, silver and copper and cheaper elements like faience and clay are also not rare.

The metals were mostly favoured for the manufacture of small or big globular beads. Other elements have to their credit widely different and curious varieties of shapes including shapes like long barrels, big cylinders, fancy cog wheels or fluted, taper-shaped, etc.

The innumerable variety of beads reflects the artists' wealth of conception. In fact, where stones constituted the bulk of jewellery, the efficiency of the stone-cutter was a natural outcome.

High polish is a quality which distinguishes almost all the beads so found. Each bead, in addition to its surface treatments, is further characterised by the essential perforation through the centre. This quality distinguishes their purpose of use. No actual string composed of these beads could survive, due probably to the fact that only perishable materials such as fibre or cotton threads were used to compose them into strings. These threads have tracelessly decayed in almost all the cases and only in one case, the decayed thread which retained the ornament still in its original state at the time of discovery crumbled to pieces at the first touch.

For these reasons, it has not been possible to ascertain the original shape of any of the strings of which the beads still survive. The

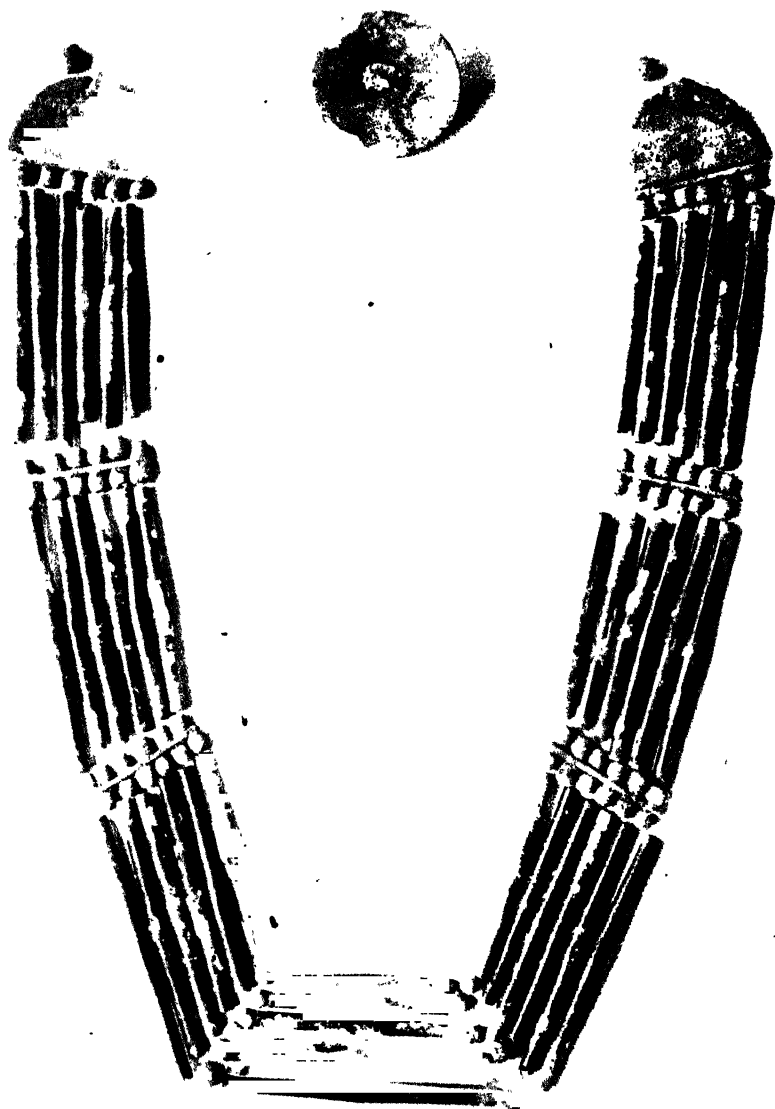


Fig 1. String of Carnelian beads, Mohenjo-daro.

composition of solitary strings with these beads is however a very simple affair and no possible clue can be found from which it can be determined whether there was any specific rule guiding the composition of such strings. But in almost all finds, heaps of beads have invariably been found hoarded up with a series of two other interesting objects. Of these, one is a semi-circular object made of metal having more than one perforation at its base, all ending in one at its top, the other, usually a perforated strip of metal or stone, flat, rectangular and narrow, equal in length to the base of many of the accompanying semicircular objects. These, as is quite evident, afforded material help towards the composition of ornaments with the accompanying beads (M.I.C., p. 517, and 18, Pl. CXXXIV). The strips having holes through them were evidently used to hold threads at regular intervals and hence are called spacers while the semi-circular objects were used to tuck up the threads at the ends of strings and are known as terminals. It is quite evident that these elements could be used only when more than one string were to be composed in one ornament. The abundance of these objects goes to prove that the use of multi-stringed ornaments of bead were widely popular both in Mohenjo-daro and in Harappa.

A number of these beads, spacers and terminals have been quite ingeniously recomposed into strings by the Archæological Department of India (M. I. C., p. 522, Pl. CXLIX) (Fig. 1). These strings are interesting in so far as they contrive to give an idea of how such strings in their original state used to look. There is no sufficient reason to believe that these terminals or the spacers were ever used for the composition of strings, not more than one in number, and in that case, some of the single string ornaments, recomposed by the department do not afford the correct idea (M. I. C. Pl. CXLIX.) about what they might have been. But most of the other strings are quite all right and some of them, which appear to be very faithfully rearranged afford a very illuminating idea about the skill and efficiency of the craftsmen of the Indus Valley.

Strangely enough, though not at all common in that country, yet a few specimens of almost exactly similar ornaments have been found in an Egyptian grave of the XVIIIth dynasty at Giza (Selim Hassan, Excavations at Giza p. 44. Pl. LXXVIII and LXXIX). Found attached to some skeletons as bracelets necklaces and anklets, the ornaments composed of more than one string of beads, slightly

flattened hemispherical terminals and zig-zag spacers are in an excellent state of preservation (Fig. 2). The zig-zag spacers are examples of elaboration and never found in India. Moreover, similar type of ornament is not found in Egypt before the XVIIIth dynasty, nor does it recur subsequently, and it does not seem unreasonable to believe that, like many other techniques of art, this technique was imported into that country, never to gain any substantial popularity.

In India, however, use of this type of ornament was quite frequent. It was widely popular all through its phases, at Mohenjodaro and also at Harappa and was most probably used as bracelets, armlets, necklaces, girdles and anklets. But it did not go into disuse with the extinction of the Chalcolithic civilization. Some of the earliest monuments of the historical age have got representations of ornaments strikingly similar to those found in the Indus Valley. Of these, a striking example is the girdle worn by a female figure found at Bodhgaya and belonging to the 1st century B. C. (Cambridge Hist. of India, Pl. XIX, 52). The ornament is composed of three strings of uniform globular beads, spaced at an interval of three beads by flat rectangular spacers. Though the terminals cannot be traced in this case, yet there are representations of similar ornaments shown in Sanchi as dangling ornaments of elephants where the semicircular terminals are also quite explicit. (Fig. 3.) (Maisey—Sanchi and its remains—Pls. XVI and XXI). After Sanchi, however, this type of ornament cannot be traced any more on any of the existing monuments but ornaments which have much in common with those multi-stringed objects are quite frequently seen as worn by women, specially of northern India, even at the present age.



Fig. 2. Bead String from Egypt Mark the terminals and the zig-zag spacers



Fig. 3. Elephant on gate way, Sanchi. Mark the dangling string of bead.

PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDIES IN ENGLISH FICTION

SRICHANDRA SEN, M.A.

THE study of psycho-analysis has led to a number of profitless experiments at the hands of mediocre story-tellers. Occasionally their zeal and inefficiency have combined to produce the impression that the psycho-analysts were on a wrong track and that their work did not contribute in any measure to the enlargement of our knowledge and sympathies. But this point of view becomes untenable as soon as we acquaint ourselves with the researches of psychologists and of psycho-analysts, particularly those of Sigmund Freud whose enquiries have secured access to a new world—comprehending all the aspects of the human personality. Freud's most important theories have been formulated to explain the subconscious element in human motives—it is that portion of the mental field whose processes are outside the range of attention. The unconscious psyche is closely associated with the theory of neuroses. When an impulse is prevented from reaching consciousness, it becomes transformed into a neurotic symptom. Freud has expounded many theories to shed light upon the obscure region of the human psyche but it must be asserted that the creed of pan sexuality which he upholds to the horror of the uninitiated has sometimes been very severely criticised. To take an illustration, the theory of Oedipus Complex to which Kempt refers as “the Ark of the Freudian Covenant” has been attacked by McDougall on a number of grounds. These seem also to have occurred to Freud himself and led to a revision of his views.¹

The most memorable result of these investigations is a changed outlook on human behaviour. Conduct being now regarded as intimately connected with development, its errors are not interpreted as guilt as they were done before the new psychological ideas came into existence, and are now held to be remediable by means of science and treatment. The individual responsibility having thus diminished by discrediting the theory of freedom of will, it has now become possible

¹ William McDougall—An Outline of Abnormal Psychology (Methuen & Co. Ltd.), p. 418.

to study a character in those aspects on which a literary ban was formerly placed for their evil savour.¹ This has led to a considerable extension of the field covered by the Novel.

Having thus far considered some leading ideas advanced by the science of psycho-analysis, it may be appropriate to refer to a few instances of applied psychology in contemporary English fiction illustrating certain types of character and their reaction to external circumstance. To make the study systematic we may start with child psychology and proceed by stages to the adult reacting in subtler and more individual way to different emotions. The child in this century has acquired an importance which it did not possess before and we find authors giving it an increasing importance. It was Wordsworth who said that the child is the father of the man, but it was not then so clearly recognised that the child's effort to arrive at an adjustment in relation to its environment cost it a severe strain² and called for the greatest care and attention on the part of its guardians. The hopes, joys, and fears of childhood as well as the child's slow progress towards an adaptation to its environment have been set out at length by many novelists including H. G. Wells, D. H. Lawrence, Somerset Maugham, Virginia Woolf and others. For obvious reasons the child cannot, however, play a leading rôle in a novel as we now understand it. Compton Mackenzie devotes the first hundred and more pages of "Sinister Street" (Vol. I) to a minute study of Michael Pane. The following passage, chosen at random, illustrates the child's belief about the finality of the present state of things and its incapacity to look beyond: "...He (Michael) supposed that one day he would like Stella's (his sister's) playing (she was a musician). One day, so he had been led to suppose, he would also like fat and cabbage and going to bed. At present such a condition of mind was incomprehensible."³

Lawrence gives a very close analysis of the little Anna Lensky. Her mother, a widow, married Tom Brangwen. Anna conceived a violent prejudice against him. It was jealousy and her vocabulary was not ample enough to express it with the vividness she desired.

¹ A. C. Ward—Foundations of English Prose (G. Bell & Sons, Ltd.), 1931, p. 82.

² The chief achievement in the field of child psychology, to quote Adler, has been our ability "to join the childhood experiences, impressions, and attitudes, so far as we are capable of determining them, with the later phenomena of the soul life in one incontrovertible and continuous pattern." (Alfred Adler—Understanding the Human Nature, George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., p. 5.)

³ Compton Mackenzie—Sinister Street, Vol. I (Martin Secker), 1922, p. 91.

But the child can invent when it does not know and this is how she manages to give vent to her feelings:

"We don't live with you," she said, thrusting forward her little head at him, "You—you're—you're a bomakle."

"A what?" he shouted.

Her voice trembled—but it came: "A bomakle."¹

The picture of adolescence is generally of a period of much anxiety and perplexity. It is unhappy because of an unachieved adaptation. Wells sums up its peculiarities in this brief description, "half-man, half-ape, and wholly egoist."² Arthur Wilmont in diagnosing the character of Michael Fane makes almost the identical observation: "You are at present a queer sort of mythical animal whom we for want of a better term call 'adolescent.' Intercourse with anything but your own self shocks both you and the world with a sense of extravagance as if a centaur pursued a nymph or fought with a hero."³ But the adolescent is not incapable of passion and its attachment may prove both genuine and lasting. Ann faded away from the life of Kipps⁴ but only to reappear, eclipsing a more recent attachment, and become his wife. Kipps met her as a boy and his feeling revived years after when he craved for some respect and affection having thoroughly tired of the rôle of pupil lover which he had to play in relation to Helen to whom he was affianced. In the case of Michael⁵ a very similar thing happened and Lily whom he had met in his adolescence was prevented from becoming his wife when he renewed the friendship at a mature age only by the extreme fickleness of her temper. The outstanding features of adolescent love are the desire of self-immolation and adoration.⁶

The subject of love has exercised the minds of nearly all the novelists, and its subtleties have received the most detailed attention. It will be best to reserve a separate section for their treatment. A few instances of abnormal psychology may here be noticed.

¹ D. H. Lawrence—*The Rainbow* (The Modern Library, New York), p. 62. The word "bomakle" is of course purely nonsensical and has nothing to do with bom or boma which is a native name in Congo for a huge non-poisonous snake. This fact is clear from Tom's reply made in mock anger. He calls her a "comakle."

² H. G. Wells—*The World of William Chasold*, Vol. II (Ernest Benn, Ltd., 1926), p. 467.

³ *Sinister Street*, Vol. I, p. 285.

⁴ H. G. Wells—*Kipps* (Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1920).

⁵ *Sinister Street*, Vol. I.

⁶ H. G. Wells—*The Passionate Friends* (T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd.), p. 51.

Hermione Roddice¹ who was genuinely in love with Birkin did not feel complete without him and was otherwise aware of a "terrible void, a lack, a deficiency of being within her." She was a woman of the intellectual type and Birkin who did not respond to her mockingly told her when once she insisted on spontaneity in the emotions: "You'd be verily deliberately spontaneous...your deliberate voluntary consciousness. You want it all in that loathsome little skull of yours, that ought to be cracked like a nut."² Hermione was humble to him but this jeering attitude hurt and humiliated her until one day a sadistic impulse drove her to attempt on his life. The action might have been characterised as an instance of feminine revenge but the author did not clearly intend it so, as would be seen from the following: "A terrible voluptuous thrill ran down her arms—she was going to know her voluptuous consummation. Her arms quivered and were strong, immeasurably and irresistibly strong. What delight, what delight in strength, what delirium of pleasure! She was going to have her consummation of voluptuous ecstasy at last. It was coming! In utmost terror and agony, she knew it was upon her now, in extremity of bliss. Her hand closed on a blue, beautiful ball of lapis lazuli that stood on her desk for a paper-weight. She rolled it round in her hand as she rose silently. Her heart was a pure flame in her breast, she was purely unconscious in ecstasy. She moved towards him and stood behind him for a moment in ecstasy. He, closed within the spell, remained motionless and unconscious.

"Then swiftly in a flame that drenched down her body like fluid lightning and gave her a perfect, unutterable consummation, unutterable satisfaction, she brought down the ball of jewel stone with all her force, crash on his head."³

We learn, however, that the blow was not fatal as her fingers were in the way and deadened it. But the description leaves no doubt regarding what Lawrence meant to portray.

Another abnormal character in the same story is Gudrun. She was teacher in a school and possessed all the mental discipline education could confer, wedded to an intelligence that was naturally quick and alert. She felt herself drawn to Gerald Crich depicted

¹ D. H. Lawrence—*Women in Love* (Martin Secker), p. 17.

² *Ibid.*, p. 44. Masochism or a rage of abject passion passively submitting to brutalities is another instance of abnormal psychology. Writing of this tendency Havelock Ellis says: "Such a state of feeling is by some regarded as almost normal in women." (*Psychology of Sex*, Vol. II: *Sexual Inversion*, p. 100).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

as a man of powerful build, full of energy, possessing a capacity for organisation and ruling masterly instinct with a breeziness of temper born of outdoor habits. He was the accidental murderer of a brother and the author suggests that this accident was related to character. Gudrun began to take an interest in him which amounted to a strong partiality the moment she saw him. But the manifestation of love took an unusual form in her, as would be evidenced by the following passage: "And she (Gudrun) felt in her soul an unconquerable desire for deep violence against him (Gerald Crich). She shut off the fear and dismay that filled her conscious mind. He recoiled from the slight blow on his face."¹

Spandrell² deliberately practised vice to spite himself, to spite his mother, and to spite God, after his mother's second marriage. "He hoped there was a hell for him to go and regretted his inability to believe in its existence." He found vice exciting in the beginning but habit soon converted it into a dull necessity and he "turned with a kind of desperation to the refinements of vice." At last he murdered Everard Webley, the founder and the head of the Brotherhood of British Freemen, in the quest of wickedness and because the latter somehow humiliated him by the sense of power and majesty he gave forth. Illidge joined him in perpetrating the deed of horror. He was a biologist. Poverty had perverted his vision. The act suggested more than a lurking suspicion of the Inferiority Complex.

W. Somerset Maugham gives an interesting specimen of psychoanalysis in a story in which he shows how infatuation ends a happy married life which has lasted for sixteen years. Margery and Charlie were both elderly people—the husband was fifty-three and the wife forty-four. They had never lived separately from each other after marriage and men laughed harmlessly at their fondness. Gerry Merton, a young man of twenty-nine, came back from Borneo for a holiday and danced with her, the husband not imagining that this could lead to any serious consequences. The two fell in love in spite of the great discrepancy of age between them—it was maternal and protective love on the side of Margery³ but it broke up the home and ended with the unhappy Charlie's death by an overdose of veronal.

¹ D. H. Lawrence—*Women in Love* (Martin Secker), p. 177.

² *Point Counter Point*, p. 299 f.

³ W. Somerset Maugham—*The First Person Singular* (William Heinemann, 1931), p. 42.

Maugham has, however, refrained from directly suggesting that Margery's commonplace married life made her repress her desire for freshness and romance leading to what psycho-analysts call a complex formation.¹ Writers like Maugham who do not obviously incorporate theories of psycho-analysis in their stories rely upon the reader's acquaintance with the recent ideas on the subject for an adequate appreciation.

The extreme type of introvert who shuns society and lives much by himself may develop misanthropic views but he has no necessary connection with solitary habits and lonely meditation. On the other hand misanthropy is inconsistent with any well-ordered notion of the universe and man's place in it and is a sign of failure and disappointment. The introvert is the possessor of an abnormal psyche² and his ideas are important because they show to what introversion may give rise. Lawrence draws the character of Birkin, to whom reference has already been made, as an introvert delighting in solitude and avoiding company. Here are some of his views: "Do you think that creation depends on man: It merely dosen't. There are trees and the grass and birds. I much prefer to think of the lark rising up in the morning upon a humanless world. Man is a mistake, he must go."³

Cardan, whom Aldous Huxley represents as an extrovert, living always in the midst of much company, gay, urban, well-informed, loses his self-control and the capacity to concentrate his mind on any subject except that of death and disease when he once finds himself overtaken by night in a marshy place some miles away from Mrs. Aldwinkle's palace where he was then residing. Men of his type are particularly helpless under such a circumstance where no amount of conversational ability will do them any good. He has been thus psycho-analysed: "He wished to God he were back at the palace, with people round him to talk to. Alone, he was without defence. He tried to think of something lively and amusing; indoor sports, for example. But instead of indoor sports he found himself contemplating visions of disease, decrepitude, death. And it was the same when he tried to think of reasonable serious things: what is art, for example?

¹ William McDougall examines two instances of complex formation in "An Outline of Abnormal Psychology," pp. 230-31.

² *Ibid.*

³ D. H. Lawrence—*Women in Love*, p. 132.

and what was the survival value to a species of eyes or wings or protective colouring in their rudimentary state before they were developed far enough to see, fly or protect.''¹

Stephen suffers from 'Agenbite of Inwit' or remorse of conscience for not having obeyed the last wish of his dying mother to kneel down and pray. The death-bed scene constantly recurs to his memory and at night assumes the terrors of a nightmare. "In a dream, silently, she had come to him, her wasted body within its loose grave clothes giving off an odour of wax and rosewood, her breath bent over him with mute secret words, a faint odour of wasted ashes. Her glazing eyes, starting out of death to shake and bend my soul. On me alone.....Her hoarse loud breath rattling in horror, while all prayed on their knees. Her eyes on me to strike me down.'"² Such thought obsessions have received ample treatment at the hands of psycho-analysts but their appearance in literature long antedates the rise of the New Psychology,³ which has only explained what forms the obsessions take when they appear as dreams, and the various ways in which they influence character and outlook.⁴

It has been a recognized practice to resort to comic interludes to relieve gloom and tension in a tragedy, but the importance of laughter as a sustaining influence to individual men and women in bearing shame and subordination had hardly ever been so clearly expressed until the science of psychology studied laughter, bringing out its full significance in relation to man. Wells speaks of the "consolations of derision." William Clissold tells us that servants and other employed people generally ridicule their masters and directors. "They find it necessary to divest these superiors of their superiority, give them undignified nicknames, detect their subtler frustrations, and then with a grasp of relief, ha, ha, life becomes tolerable again."⁵

¹ Aldous Huxley—*Those Barren Leaves* (Rotunda, p. 227) Chatto Windus, 1932.

² James Joyce—*Ulysses* (Shakespeare and Co., Paris). Also "James Joyce's *Ulysses*: A Study," by Stuart Gilbert (Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1930), p. 101.

³ Cf. the sleep-walking scenes in "*Macbeth*."

⁴ Sigmund Freud—*The Psycho analysis of Dream*.

⁵ H. G. Wells—*The World of William Clissold*, Vol. II, p. 414. The fact that subordinates delight in caricaturing and in making fun of their master is a matter of common observation. Jenkins, the junior shorthand typist (*A Man from the North*, by Arnold Bennett, Methuen, 1912), ridicules his boss as "Bertie dear." "Mrs. Smythe had once addressed her husband in the office as 'Bertie dear' and thenceforth that has been his name among the staff." (p. 112.)

Our question is whether such influence is possible. Psychology cannot perhaps deal with the problem which belongs rather to the field of psychical research.

Cardan in "Those Barren Leaves" says that he does not admit anything as immoral and that he can remain respectable in his own eyes and in those of others in spite of loading dice, drinking tubs of wine and "every weakness, every vice." They will not detract from his sense of honesty, sobriety, purity and highmindedness. La Rochefoucauld understood very well the need of a virtuous exterior in the absence of something more genuine when he observed: "Hypocrisy is the tribute paid by vice to virtue."¹ There is no justification for quarrelling with this view. Society has not changed in this respect since his days. The problem here is, if one can dissociate oneself from what one does. Most people, however, will deny having such a natural odour of sanctity that it will disinfect their septic actions and render them morally harmless. "When I do something stupid or dirty I can't help feeling that it is stupid or dirty. My soul lacks virtues to make it wise or clean."² The claim made by Cardan is excessive, even absurd, and unless it came in the midst of a serious conversation and was treated as serious by an important character (Calamy) in the story, one would be inclined to dispose of it as a joke. If Cardan means his claim to be serious, it will be necessary to examine into the meaning of the words whose service he desires to retain in his personal description or treat his condition as pathological.³

The use of strings of words by James Joyce in "Ulysses" had led to the question being asked if they really correspond to the stream of one's consciousness, whether indeed thought expresses itself spontaneously in isolated words and phrases or in sentences. Opinion is far from being unanimous, and the problem cannot be settled until it can be definitely shown that the one or the other state of things represents the universal psychological experience. Richard Aldington, for instance, speaks of the reproduction of Leopold Bloom's thought by

¹ Reflections and Moral Maxims

² Those Barren Leaves (Rotunda, p. 273)

³ Ethel Cune's views (None of That, Tales of D. H. Lawrence, Martin Secker, 1934, p. 907) closely resemble those of Cardan but the story shows that her own experience which turned out to be most unfortunate gave the lie to them. "If one lived the life of imagination, one could rise above any experience that ever happened to one. One could even commit murder, and rise above that. By using the imagination, and by using cunning, a woman can justify herself in anything, even the meanest and most bad things. A woman uses her imagination on her own behalf, and she becomes more innocent to herself than an innocent child, no matter what bad things she has done."

James Joyce as "an astonishing psychological document," and observes: "The telegraphic method is there apt and justified."¹ Rebecca West criticises the practice, remarking that "there is nothing more certain than that sentences were used by man before words and still come with the readiness of instinct to his lips. They, and not words, are the foundations of all language. Your dog has no words but it barks and whines sentences at you."² Without speculating whether words or sentences were first used by man it may be observed that in the civilized state man has the option to do either. The objection of Rebecca West may be overruled on the ground that James Joyce does not accept the primitive psychology as his criterion and the persuasive fluency of the barking dog will, therefore, leave him unmoved. Joyce endeavours to register thoughts as they quickly chase each other in the mind of Leopold Bloom in the course of a single day. As a mirror of this fast-flowing stream of consciousness, the telegraphic method appears to be quite legitimate.

Thoughts which pass through the mind are like writing upon a half-faded palimpsest. They are arranged in layer upon layer, one layer brightening to conspicuousness for a moment and giving place to another in the next. Language, even the most telegraphic, has the defect of not being able to suggest this quality of simultaneity and multiplicity which belongs to the stream of consciousness. It represents thought as moving in a horizontal line, more or less as in continuous progress. Looked at from this point of view, Joyce does not fully succeed in his purpose on account of a defect inherent in language. This fact of human psychology which words and phrases cannot adequately express will lend itself to vivid representation by the symbolism of painting.³

Whatever may be said about the psychological soundness of language used by Joyce with its staccato breaks, fantastic inweaving

¹ Richard Aldington—*Literary Studies and Reviews*. (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1924), p. 202.

² Rebecca West—*The Strange Necessity* (Jonathan Cape), p. 32.

³ Aldous Huxley appears to be fully aware of thought moving 'on many planes at the same time when he makes Miss Thripow try to concentrate her mind on God. This is the picture he gives: "God is a spirit, she said aloud. But of all animals camels are really almost the queerest; when one thinks of the frightfully supercilious faces, with their protruding underlips, like the last Hapsburg kings of Spain.....No, no, God is a spirit all pervading, everywhere." "Those Barren Leaves" (Rotunda). But the difficulty of the medium leaves that fact unproved. Thoughts are here shown in a consecutive series and not simultaneously.

of sounds,¹ and the absence of punctuation, it is generally admitted that "Ulysses" is a masterly study in psychology. Arnold Bennett in an article in "The Outlook" speaks of the convincing realism of the unspoken monologue of Mrs. Bloom which covers the last forty pages of "Ulysses." "Talk about understanding 'feminine psychology,'" he writes, "I have never read anything to surpass it, and I doubt if I have ever read anything to equal it."²

Mrs. Bloom fully reveals her character in the silent monologue. We learn about her intrigue with Bolyan, her faith in God, delight in nature, and multitudes of other things concerning her attitude and experiences. There is absolutely no reserve in her. Here is a short passage in which she remembers a quarrel and details connected with it. She also makes mention of Pody's wooing of herself and the way it terminated: a "stand up row about politics he began it not me when he said about our Lord being a carpenter at least he made me cry a woman is so sensitive about everything I was fuming with myself after for giving in only for I knew he was gone on me and the first socialist he said He was he annoyed me so much I couldnt put him into a temper."

In the foregoing pages many instances of psycho-analysis in current English fiction have been noticed. Reference has been made to the influence of the scientific studies of Freud, Adler, and others. It is to be remembered, however, that a novelist of any individuality does not depend upon them for the portrayal of character. He trusts primarily to his own intuition and if he reads works on psycho-analysis it is to reinforce his impressions or to enlarge his notions which may suffer through a limited scope of observation. If he owes anything to professional psychologists, he also makes his own contribution to the development of the science of psycho-analysis and does not remain merely as a passive receptacle for ideas. It is only at the hands of inferior writers that psycho-analysis instead of becoming an aid in laying bare human motives acts as a hindrance and they never succeed in blowing the breath of life into dry bones, which, bending under the weight of scientific ideas, refuse to laugh and rejoice in life. The first impulse to explore the depth of the consciousness came

¹ The following is an example selected from the silent monologue of Mrs. Bloom in "Ulysses": "Frseeeeeeeefronnnng train some-where whisling."

² Also vide "Joyce's Ulysses: A Study," by Stuart Gilbert, p. 377.

rather from the Russian novelists like Tolstoy and Dostoievsky than from scientists who dealt with the subject technically and were not at all concerned with the extra-therapeutic application of their researches.¹ As we can sympathise with only what we understand, the increased understanding of human nature has led to the broadening of our sympathies.

¹ Thomas Mann—*Past Masters and Other Papers*, translated into English by H. T. Lowe-Dorier (Martin Secker, 1933), p. 192

SPIRITUAL LIFE—ITS NATURE

CHUNILAL MITRA, M.A.

BEFORE we discuss any subject it is worth while to note that it is *we* who discuss—we, human beings, who are interested in the subject. Any discussion worth the name, to be of any importance and of any absorbing interest, must be of the type which is expected to satisfy some vital need of our life. And in the end if any discussion or conclusion fails to give any satisfactory answer to the query: 'is it consistent with life, does it bear fruit in practice, or is it consonant with the workaday world we live in, or does it offer any solution and consolation to the persistent problems of life and the living?' we may dispense with the conclusion at once. So also in discussing the nature of spiritual life we may at once dispense with any life that is not compatible with life itself. Thus whatever might be the nature of the spiritual life it is not at least an empty life of the spirit, *i.e.*, a life of ether—an ethereal life—invisible and intangible. It is not a life living on and in the air, *i.e.*, feeding on air and having its abode in the air, a life which is an object of investigation of the theosophists. And if this sort of life is what spiritual life stands for we are not concerned with it. A purely transcendent life beyond the mundane should be beyond the scope of our investigation.

We presume and take for granted that the spiritual life is the ideal life, and being ideal it is a life to be coveted and sought for. But what should be its nature? We do not think that a human life can work out his destiny when separated from the Universe. A 'life lived nowhere,' be it spiritual or not, is a false phraseology. All living life must be living here and now.

From the time of yore the East has a tradition of her spirituality and the West of materialism. But the spiritual life we have in view—and what the present world needs badly—is neither in the Indian spirituality nor in the Western materialism as it is found to-day. It is a synthesis and consummation of the two. It is not the life a detached sage lost in contemplation of the Absolute nor that of a materialistic philanthropist whose sole aim is to increase the physical comforts and material well-being of his fellowmen. It is not in a

sannyāsin without a home or a hearth nor in a foppish landlord, of pomp and power but of base morality. We are for a sublime combination of both the physical and spiritual ends of life. But it is not an altogether novel life. It is a resurrection of the spiritual life of the sages and seers, the life that may give at least a plausible explanation of the worst and crudest riddles of life, where all the faculties of man have their rôle to play and no sense should be rooted out. It would not be a physical suicide to live in the spiritual. It is no sacrifice of the one at the altar of the other. But to speak of this spiritual life in this general way would be an unproductive labour for us. For, in these days of scientific precision having for its watchwords the 'concrete' and the 'constructive' we may be required to give a concrete content to this spiritual life. In order to this I would say that it is an all-round life. For, the more comprehensive a life is, the more real it is.

I take a few cases as typically illustrative of the spiritual life, *e g.*, the life of Śrīkṛṣṇa, of Lord Buddha, of Christ and of Vivekānanda.

In characterising the life of Śrīkṛṣṇa as a life all-round Vedavyāsa says in the Bhāgavata that "it is the life of an ideal youth, an ideal king, and an ideal husband. He is the ideal friend of his kinsmen, and a loving child. He is death personified for the wicked and the vicious, and at the same time the highest intellectual. His is a life which does feel at home everywhere in nature. He is love and peace incarnate, and the Kaivalya of Patañjali. And if we call it a religious life we certainly mean more than a mere puritanism. It may be called a moral life, but it is anything but conventional; and it may be called a political life, but it is nothing of the kind of narrow patriotism. But I am loth to ascribe to it any such particular attribute. This is a sort of life we long for. It is the spiritual life and at the same time life real. The life we are living now and here is neither real nor spiritual. It is, as if, life is not really functioning in us. It is a compromise, a device, a makeshift and a mercantile technique.

The life of Jesus of Nazareth is another instance of spiritual life. In fact, 'Christ on the Cross' is the highest divinely human life we can possibly conceive of. Life of Jesus is a solace to the bereaved mother, the deserted wife, the forsaken brother and the poverty-stricken hundred. But himself was he crucified. The question was sometimes asked:—'Was Jesus married?' and the answer given is:—'Certainly

was he. He was married to the world at large.' Though metaphorical, the expression is not less significant. And the significance is nothing short of this, that Jesus was sorry for the sorrowful, depressed for the disheartened, mortified for the morose. And his crucifixion is a symbolic response to the accumulated woes and miseries of the millions. This is a life blissful but sorrowful because sympathetic to the sufferings of humanity.

In more recent times the life of Vivekānanda affords an illustration of spiritual life on earth. He was also wedded to the world, *i.e.*, lived a most universal life. He was above any sect, community or even nationality. His heart melted for the hungry, the unclad and the unfed. He healed those who were morally maimed and spiritually crippled. The souls of all these great men were concentrated on the task of the making of individuals, the training of manhood, the awakening of personality and individuality. But though these personalities were "hundred per cent. idealists and mystics, yet they were foremost realists and stern objectivists." Lives of this type we seek for realization. For, an Ideal Man is the ideal of man. More than Men we cannot be, and if we are less our own nature won't forgive us. We are endowed with the prerogative of being man in its highest sense, *i.e.*, attaining a spiritual life.

But questions of greater importance still remain. Is the spiritual life above woe and miseries? Is it above any bondage? Without the least hesitation I at once answer in the negative. Indeed, the spiritual life is blissful, it is pure and unalloyed. Nonetheless it is conscious of woe and misery. It is a life of freedom but never forgetful of slavery. We do not think that a Christ or a Vivekānanda, a Kṛṣṇa or a Buddha was ever deaf to the cry of the sick, the destitute, the helpless and the hopeless.

To take an instance: In the history of religion Lord Kṛṣṇa granted a charter of liberty to each and every individual in the prophetic utterance of the Bhagavad-Gītā. He granted the possibility of emancipation for all when he declared that the door of the spiritual life was open to all. You may get your passport and I mine. But himself was he born in a prison cell. Whence it was given to him to declare freedom for one and all. It is for him to preach the gospel of liberty who knows the pangs of slavery and bondage. So also the spiritual life is to ennoble the life physical, emotional, sensual and even vulgar. For in the descent and getting down of the spiritual the

vulgar no longer remains vulgar. It becomes sanctified with the holy water as it were. What I mean to say is that the sensuous, emotional, intellectual and the spiritual are complementary aspects of life as a whole. No doubt the spiritual life would be divine but it must not be unsympathetic to the human. It is the awakening of divineness in us—a divinity in humanity. To be cosmopolitan and international is not necessarily to contradict the national, provincial and even communal. So also if a spiritual life were scornful to the physical life, I would call it a life of a bondage of second type. To call such a life free, emancipated and real, is tantamount to saying that a nation is free, though under the domination of a foreign power, only because she has freed herself from another domination—only because she has shaken off another foreign yoke from her shoulder. It would be life in chains no doubt, only the chain is made not of iron but of gold. To be anxious to have such a life where other faculties find no place is as absurd as to strive to observe the race of the brain without legs and hands. We cannot conceive of a spiritual life *in vacuo*, and far from calling that life ideal I am loth to call it a life better. It is a diseased life. If my left hand happens to grow fat and not the whole body, I do not regard myself as possessed of sound health but as in a diseased state. And the sooner I get rid of it the better.

Such is my conception of spiritual life. And in complete consonance with this I believe also that it is the life eternal.

This conception of spiritual life is compatible with modern psychological tendencies and the present day scientific outlook. We do find nowhere in nature a spirit *per se* and a body *per se*. We do not find a pound of mind here and a pound of matter there. In the words of Einstein 'Matter is concentrated mind.' For modern psychology "what is vulgar in man has the highest metaphysical value." To quote the words of a great idealistic philosopher, Eucken, "Spiritual life is at the same time a self life and a cosmic life." If the spiritual life be of the psyche only, static and inert, the life of a stone or of a rock would have been more spiritual. On the other hand, if any spiritual life be the life of mere physique, the elephant or the stud bull would be enjoying a better spiritual life. But neither the one nor the other do we call spiritual. Our spiritual life must give sustenance and ample food to our body and mind, physique and psyche, emotion and intellect. Or, as the Upaniṣads put it: it must satisfy the *annamaya*, *prāṇamaya*, *manomaya*, *vijñānamaya* and

ānandamaya koṣas alike. Such a life we call the highest life, a life at once ideal and spiritual and a life eternal. It is not the life of mere jñāna nor of mere bhakti nor of mere karma. For, life is the pursuit of knowledge and knowledge alone would lose life itself and there would be left little or no residuum that can be made spiritual. A life of mere bhakti, of blind faith and of dogmatism would be a life of lethargy and inaction. And a life of mere karma completely divorced from the other two would be the life of greater mechanism. The spiritual life should be a synthesis and consummation of these three.

INTELLECTUAL STRUGGLES IN CHINA DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

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THE new form given to Confucianism by Chu Hsi and his school during the time of the Sung Dynasty in China in the twelfth century A. D. gradually assumed absolute and unrestricted domination over Chinese thought during the course of the following seven centuries. This success, however, was by no means due to any innate superiority in the intellectual content of this dogma over all other philosophical conceptions or to the persuasive force of its doctrines, although both factors may have attracted not a few adherents. Its position was rather far more a consequence of its protection by the power of the State, which finally identified itself with the system. Nor did the casting of thought into the uniform mould of Confucianism during the period in question proceed without contention and opposition. On the contrary, even the time of the Ming Dynasty (fourteenth to seventeenth century) was still filled with conflict over the interpretation of the canonical writings and therewith over the freedom of philosophical thought.

Chu Hsi's teaching consisted of a mechanical and materialistic cosmology which assumed the final origin of things to be the timeless interaction of the dualistic forces, Heaven and Earth, Force and Matter (*li* and *ch'i*), Darkness and Light (*yin* and *yang*). The canonical writings, however, he interpreted most arbitrarily so that they would afford support for his theories. He identified the "nature" or "disposition" (*hsing*) of man with *li* (cosmic energy), declaring it consequently to be "originally good," and viewing the body itself as the *ch'i*. The whole explanation found its roots in the *Ta hsuo* and the *Chung-yung*, that part of the canonical writing which is actually apocryphal in origin and contains much more of Taoist wisdom than of the teachings of Confucius. Opposition arose at an early date to this violation of tradition which pretended to be the final essence of truth and gradually led, under the ægis of the State, to the formation of an intolerant and overbearing orthodox class of *literati*. The roots of the groups and schools of thought that moulded

this opposition into contradictory doctrines extend as far back as the twelfth, perhaps even the eleventh century, and they found nourishment in the soil of Buddhist idealism and mysticism, to which may be added certain Taoist conceptions. Since the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. Indian wisdom had exerted a powerful influence upon Chinese intellectual life, which even Confucianism was not able to evade. Chu Hsi himself, if no Buddhist, had been at least in his youth an eager inquirer into Buddhist literature, and however much he expressed his dislike of Buddhism and Taoism in later years, his opponents often enough reproached him with having derived more from their tenets than he was willing to admit.

Chu Hsi's most influential antagonist was Wang Yang-ming (A.D. 1472 to 1523), perhaps the greatest thinker of his time in China. He also arrived at his cosmology by way of Taoist and Buddhist mysticism, and his philosophy cannot be termed other than purely idealistic. In his view, the sole possibility of recognizing all Being was intuition, the *instinctus naturalis*, the inner sense, which also played a part in European philosophy of the seventeenth century and which had already been spoken of by Meng tse in the fourth and third centuries B.C. Everything in the world, according to these teachings, depends upon the power of imagination of one's "own soul" (*pen hsin*), and "intuitive knowledge" (*liangchih*) alone solves all problems and embraces all things. For the "own soul" is but a single part, a single method of expression of the Almighty Being, that is, of Nature (*hsing*), with which it is thereby identified. This is an idea that closely approaches the Taoist conception of *tao*. This view and the diverging interpretation of the *Ta hsuo* and *Chung-yung* connected with it led to a charge of heresy being raised against Wang Yang-ming in 1522, but his fame as a scholar and his loyalty as a high official were more powerful than the opposition.

Wang Yang-ming left behind a large circle of disciples and admirers, and his teachings proved to be unusually stimulating and fruitful for Chinese thought, in so far as they were not fettered by State orthodoxy and finally paralyzed altogether. Not a few of his adherents, however, further developed his teaching in a direction towards which he would hardly have accompanied them and finally arrived at a radicalism that he would undoubtedly have rejected. For however much Wang Yang-ming may have combated Chu-Hsi, the commentator and announcer of Confucianism, he made not the

slightest attempt to undermine the authority of Confucius, the saint himself. His spiritual heirs, on the contrary, did not always pause even at that point, but criticized the "teacher of ten thousand generations" and contested his position, making thereby no attempt to conceal their leaning towards Buddhism. We do not know much about the doctrines of the numerous "heretics" who flourished during the century after Wang Yang-ming, since we possess few direct sources, by far the greater part of these having been destroyed by the State authorities. Their opponents themselves inform us, however, of the way in which the dogmatic structure erected by Chu Hsi was assaulted during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, how his antagonists finally ranged themselves with Buddhism that he had so strongly execrated, and how this movement cast ever widening circles and reached even into the ranks of highly placed officials.

Orthodoxy did not view the movement with indifference; numerous charges were brought against the "heretics" and justice vented its fury on the victims with very severe punishments. Most of the victims have disappeared into the obscurity of oblivion, but the fate of those of whom we have knowledge compels us to draw harrowing conclusions as to that of the others. Great courage and no little adroitness were required to voice one's thoughts against the phalanx of the supporters of orthodoxy, and still more to attempt to give effect to them. At all events, such an individual risked not only his office and his position in society, but also his life, and it is an astounding fact that so many fearless men were to be found who dared under such conditions to take up the unequal struggle for the freedom of thought and personality. One of these champions, one of those in fact who were most passionate in their rejection of the claims of orthodoxy and who consequently gave the most radical expression to their views, was Li Chih, born in Fu-kien in 1527. Owing to the expense involved, he was unable to pass the highest of the Government examinations in the Capital, and remained a provincial subaltern official, while devoting himself eagerly to philosophical and historical studies. These led him more and more to Buddhism and its doctrine of salvation, but simultaneously also to adopt an attitude of the keenest antagonism to Confucianism as represented by the *litarati* and the Government, a Confucianism which, in his opinion, did not conform with the real teachings of Confucius. Li Chih finally became a Buddhist, although only a lay brother and not a monk, because he

was always unwilling to tie himself to rigid forms of worship. He was naturally dismissed from Government service, and from that time on he led a restless wandering existence in the provinces of Hupei, Anhui, Honan, and Shansi, frequently lived in Buddhist monasteries, studied, wrote, and held meetings and philosophic discourses. Part of these writings, principally letters containing learned disputations, have been brought to light again by Chinese scholars after their suppression by the Manchu Emperors had been discontinued, and much may still be found, but a great deal has been irretrievably lost. For this reason, the very name of the self-willed thinker is almost unknown to the Western and even to the Chinese scientific world.

Li Chih combats the Confucian system with the assistance of Confucius himself. He proves with great acumen that many matters of fundamental importance as asserted by the dogma are actually not to be found in the teachings of Confucius, and that many others are in absolute contradiction to it. Thus, according to his view, the exaggerated cult of the family to be met with in later times is refuted by the behaviour of Confucius himself. The holy man did not even know where his father had been buried ; his family, after the death of his wife, consisted of a single son, but he did not consider a second marriage to be worth the trouble and in fact spent his whole life in wandering about without any idea of sitting at home. Li Chih further asserts that Confucius was never possessed of the idea of being considered the teacher of mankind for all time and that it was only the *literati* who proclaimed him as such. Nor did he ever aspire to be the guide of others or to teach others to be as he himself was. On the contrary, he taught that " what the superior man seeks is in himself." If good is to come out of ourselves, argued Li Chih, there is no need to consult Confucius about it. Li Chih also uttered a warning against over-estimation of Confucius in other respects. Wise men had existed even before his time, and they could not wait with their development until Confucius had appeared. The claim of Confucianists to be the sole possessors of absolute truth was intolerable to this passionate champion who was tireless in explaining that Confucius never made any such claim ; it was only those who called themselves his disciples who had raised it and adhered to it. Everyone, he declared, is at liberty to search for truth in his own way and the endeavour should be recognized as long as it is honourable ; there is no doctrine that contains the whole truth and has been handed

down unchanged throughout the years. "If you firmly believe in the teaching of Confucius and act earnestly according to it," he wrote to a friend who later became an adversary, "I shall accord you my respect, but for that reason there is no need for your views being identical with mine," for "should anyone absolutely desire that all men be of the same way of thinking as himself, even the power of the universe cannot bring that about."

Contemporary reports, even from opponents of Li Chih agree in describing the powerful and lasting impression that he made on his hearers and readers, and emphasize that it was the keenness of his opposition to the Confucian dogma and its effects that brought him applause and admiration. He must have been a really popular figure and have had many open and secret friends even among the State officials. Even a work like the *Official Annals of the Ming Dynasty* writes of him in these terms: "Scholars and high officials who took pleasure in the (Buddhist) theory of meditation often came to Li Chih and sought connection with him. Day by day he called the scholars to exercises in interpretation (of the canonical writings), and women were also present at these meetings. He venerated Buddha in particular, and belittled and ridiculed Confucius and Meng Tse." From these words may be gauged the extent to which opposition to the new orthodoxy had evidently penetrated, when criticism of a nature that actually cast doubt upon the whole Confucian philosophy of life and touched the very foundations of the Confucian state found such an echo. The final aim of Li Chih and of very many others was to get rid of the Confucian system altogether and to effect a fusion of true Confucianism with the tenets of Buddha and old Taoism.

It is perfectly evident that orthodoxy could not passively view these developments unless it would abandon both itself and its State. In 1602, one of the censors of the Capital arraigned Li Chih on a charge of heresy and immoral behaviour (gossip had long since seized upon the fact that Li Chih's meetings were attended also by women). He was arrested in T'ung-chou near Peking, and his writings were proscribed and burnt. Depression or despair seems to have mastered him in prison, perhaps also fear of worse to come (for which there were precedents enough), and he committed suicide by cutting his throat with his razor.

Li Chih was only one of the many victims that orthodoxy demanded for its self-preservation. It is very doubtful, however, whether the

result of these intellectual struggles, which were gaining continually in violence, might not in spite of all have proved disastrous to the Confucian State had not the energetic rulers of the invading Manchus come to the aid of the harassed orthodoxy in the middle of the seventeenth century and shattered all opposition with the weight of State authority. From this time until well into the twentieth century Chu Hsi has dominated the intellectual world of China. At this point another thought intrudes. The Jesuit missionaries, Matteo Ricci, who had already been at work since 1583 in Shao-ch'ing, west of Canton as well as in Nan-ch'ang and Nanking, and Didace de Pantoja had arrived at the Capital the year before Li Chih brought his life to a close in prison. These men were at first clad as Buddhist monks and then as Confucian scholars, but proclaimed a completely new practical philosophy. Had they been able to divine the crisis that was at that time shaking the intellectual life of China, they would perhaps, by a suitable attitude, have attracted about them as large a circle of hearers as the other heterodox teachers, but that would assuredly not have been to the advantage of their mission. For the demand for something higher than that which Confucianism was able to offer must at that time have been very strong and widespread, because otherwise the passionate struggler of the sixteenth century would be inconceivable, and it is not to be wondered at that Ricci found hearers, friends and believers among the highest officials, in spite of the fact that his knowledge of internal conditions was probably barely sufficient to judge of the situation. He had also had a friendly meeting with Li Chih in Nanking in 1599 and had learnt of his fate in Peking. The Jesuit Mission survived the disturbances that followed the overthrow of the Ming dynasty, and the conditions that prevailed on the assumption of power by the Manchus left the Jesuits no option but to side with orthodoxy, the fame of which they blazoned so ardently in Europe. But when the Mission dared to promulgate its own "misleading" doctrines, it met in spite of that with the same fate as the heterodoxy of the sixteenth century, and the same orthodoxy put an end to its activities by a series of bloody acts of violence. It was reserved for more powerful forces to remove even orthodoxy from its throne one hundred and twenty years later and therewith to bring about the downfall of the Confucian State that it had supported, but which was now no longer capable of life (*Research and Progress*, Berlin).

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION IN BENGAL

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VOCATIONAL education! What a *wide-talked-of* subject to-day! It is on the lip of every mouth. In Bengal, nay in the whole of India, where idleness, inactivity and unemployment await the fate of our educated youth it is the crying need of the hour. The introduction of vocational education has become a serious problem, but no solution is yet forthcoming. This subject, therefore, demands our special attention.

We stand to-day in a newer and more rapidly changing world. Great social upheavals are on all sides and human activities are seeking a variety of new channels and directions. Bengal has to face new phases of economic life.

There was a time when an ample demand from offices and professions justified the products that were being turned out by our schools and colleges every year. Now there is no need for them. As a result of that, our educated youths soon after finishing their studies find themselves in a morass of disappointment, unable to discover suitable outlets for the utilisation of their knowledge and proficiency. They find that the warm welcome that greeted their predecessors a quarter of a century ago is now chilled into a contemptuous silence. As they roam about with a tired mind and a starved body looking for a humble berth in life, advice *gratis* is impertinently hurled at them. The practical men of the world find a sadistic pleasure in humiliating these helpless creatures. They realise the bitter truth that the golden days of their life have been spent in chasing empty abstractions. They now learn to think that they are so many shadowy beings but not the creatures of the world they live in. Disaster is bound to overtake a nation when its educated youths after spending years in equipping themselves for the struggle of life find themselves ultimately cast adrift upon a wide and not always a merciful world.

The task before the nation is, therefore, of vital importance and full of responsibilities. A newer awakening to the cause of education

is the need of the day. We are to seek out newer ideals of education that may be followed in our schools to the best advantage of our children, and pursuing which they may become the good members of the present society and the fountain sources of inspiration for the future generations of the province.

All over the country there is to be noticed a vague feeling of growing discontent about the system of education prevalent in our country. The cause of this is not far to seek. The present system of education does not cover the needs of the day. The stress of the current system is on the intellectual phase of our mind. We have separated the intellect from the rest of our nature. Our sole attention is devoted to giving children information, without having any regard to the fact that by this emphasis we are creating a conflict in their physical, intellectual and spiritual life. Knowledge with us is synonymous with a mass of information. So there stands a criticism that our educated youth is an economic misfit. It is also told that the youths of our country are so many physical weaklings having no aptitude for business or other specialised work. Neither they know their possibilities nor they have the gift to utilize their knowledge and training. But the defect lies not in the youths but in the education they receive. They want food to satisfy their extreme hunger but it preaches sermon before them which is practically useless at this critical moment. What they want is vocational education to qualify themselves for the profession or calling in life but the present system of education provides them with that stereotyped education which has its cultural value only and hence fails to meet their demands.

Now we arrive at this conclusion that our educational system should be carefully planned and co-ordinated with the economic life of our children. To say more clearly, training in the manual arts and trades should form a part of the regular programme of studies of our children.

Before we venture to submit any scheme, it is deemed proper to study the past. Vocational education was not at first very popular in Bengal ; such of it as existed consisted in instruction given to their own children by crafts-men belonging to the artisan classes. A carpenter brought up his son as a carpenter, a weaver brought up his son as a weaver, and so on. Industrial education of a systematic and academic kind was not appreciated. Of late, however, it has grown in popularity, and some institutions for imparting it have been founded. Some of

these institutions are managed by Government, some by Municipalities and Local Boards, and others are maintained by missionary societies or private benefactors. The question of improving the system of industrial education has lately been under the consideration of the Government, and provision has been made for sending certain number of advanced students to obtain technical training in foreign countries. Vocational Education of a higher and scientific kind such as Law, Medicine, Engineering, etc., is given in our colleges. Only those who have had higher education of a general character can go in for these learned professions. Unfortunately, no active step has practically been taken as yet to introduce vocational training in schools for those who have not received much of general education. The Industrial Commission and the Senate of the Calcutta University have made recommendations for much larger expansion in this direction but no solid work has yet begun.

What then, therefore, shall be done to raise Vocational education to a point where it will be much more appreciated by our countrymen ? The answer may best be found, I believe, in turning our eyes to the other flourishing countries of the world. In Europe and America, education is carefully planned and co-ordinated with the economic life of the nations. Training in the skilful use of the hands had justly claimed a place alongside of purely language training in educational scheme.

In the field of educational handwork Sweden may be said to have been the pioneer. The educational development in Europe and America is to a great extent the result of the work of J. F. Herbart, the great German philosopher and educational reformer. According to Herbart's theory, training in the skilful use of the hands might justly claim a place alongside of purely language training in the educational scheme of raising man above the brute creation. "The hand has a place of honour besides language in elevating mankind above the brute." So every human being ought to learn how to use his hands. Herbart holds that such educational scheme serves three-fold purpose: (i) it equips the individual with a training to be engaged in gainful occupation, (ii) that trade and technical knowledge afford a clearer understading of the fact of nature and of human civilisation and (iii) that it widens the mental horizon which is valuable as a means of general culture. He further says that vocational training is a valuable aid to the reformation of the incorrigible.

Thus we see that the utility of vocational education is manifold, and Bengal is in urgent need of it. Now the question is how to bring it within the four walls of our schools which are purely academic in character. Regarding this, my humble suggestion is that two measures can be adopted: (1) establishment of manual training classes in schools and (2) apprenticing the youth to competent masters. Let me add, in this connection, that the manual training classes should not be trade classes in the narrow sense of the term. They must have disciplinary value.

In order to give them vocational training segregation of the pupils from regular class room is needed. Vocational guidance and selection of one's life-work are the two important features of vocational education. As soon as the boy comes to Class VII, a period extending not more than three months should be kept reserved to study him and to ascertain the course of his future training. This may be called observatory period.

At this stage his I. Q. should be measured and a good scope should be given to him for the full display of his motor activities and spontaneous interest and efforts so that he might be led to select a life's occupation for which he possesses special tastes and abilities. Moreover, his spontaneous response to the surrounding objects should be carefully guided, encouraged and watched. At this stage boys are very imaginative. They must be kept employed at all events, because idleness leads to misbehaviour and lawlessness. So, I think, this is the best and most suitable period in a boy's life when vocational training can be imparted to him for the first time. Thus, furnished with the necessary information regarding the boy, the teacher may proceed well with his work.

It is better to observe, in this connection, that we need more of the spirit of adventure in relation to our work as teachers. To me the work of a teacher, my own work, is an adventure. It is one long thrilling phase of *discovery*—discovery of the child, and discovery of the means to stimulate the child to make discoveries of his own. There may, of course, be disappointment. But this is the frequent lot of the laboratory-worker, every explorer of the unknown. "Failures are the pillars of success," goes the proverb. Many of us, specially, the old and the weary, and the young and the vain, are apt to regard the principles of our profession as being cut and dried, fixed for ever. Those who have roamed in the field of psychological study will bear

me out when I say that no subject presents a greater difficulty than the study of human mind; how it works, acts on, and is reacted upon by the body, and by other outside forces. In reading and thinking about the work of our children, in making observations of our own, and in keeping a record of them, however humble, there is a tremendous field of interest for the adventurous teachers.

Let us now discuss what are the vocational subjects that should be included in the curriculum.

To this my first answer is that there are various kinds of vocations and therefore various kinds of vocational subjects. It is very difficult to say what subjects should be taught and what not.

One may say that since more than 95% of our children make a living out of agriculture, allied pursuits and rural industries, we should provide for a training in those subjects to enable them to become better farmers and better craftsmen. Of course, there is some argument in it. But it should be noted that effective arrangement for training only in some selected vocational subjects cannot be made always and everywhere in Bengal. So, I think, it is better to leave the matter of selection to the local bodies consisting of the teachers and some of the interested public. Each of such committees may be termed "Vocational Guidance Council."

In the affair of selecting subjects for vocational training the council is expected to count much on the following important factors:—

- (1) Job Analysis—demands of the job,
 - demands and supply of workers,
 - working condition,
 - wages,
 - future prospects, etc.
- (2) Character Analysis—intelligence of the boy,
 - his specific abilities, etc.

It should also consider how far the practical side of the course can be given effect to, because this side is more important than the theoretical one.

Some of the following subjects may be selected according to the need and suitability of the situation:—

(1) Agriculture and gardening, (2) Manufacture of toilet requisites, umbrellas, etc., (3) Carpentry, (4) Smithy, (5) Watch-making,

(6) Tailoring and Sewing, (7) Soap-making, (8) Weaving, (9) Dyeing and Calico-Printing, (10) Commerce, (11) Electroplating, (12) Music, (13) Drawing and Painting, (14) Book-keeping, (15) Photography, (16) Clay-modelling, (17) Cane and Bamboo work, (18) Telegraphy, (19) Wireless, (20) Pottery, etc., etc.

More can be added to the above list if opportunities for teaching vocational subjects also favourably increase. The subjects should be taught almost exclusively in a practical fashion, the theoretical portion being taught in a most elementary manner. The theoretical side of the course should be taught inside the school and the practical one outside. For each of the subjects a regular course of training is necessary.

In my opinion the ends of Vocational education can be far better met by boarding-schools than by day-schools. Boarding-schools can teach co-operation, and that is one of the most valuable lessons that can be imparted to our boys and youngmen for meeting the realities of life. The vocational school should be the centre of the life of the society, and if it is, we may be sure of its success.

Our discussion may be concluded with the following observations: The school to-day should exist not merely for fostering a purely academic life, the measures of which are only examinations, but it should be for shaping the future life of its pupils. We need to-day a revolution in our outlook—the centre of gravity of the entire system of education needs to be shifted. The *whole man* is to be re-instated in his proper place. The function of our New Education should be the *growth of the man*—man whose work is useful in life and whose leisure is fruitful in creative joy. In a word, it must have a double task—the task of providing for livelihood and for leisure.

It can be hoped that the problem will be taken up in right earnest by all our countrymen, seriously interested in Education and in the welfare of the nation.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE METHOD IN VOCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

SAROJENDRANATH ROY, M.Sc.

THE play of examiners' and employers' idiosyncrasies in the examination and selection of candidates with the consequent unwholesome and unsatisfactory results, has led psychologists to adopt measurements in which personal factors have no place. Objective methods have been devised by which a person's abilities, temperament and other information regarding his attitudes and habits can be elicited or traced. One of the objective methods which is most commonly followed in vocational psychology is the questionnaire method. There are other tests in actual practice which to a certain extent serve the same purpose as the former, but these tests, to quote Symmonds, "are designed to find out what a person can do, while questionnaires are designed to find out what a person has done or will do or how he thinks or feels or believes."

The use of questionnaires as a method of objective measurement can be traced to Francis Galton who very early laid down certain cautions. According to Galton,

- (1) The questions must be such as can be quickly and clearly understood.
- (2) They must admit of easy reply.
- (3) They must cover the ground of inquiry.
- (4) And lastly, they must "...tempt the co-respondents to write freely in fuller explanation of their replies and on cognate topics as well ...These separate letters have proved more instructing and interesting by far than the replies to set questions."

The chief advantages of this method are the following. First of all, a very large sphere may be covered by this method of inquiry. With little effort, time and financial outlay a questionnaire can be framed and distributed widely over a large area. Within short time thousands of data can be collected. In these respects no other procedure can stand near it. Secondly, a problem may be scrutinized from various angles by framing suitable questions covering all possible

aspects. And lastly it furnishes clues for further investigation. From the scientific point of view the last mentioned advantage is of utmost value.

Though there are these advantages some drawbacks of the procedure are noticeable sometimes and care should be taken as far as possible to avoid them. Firstly, the questions are often framed in such a way that they demand specific answers such as, yes or no, true or false and the like. There are many persons who refuse to be categorical in their replies and so if they answer at all the information they give will obviously not be a correct one. A wide latitude as far as possible should be given in answering the questions. It is desirable to bear this point in mind and to put questions in such a way that persons do not need to be categorical but get ample latitude in answering them.

Secondly it should be noted that there is a close correspondence between nature of instruction and response. In the case of children it has been definitely found that when a question put to him has a negative form, he invariably answers negatively and a positive form of the question elicits a positive answer. How far this principle works in the case of adults too, is not certain. Questions, therefore, should be of such a nature as to avoid as far as possible, either a positive or negative suggestion.

Thirdly the questions sometimes appear to some persons to be too much encroaching on their private life, and so they are left unanswered. Whether these omitted responses are to be dropped from the count or to be dealt with as one-half positive and one-half negative are matters of consideration. In absence of any other suitable way of meeting this situation, the latter procedure, that is counting one-half positive and one-half negative is often adopted. On the one hand runs the maxim, "Silence gives consent," and on the other hand it has been found that failure to reply often means a negative reply. It is rather difficult to find a really satisfactory solution to this problem. Assurances like 'Answers to be kept strictly confidential' may sometimes be helpful, but nothing can be definitely said about the degree of influence of such assurances on the nature of the replies. The difficulty may to a large extent be overcome if some checks are introduced in the questionnaires. For example, in order to determine whether a person is social or not, several questions, the aim of all of which is to detect the social nature of him, are set in different form

and language at different places. If one of these questions is left blank by the subject, inference on the point can be drawn from the other allied questions. When there is only a single question on a particular aspect and it is left unanswered by the subject, we may try to form an indirect inference about the nature of his probable answer on the basis of the informations that are supplied to us by his answers to other questions. This method of interpretation, however, is a risky procedure inasmuch as there is every chance of personal factors, operating and distorting the interpretations. Consistency and un-biassed attitude on the part of the experimenter should, therefore, be maintained. Efforts should be directed towards standardisation of such a method of interpretation, so that subjective factors may be eliminated as far as possible. I think, this is the best procedure to adopt in dealing with cases of omitted responses.

Fourthly it has been found that one is inclined to give the answer that he thinks is expected of him, instead of the true answer. Recently in the United States, this has led to the use of disguised questionnaires. The disguised questions are scattered among other questions and are set in such indirect form and language that the subject does not get any idea as to the real purpose of the questions.

Fifthly it has been found that being asked to assess one's personal qualities there is a general tendency to underestimate oneself. On the other hand when opinions are sought, about the degree in which a particular quality or trait should be present in order to achieve success in a vocation, there is generally an overestimation. These factors complicate the statistical treatment of results.

Sixthly one of the most important points to be always remembered, refers to the form and language in which a question is put. Questions must always be simple, easily intelligible and free from all possible sources of ambiguity and misinterpretation.

Lastly there is the difficult question of interpretation of the results. Not only in the questionnaire procedure but also in other scientific procedures interpretations are required. But on account of the answers received by this procedure there is a greater possibility of errors creeping in here. In psychological experiments minor inconsistencies which in other scientific departments might have been easily overlooked, sometimes reveal startling facts. So a proper caution should be taken during interpretation of results, and uniform method should be devised and adhered to as far as practicable.

There arose sometimes back a controversy regarding the use of questionnaire as one of the methods of objective measurements. It was further said that psychology was the only science that resort frequently to this sort of procedure. A little reflection show that both these criticisms are unjustified. Not only in psychology but in other scientific investigations, the use of this procedure can be found. Some assert that the procedure is pre-scientific and not an experimental one. This assertion has some truth in it, but if sufficient attention be given to the cautions mentioned previously, during framing of the questions, tabulation and interpretation of the answers, the defects of the method can certainly be overcome to a large extent.

A method which has so many advantages and opens up so many avenues of investigation should not be lightly given up, on account of some technical difficulties of its application. On the contrary it should be the endeavour of all scientists to devise ways and means by which it can be perfected, and made serviceable and fruitful. Fortunately, such efforts are being made by psychologists in America and other countries.

Before concluding I may refer to a large-scale investigation that is just at present being conducted in India. The All-India National Planning Committee at Bombay very recently has made an attempt for having informations on every aspect of industrial development of the country. For this, they have adopted the questionnaire procedure. The committee expects to gather thereby useful data to formulate a comprehensive plan for the economic development of India, with due regard to social reactions. The result of this investigation will be awaited with interest. We also expect to hear about the difficulties that are likely to be experienced by the committee in following this method. It should be noted, however, that special complications which necessarily arise in cases of psychological experiments are not likely to occur in this particular investigation.

THE BEGINNINGS OF BRITISH ADMINISTRATION IN BENGAL

DR. A. P. DASGUPTA, M.A., PH.D.

I thank the Secretary of the Rotary Club ¹ for the honour he has done me in asking me to speak to you on a subject of my choice. You will pardon me for choosing what may be considered to be a subject of purely academic interest. I hold, however, that the beginnings and development of British administration in India have a living interest for all times, and are not merely subjects to be discussed by advanced students of history alone in academic conclaves. In saying so I do not hold that a study of early British administration directly helps us to clarify modern political problems. Circumstances have changed radically, and with them the political problems to be faced. There is a wide gulf between pre-mutiny and post-mutiny administrative and political problems. Yet the beginnings of British administration in India remains a subject of perennial interest because of the very peculiar circumstances in which it started and grew, the problems with which the first administrators were faced and the spirit in which they tackled them. Indeed the circumstances under which the seeds of an administrative machinery were laid have no parallel in modern history. It was not the case of a military conquest by an advanced state of a backward people, where the people had no culture and no tradition, nor the rudiment of an administrative system, and could be very well ignored or exterminated. First, so far as Bengal was concerned there was practically no military conquest. The battle of Plassey was not a great military achievement ; neither was Bengal conquered at Plassey. Secondly, the organised forces of an advanced state were not employed in systematically conquering Bengal. A mercantile company had been forced in self-defence to fortify their factories, equip armies and fight the Indian powers. There was at the early stage no considered plan to establish an empire and take up political responsibilities. The breakdown of the Mughal Empire and the anarchy that followed the consequent disintegration found the company embroiled in Indian politics and gradually political responsibilities fell

¹ Delivered at the Rotary Club, Calcutta.

on them. They were at first averse to such responsibilities. Being strangers to the administrative problems of an alien people with completely different culture and traditions, they very wisely refrained from imposing at once an alien system of government and preferred to use the remnants of an already decrepit administration. Gradually as their knowledge of local conditions increased, they began to superimpose experimental structures on the basis of the old. This is best illustrated from the history of Bengal between 1757 and 1793 because the conquest of Bengal was not a military conquest but a process by which gradually the English extended their powers until the vitality of the nawab's government was sapped.

Before Plassey the English in Bengal were no more than zemindars of the three villages of Kalikata, Sutanuti and Govindapur paying an annual rent of Rs. 1,200 a year. As such they exercised the same jurisdiction which Zemindars were entitled to do over Indian residents. After Plassey their territorial acquisitions were only the Zemindari of the 24 Parganas which they obtained by sanad from Mir Jafar. Their position, however, was fundamentally changed. In theory they were petty Zemindars. Yet in fact they had become masters of Bengal. They had become king-makers and to them belonged the most effective military force in the province. For the next four years the English enjoyed power, but without responsibilities. The result was the abuse of trade privileges, the ruin of Bengal merchants and manufacturers and the anarchy following from a complete want of government which made the famine of 1770 possible. The relieving event of this period was the cession by Mir Kasim of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong to the English. In these ceded districts the English started a direct administration, so that at least a part of Bengal was saved from anarchy. Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong were the first nurseries of British administrators in Bengal.

On the death of Mir Jafar in January, 1765, the English decided to have a definite hand in the internal administration of Bengal. They started to nominate the nawab's revenue officers and to exercise a control at the capital over the revenue collection. The new nawab was not allowed to maintain any troops except what was necessary for the dignity of his person or for the task of revenue collection. This arrangement which was thrust upon an unwilling nawab and resisted tooth and nail by Nanda Kumar was regularised by Clive on his arrival when he obtained from Shah Alam the diwani of Bengal, Behar and

Orissa. The English thus became servants in the Mughal imperial system.

A very large part of the government of Bengal fell into the hands of the English. They now became responsible for the collection of the revenues and the administration of civil justice. The administration of criminal justice and the preservation of law and order indeed remained in the hands of the nawab, but the Company's late transactions with him had destroyed the sanction behind the native executive and undermined the very basis of the nawab's government. Clive fully realised that nothing remained to the nawab but the name and shadow of authority. In order to guard against the jealousy of foreign powers, however, he insisted that it would not be wise to throw off the mask and declare the Company to be the real ruler of Bengal. Bengal, therefore, fell on evil days. The nawab was unable to discharge effectively the functions that remained to him, nor would the Company step in to provide for criminal justice and preservation of law and order. More unfortunately the Directors formed a very limited idea of the functions of the dewan, restricted the activities of their servants to the supervision of revenue collection, leaving the actual task to the existing agency, and ordered that civil justice and whatever came under civil administration was to remain in the hands of the impotent nawab. The shyness of the English was but natural, for they were as yet ignorant of the complicated system of land tenure and the problems connected with it. In the face of facts, however, they were forced to abandon their reluctance and gradually assume responsibilities. The sad state to which the diwani provinces had been reduced as compared to the districts under direct administration led them to appoint supervisors in 1769. These were the first English executive in the districts. The revenue collections were to continue in the hands of the existing agency, but they were to report all transaction to the Supervisor who could veto their acts and report to the Resident at the Durbar. The supervisors were to have the same negative voice in all judicial proceedings. The most important part of their work was to be to gather information. They were to report on the history of the province, the state of the revenue, the produce and capacity of the lands and the state of manufactures. Without such preliminary information no administrative machinery can be built up. The supervisors were many of them young and inexperienced men, and had been given great powers. They became lords in their districts and

defied the Calcutta board. On the other hand the Indian agency resented the new control established over them, and refused to part with the information relating to the lands which they alone possessed. This state of affairs led to a deadlock which impeded the work of revenue collection. The council was, therefore, forced to withdraw the obstructive powers of most of the supervisors.

The experiment was not, however, a total failure. Some information was collected and some of these men acquired invaluable experience.

It was at this stage that the Directors decided to abolish the dual system and to "stand forth as Dewan and by the agency of the Company's servants to take upon themselves the entire care and management of the revenues." This change of policy has been described by Mill as a revolution much greater probably than any previous conjuncture—than even the change from Hindu to Mahomedan masters had been able to create." Warren Hastings was appointed governor of Bengal to give effect to this new policy. He was practically given a *carte blanche*, because the Directors not only did not formally repeal the existing regulations but left the execution of their orders and the planning of the new system to the governor and his council. Hastings immediately proceeded to act with decision. With the instincts of a true statesman Hastings clearly saw that there should not be a complete breach with the past. "The Company's authority must be enforced, otherwise there could not be any real Government; the administration must be purged of its evils. But the vital powers latent in the Indian fabric must be given free play. In a letter to Colebrooke in March, 1772, Hastings wrote that the remedy was not to "introduce fresh innovation but to restore the government to its first principles." Many regulations were needed "but not one perhaps which the original constitution of the Mughal Empire hath not before established and adopted and thereby rendered familiar to the people." Hastings had a high idea of the native agency and he aimed at establishing a strong power at the centre with Indians conversant with local needs and customs at the extremities. In order to strengthen the Company's authority he transferred the courts of appeal and the treasury from Murshidabad the seat of the nawab to Fort William, the Company's head-quarters in Bengal. After some experiments the revenue administration was also centralised at Calcutta and placed

in the hands of a Committee of Revenue. Hastings assumed that under the new regime the functions of the diwan and nazim no longer remained separate. He, therefore, not only reorganised the local civil courts but sought to prevent miscarriage of justice in the criminal courts. He thus took the initial steps towards the control of the Company over the Nizamat completed later by Cornwallis.

The thorniest questions for the English until they were shelved in 1793 were those that related to the land revenue. Apart from the machinery of collection there were three points over which difficulty arose. First, with whom was the settlement to be made? Secondly, for what period? Thirdly, what was to be the rate of assessment? Much depended on an actual knowledge of the history and value of the lands. This could, however, only be obtained by the tedious and expensive process of a detailed survey. Yet such a survey was never made—not even when the lands were settled in perpetuity. Hastings, when he was confronted by the question of the best method of land revenue collection found no other alternative than to farm out the lands for a period of five years. The farming system, however, soon proved a failure. The council then entered into a long but futile debate on the best method of settling and collecting the land revenue. Hastings on his part was determined to avoid the evil effects of an assessment based on faulty information and accordingly appointed the Amini Commission to tour the districts and collect accounts and papers relating to the land. The Directors, however, did not fully appreciate the value of gaining more knowledge of the lands, expressed disapproval of Hastings's efforts in that direction; yet, unable to make up their minds, ordered annual settlements.

The English had progressed so far in establishing their administration in Bengal when Cornwallis appeared on the Indian scene. Cornwallis completed much of the work which Hastings had begun. Hastings had abolished the dual government and had established the Company's authority over Bengal. He had even crossed the legitimate boundaries of the functions entrusted to the Company as diwan and interfered in the jurisdiction of the nazim by exercising control over the administration of criminal justice and the police of the districts. Under Cornwallis the remnants of the power vested in the nawab as nazim finally disappeared. He not only brought the administration of criminal justice and the preservation of law and order in English hands, but even went so far as to modify the Muhammadan law that was

administered in the criminal courts with a view ultimately to substituting English criminal law for Muhammadan law. The traditional division between the diwani and the nizamat functions disappeared when in 1793 civil justice including revenue cases and criminal justice came under one judge and the collector was deprived of his judicial duties and confined to revenue administration only.

From many points of view Cornwallis's period of administration marked a new change in Indian affairs. He had not risen to the highest post from the covenanted ranks of the Company's service ; and though appointed by the Company he owed his nomination to the ministry. His loyalty, therefore, would be to the English nation and not to the limited interests of a commercial corporation. This was, therefore, one more stage in the increasing control of the English Parliament over Indian affairs, and India advanced a step nearer to her incorporation in the British Empire. New principles of government were brought into application "The happiness of native inhabitants" became one of the chief concerns of the government. With this object the Company's services were purged of abuses, and trading activities and monopolies by the Company's servants restricted. All that the Directors wanted as land revenue was a "moderate jama regularly and punctually collected." There was, therefore, no further experiment with theories and schemes and a settlement in perpetuity with the Zamindars was entered into. Further Cornwallis was asked to organise the administration upon a simple basis and "steady adherence to almost any one system" was considered to be a preferable policy. The Cornwallis system of administration was, therefore, in spite of its many imperfections continued with occasional minor changes for quite two decades.

Though actuated by the best of intentions, Cornwallis, upright, just and honest, lacked the genius and statesmanship of Hastings. Hastings considered that the people should be governed by their own laws and usages, and that Indians conversant with local conditions and local needs were best suited to carry on the work of administration in the districts. Cornwallis on the other hand contemplated the wholesale introduction of English law and would not allow Indians to hold the higher administrative and judicial posts in the province. It was fortunate for India that the English criminal law in the condition that it was before Mackintosh purged it of its absurdities and severities was not actually introduced.

We can excuse Cornwallis for his contempt of Indian laws and usages and his distrust of Indian agency. He had no knowledge of the province. He had not lived and worked with Indians as the Company's servants had done. He could not, therefore, be expected to have the same attitude towards them as Hastings. Besides Cornwallis looked at India from a different angle than a Company's servant would. To the Company's servants the territorial possessions were a business concern. To Cornwallis Bengal and India was an imperial dependency, and in Cornwallis's days no statesmanlike view had been formulated with reference to the remainder of the overseas empire of Britain. In 1793 Cornwallis wrote, "Although we hope to render our subjects the happiest people in India, I should by no means propose to admit the natives to any participation in framing Regulations." The people were to have peace and prosperity. But they were to have no share in making laws and only an insignificant share in administering them.

The Company's administrative structure was now complete. Slowly it had extended its control over every branch of administration. The direct method of expelling the existing rulers and setting up a new government was not resorted to. Gradually they ate into the vitals until nothing was left but the outer crust. When the time came this outer crust was thrown away and the English revealed themselves as the real rulers of Bengal.

AN EARLY HINDI PRIMER

KALIDAS MOOKERJEE

At the beginning of the 19th century education of the Indians was a pressing problem before the English literate. Hence various methods were adopted by them, most important of which was the foundation of the Calcutta School Book Society. The following two Rules of the above Society give out its aims:—

“ 2. That the objects of this Society be the preparation, publication and cheap or gratuitous supply of works useful in schools and seminaries of learning.”

“ 4. That the intention of the Society be directed, in the first instance, to the providing of suitable books of instruction for the use of native schools, in the several languages (English as well as Asiatic,) which are or may be taught in the provinces subject to the presidency of Fort William.”

A similar society, of course at a later period, was established in Agra in 1833. These societies published various books, in Hindi, Persian, Bengali and many other languages. Out of the books published in Hindi by the Calcutta School Book Society, the following are worthy of note:—

- (a) Neeti Cotha (in 1822),
- (b) Upadesha Kathā by Mr. Stuart,
- (c) A Dictionary of the Hindi language compiled by Rev. M. T. Adam,
- (d) Hindui Reader (in 1837).

The Agra School Book Society published the History of England in 1837 and Kathāsāra in 1839.

If we were supplied with all the books published by the above Societies, an important factor in the history of Hindi literature would have been marked. But more than a century has passed by and various occurrences have prevented us from getting all the Hindi books. Whatever we get are in a rotten state, being wholly or partially destroyed by the insects, rain and fire. One of these books is the first “ Hindooee-Primer.”

This “ Hindooee-Primer ” is a small booklet containing only 16 pages. Its length is 6" and breadth 4". It was published for the Hindi beginners. The title page of the book runs as follows:—

“ HINDOOEE-PRIMER बाळकों के लिये प्रथम शिक्षा पुस्तक । कलकत्ता स्कूल बुक सोसाइटी के लिये छपा गया । C.S.B.S. Calcutta: Printed at the School-Book Society's Press, Circular Road; and Sold at the depository. 1829.”

The first page contains the Devanāgarī alphabets—Vowels and Consonants. It begins with वर्णारम्भ वर्णमाला देवनागरी की. The second, third and fourth pages contain the various consonants with their usual modifications when combined with vowel, e.g., क, का, कि, की, कु, कू, के, कै, को, कौ, कं, कः ।

From the bottom of the fourth page up to the seventh page are the various conjuncts like क्य, भ्य, ज्य, ल्म, ध, etc. Half of the eighth page contains “साङ्केतिक द्व्यक्षर संयुक्त सङ्केत से दो अक्षरों का योग” । These are ल्क, न्फ, ह, etc. The rest of the eighth page and partially the ninth page contain “तीन अक्षरों का योग,” e.g. गध्य, झय, etc.

In the ninth page in one line are given “चार अक्षरों का योग”, e.g., न्त्स्य, ल्प्य, etc.

Then from the middle of the ninth page begins the first lesson (१ पाठ) which contains “दो स्वरों के शब्द” and these words cover the tenth page to some extent, some of these words are सब, काम, हर, चाल, लोग, और, भोर, चोर, पुल, ज्ञान, गोल, दिन, मन, शील, धीर, सुख, etc.

From the bottom of the tenth page begins the second lesson containing the same “दो स्वरों का शब्द”, some of these are काया, पाव, पानी, बैला, भोला, घोबी, आंधी, दस्यु, कांटा, गर्व, माला, मौली, मूर्ख, etc., and this system covers the whole of the eleventh page too.

From the 12th up to the 15th page there are four lessons in prose. The first-lesson runs as follows :

पहिला पाठ

बालकन् के शीखने का ।

भले हैं वे बालक जो अपने पाठ को कष्ट कर्कगुरु को सुनाय देते हैं । और धन्य हैं वे जो माता-पिता की आज्ञा को मानते हैं । सत्य बोलना बड़ा पूष्य है, मिथ्या कहने से पाप होता है । बालकपने में विद्या शीखने से युवा अवस्था में सुख होता है । सब के साथ प्रेम करना अच्छा है ।

The fourth lesson is like this :—

मत् कहो कभी बुरी बातें, वा मत् जाओ बुरे मार्ग में । कहा मानो मातापिता का वा गुरु का जो तुम्हको भला उपदेश देते हैं । भोर में उठो, और पढ़ने को जाओ, भूलो मत् अपने पाठ को । शिखाओ उनको जो पाठ को भूलते हैं । ज्ञान पाओगे तब सुखी होगे, अज्ञानी बड़ा दुःख पावते हैं, वा मूर्ख कहलाते हैं । तुम् प्रार्थना करो और आशीर्वाद मांगो परमेश्वर से भली बुद्धि पावने के लिये ; क्योंकि उसकी आज्ञा है तुम् मांगो और तुम्हको मिलेगा, ऐसा दयावान् वा दाता और कोई नहीं है जैसा ईश्वर है । मत् भूलो कभी ईश्वर को ; सदा जानो अपने पास परमेश्वर को, जिसकी दिई आखें सारे जगत् का है ; वह सदा सबको देखता है । अहो मिल लोगो तुम् सब प्रेम के पात्र हो इस् लिये तुम्से मैं प्रार्थना कर्क कहता हूँ कि तुम् मत् गवांओ अपने समय को कुमार्ग में फिरके, परन्तु सुखसे बिताओ समय को परमेश्वर की वाट में चलके ।

In these lessons we find the English style. Sentences like “मत् कहो कभी बुरी बातें”, “आशीर्वाद मांगो परमेश्वर से” can by no means be called to be of Hindi Style. Here, too, the style of writing is as we generally speak, because words like मत्, कर्के, तुम्, इसलिये should have been written like मत, करके, तुम, इसलिये, but the mode of writing follows the pronunciation here, and that, too, in a general way of speaking. Then we find the native words *par-excellence* and deliberate omission of Perso-Arabic element. Words like लगावते, पावने, indicate the Brajbhākhā-Prayog—the style of Lallūji-Lāl, and this style is not found in modern prose. Words like क्योंकि, दी, पाने. This system indicates the immature state of Hindi Prose.

The last page, the 16th one, contains the Hindi numerals from one to hundred. This covers the 5th lesson (५ पाठ गिनती का) ।

On the whole it can be said that an early stage of modern Hindi Khariboli prose is found in this book. This book, as said above, is for the Hindi-beginners, and the efforts of the Calcutta School-Book Society in publishing such elementary books is surely worthy of note.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Military School at Bihar

It is understood that the Government of India has recently written to the Bihar Government taking exception to the proposal to start a military training school, on the ground that it is a Central subject. It is learnt that the Bihar Government do not accept this view and are proceeding with the plans regarding the school which, it is expected, will be started at Ranchi after the Puja holidays.

As at present proposed the school will train teachers in drill and physical culture, and hence political circles are at a loss to understand why the Government of India object unless it is to the name "military."

Patna University

The Annual Convocation of the Patna University will be held at Patna at 3 p.m. on the 25th November, 1939.

At the invitation of His Excellency the Chancellor, the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Azizul Huque, C.I.E., Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University has agreed to deliver the Convocation address.

Allahabad University Music Conference

The VIII session of the Allahabad University Music Conference will be held at the Senate Hall from November 12th to 14th. The competitions will be held from November 9th to 11th. The competition forms will be available in the Office at the Music Conference, Muir College Buildings, on all working days from August 16th, 1939.

Allahabad University Union

Premier Pant laid the foundation stone of the Allahabad University Union building some weeks ago. Prof. Amarnath Jha, the Vice-Chancellor, welcoming the Premier exhorted the students to follow his example.

Pandit Pant in reply said that University atmosphere should be a source of great training to the students to learn discipline and advised the students to train themselves for the struggle ahead and concluded "equip yourselves to enjoy and maintain Purna Swaraj which we are all trying to attain."

Benares University

It is understood that the Benares University Council appointed Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar, D.Sc., Professor of Chemistry and Director of Chemical Laboratories, Lahore, as the Principal of the College of Science, Benares Hindu University, on a salary of Rs. 2,000 per month. To the University it will be a real acquisition to have an eminent scientist of his calibre and

repute, who has done a great deal in promoting research, especially in Applied Chemistry. It is further understood that Dr. Bhatnagar has accepted the offer. Before going to Lahore, Dr. Bhatnagar was serving the Benares Hindu University and has ever since been connected with the University.

Various other appointments were also made in the different departments.

Bombay University

A proposal to nationalise academic robes was recently placed before the Senate of the University of Bombay.

The academic costume to be worn by the members of the Senate and graduates of the University, says the proposal, should be suited to Indian ideas of academic dignity, have national sentiments associated with it and should be prepared of swadeshi cloth in every instance.

If the principle is accepted it is suggested that a committee should be appointed to report on the question.

Other proposals before the Senate include a motion to consider the advisability and feasibility of introducing Hindustani as a compulsory language for study in the course of studies leading up to graduation in the Faculty of Arts and another recommending the Government to amend the University Act so as to bar the Vice-Chancellor from taking an active part in any election to any University body.

Dacca University Faculty

The Executive Council of the Dacca University at a meeting held recently considered a letter received from the Education Secretary to the Government of Bengal approving the scheme of the proposed Faculty of Agriculture.

The Council decided that the Agricultural Institute at Manipur would be a constituent part of the Faculty which is established with a view to instituting a course of study for awarding a degree in Agriculture.

The Government have decided to sanction an additional grant of Rs. 15,000 annually from 1940-41 towards recurring expenditure for the scheme. They will also pay in the 1940-41 the capital grant of Rs. 25,000 to the University towards the erection and equipment of the required Laboratory.

The Executive Council of the University accepted the recommendation of the Academic Council that whenever more than one candidate would be eligible for a single prize or medal on the result of any examination it should be the duty of the examination committee concerned to select either by *viva voce* or a fresh test or by any other method, one candidate to whom the prize or medal or both as the case might be, should be awarded.

Mass Literacy in Orissa

A meeting of the Provincial Mass Literacy Campaign Committee was held at Cuttack under the chairmanship of the Hon'ble Mr. Bodhran Dube, Education Minister.

The Committee, it is understood, discussed various aspects of the literacy campaign to be carried on in the province and decided to concentrate the campaign at two places, one adjoining the urban area and another in the interior under the direct management of the Committee.

The Committee further decided to supply free of cost charts, books, news-sheets, lamps and such other necessities to centres started by private individuals or societies.

The Committee also discussed ways and means for attracting the people to the campaign. A provincial literacy officer will be appointed to be in charge of the campaign all over the province, and the committee members will be entitled to supervise the work.

It is understood that the Committee further decided to observe a Mass Literacy Day to popularise the campaign. The date will be fixed later on. The Committee also approved a scheme of library through which books will be supplied to literates.

Basic Education in Meerut

The Basic Education Scheme was inaugurated on the 15th August last in the Sardhana Tagayam Primary School in Meerut district.

Messages wishing the scheme success were received on the occasion from the Governor of the United Provinces, Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Premier Pandit Pant and the Director of Public Instruction.

International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation

Speaking at the sessions of League of Nations International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation held recently in Geneva, under the chairmanship of Prof. Gilbert Murray, Sir Abdul Quadir referred to the boneful influence which certain methods of teaching history had on students. He stated that India had suffered much from works of this type published in that country.

One of the causes according to Sir Abdul Quadir, of the difficulties between Hindus and Muslims was the differences between the history books placed at the disposal of these communities. It was indispensable that history text-books should provide an element of reconciliation.

On the subject of students' participation in extra-curricular matters, following M. Paul Valery who stated that the younger generation had a distressing feeling of instability, Sir Abdul Quadir stated that he was impressed by the remarks of an authority like Prof. Gilbert Murray to the effect that students should not lose sight of their studies when taking part in students' gatherings. He thought, however, that there were arguments in favour of such organisations. It was important that they should not concern themselves with political or religious controversies. Nevertheless, his experience of Indian students led him to think that one might encourage the study of politics, but controversy should be avoided as far as possible.

Royal Aeronautical Society

The Indian branch of the Royal Aeronautical Society was formed at Karachi airport at a preliminary meeting convened by Mr. E. W. Densham, Aircraft Inspector, Karachi.

Indian Students at Manchester

Mr. M. K. R. Venkataraman, Hon. Secretary, Manchester Indian Association writes:—

In view of the difficulties experienced by Indians in finding suitable accommodation and proper guidance on their arrival in England, it has

been the policy of the Manchester Indian Association to offer all possible help, advice and guidance to all freshers who come to Manchester for studies and practical training. Students who intend to come to Manchester for the next academic session beginning in October are advised to communicate with Mr. M. K. R. Venkataraman, Hon. Secretary, Manchester Indian Association, c/o College of Technology, Manchester, informing the date and time of their arrival in Manchester either before leaving India or on arrival in London.

Any further information regarding studies, etc., in Manchester will be gladly supplied on request.

P. E. N. Congress in Stockholm

Sophia Wadia, the founder of the India Centre of the International P. E. N. Clubs, will represent India at the Seventeenth International Congress which will be held this year in Stockholm, from the 4th to the 7th of September. The Indian delegate, who has represented the India Centre at two previous Congresses of the P. E. N. Clubs, those held at Barcelona in 195 and at Buenos Aires in 1936, has started from Jodhpur on the 27th of August.

It is anticipated that some three hundred leading writers and editors from all parts of the world will enjoy the hospitality of the Swedish Centre, which has planned, among other social functions, a welcome reception at the National Museum on the 3rd of September.

Regular sessions of the Congress will be formally opened on the 4th September at the City Hall. At the Congress Sessions will be discussed several topics of serious interest to literature and to the world of to-day. The International President of the P. E. N. Clubs, Monsieur Jules Romains the famous French novelist, and the International Secretary, Mr. Hermon Ould, will be among those present; others, who it is hoped, will attend include the former International President, Mr. H. G. Wells, Miss Storm Jameson, President of the English Centre, Herr Thomas Mann, Monsieur Romain Rolland, Monsieur Paul Valery and Signor Benedetto Croce.

In these days of international rivalry and mutual suspicions the P. E. N., with its aim of friendliness among writers everywhere, strikes an encouraging note. P. E. N. Congresses with their record of standing courageously for justice, for peace and for goodwill to all are a real force for good.

The P. E. N. International Congress will meet next year in India on the gracious invitation of H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore.

Studying Weather on Wings

Aeroplane ascents, for recording upper air temperature and humidity, are being made with the co-operation of the Royal Air Force at Karachi, Fort Sandeman, Peshawar, Kohat, Risalpur and Ambala.

A daily aeroplane ascent is made at Karachi and three ascents a week at Fort Sandeman. Last year the Royal Air Force made 313 observations at Peshawar, Kohat and Risalpur and 15 at Ambala. The data obtained are telegraphed to Poona soon after the flights.

A number of meteorological problems affecting aviation are being investigated at Karachi and Quetta. The inversions over Karachi, the structure of the atmosphere over Karachi and Quetta and questions relating to vertical visibility are under study.

Miscellany

FRENCH RURAL PROPERTY THROUGH INDIAN EYES *

It would interest students of land-economics in India to know that rural property is too much parcelled out in France. But according to certain sections of French economic thought it would be unwise to pass judgment hastily and conclude that this state of things is necessarily harmful. Small and medium peasant holdings are obliged to make up for shortage of capital by an undue amount of hand work. But there is nothing to show that the social standing of those subjected to it is any lower on that account or the general economy of the country necessarily more unsound. It is extremely difficult to pronounce a general verdict and it behoves us to review all the different regions of a country one after the other in order to get an accurate idea of the advantages and disadvantages of its system.

Now in order to carry out a complete survey a very sound method is necessary, as well as a large number of reliable co-workers; it is not a task that can be undertaken frequently even in France. The census taken in 1929 was the first to specify for every *departement* (district) the area or areas in which the parcelling must be considered harmful. The whole of these areas represents approximately 9,721,000 hectares (1 ha. = 2½ acres). With the totals for each *departement* available a reliable comparison can be drawn between the several *departements* as regards the extent of the "harmful" areas. The Charente and the Marne districts are the worst off in this respect. The areas it would be well to bring under fewer owners cover some 420,000 hectares in each of these *departements*. Next come the Somme, the Cote du Nord and the Vienne with 400,000 hectares; then, the Hautes-Alpes, the Haute-Marne, the Saone-et-Loire and the Yonne. Be it stated that in 11 *departements* there would be no such parcels to be thus welded together, viz., the Ardennes, Ariège, Finistère, Lozère, Oise, Hautes-Pyrénées, Pyrénées-Orientales, Saïthe, Seine, Seine-et-Marne and Seine-et-Oise *departements*.

To sum up, it may be observed that for the whole of France the percentage of cultivated land parcelled out to excess amounts to 28% and this is the parcelling it is thought advisable to remedy. But it will readily be seen that in such matters extreme caution is necessary. On the one hand, account must be taken of rural stubbornness, say the French experts in social economy; nor should this necessarily be denounced as unreasonable. The smaller rural holdings where a peasant family grows "a little of everything," as the saying goes, and makes a living thereby are far from being unproductive. The French situation is not without its moral for the Indian economists and sociologists. Furthermore, while, after the World-War which led to such extensive devastation, it may have seemed necessary to rationalize production with a view to greatly intensifying output, there has been a disquieting and widespread overproduction, these last few years, as regards many articles and the marketing difficulties encountered in such cases have been a matter of concern both for governments and producers. Can it be held necessary to grow too much wheat, only to be compelled to use it for making methylated spirits or to feed the cattle? A national interest is alleged to justify the bringing together of small

1 A discussion at the "Antarjatik Banga" Parishat ("International Bengal" Institute).

holdings under the owner, but certain circles believe that a world interest is at stake in connection with overproduction, dumping and the vertical fall of prices. It does seem that scientific cultivation, the wider use of mechanical agricultural implements and the popularisation of fertilisers are bound to lead to an increasingly large output which it is perhaps inadvisable to develop inordinately.

Socio-economic thought in France as indicated here has its practical aspects too. These considerations can but strengthen the liberal case which would leave farmers, small owners and peasants free to manage their own cultivation and direct their enterprises as they choose. There is, of course, a bare possibility that some Minister of Agriculture should proceed *ex-officio*, on the advice of the prefects concerned, to regroup the 9,000,000 hectares in which the 1929 inquiry found the parcelling harmful. But in point of fact, apparently, it is felt preferable to resort to persuasion, and in the long run the farmers themselves may eventually come to recognise in what cases the process of regrouping serves both the country and their own interests. As a rule, *laissez faire* continues to hold the ground among French legislators and *intelligentsia* generally.

The restriction of parcelling is being effected slowly, but it has by no means been abandoned. To the mind of the framer of the law of 1918, the initiative lies chiefly with the groups of private interests constituted into unions and the part of the Administration is chiefly to assist such bodies while itself taking a helpful initiative when required in certain cases. In the main the farmers concerned certainly object to majority constraint, but the *Académie d'Agriculture*, several technicians and a few consecutive *rapporteurs* for the Budget have declared in favour of action to be taken *ex-officio*.

It is not necessary to go into particulars concerning the operations in connection with such regrouping, as conducted by a local body whose business it is to arbitrate any disputes that may arise, to ascertain and endorse the agreement when actually carried out. Suffice it to record the results obtained from 1919 to 1929. The process of regrouping applied in 541 cases, dealt with 218,972 *hectares*—an inconsiderable proportion, in view of the fact that 198,225 of these hectares belong to 4 *départements* only: the Somme (85,107 hectares), the Ardennes (57,606 hectares), the Meurthe-et-Moselle (36,502 hectares) and the Oise (19,000 hectares).

Attention may be called to a sort of individual, as distinct from collective regrouping, and consisting in the exchange of parcels. Such exchanges involved between 1919 and 1929 as many as 916,889 parcels with a total area of 447,955 hectares—or more than twice the area dealt with by the regrouping process during the same period. In the Marne *département*, 87,850 parcels (29,926 hectares) were thus exchanged; and the same was the case in the Bas-Rhin with 93,789 very small parcels covering an area of 5,266 hectares only.

The most recent figures relating to the process of regrouping are already rather old. Be it noted, however, that the general results show 10 operations completed in 1933, 44 in course of completion at the same period and 19 given up. The Meurthe-et-Moselle *département* would seem to have displayed the greatest activity in the matter, the relevant figures at that date being 6 operations completed, 18 in course of completion and 19 given up. These figures refer to the operations carried out under the law of November, 1918. To the above should be added the operations effected under the law of March, 1919—bearing upon 7 *départements* (Aisne, Ardennes, Oise, Meurthe-et-Moselle, Meuse, Somme and Morocco) and aggregating 376 completed and 128 unfinished operations.

Altogether, in France to-day the rôle of *étatisme* in land-questions is not to be belittled although *laissez faire* happens still to be the dominant factor in the social mind, as embodied for instance in the *Société d'Economie Politique* of Paris, the oldest Economic Society of the world.

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES AT CHATHAM HOUSE (LONDON)

During the period from January to March, 1939, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, held a number of meetings at Chatham House. The topics for discussion are enumerated below (with the names of the principal speakers):

Principal Speaker.	Subject.
Commander S. King-Hall ...	The Defence of the Realm (Meeting for the Older Boys and Girls).
Mr. H. Ramsbotham, O.B.E., M.C., M.P.	Munich and After.
Professor Chang Peng-chun ...	The "Second Phase" in China's Struggle
Mr. Basil Mathews ...	The Spiritual and Social Basis of World Community.
Professor Allan G. B. Fisher ...	The German Trade Drive in South-Eastern Europe.
Mr. W. Horsfall Carter ...	Spain: Some Aspect of Dr. Negrin's Regime.
Mr. Harold Butler, C.B.	The Labour Problem in the East.
Dr. Frederic Benham ...	The Economic Position of Turkey.
Miss Freya Stark ...	The Future Development of Southern Arabia.
Dr. Richard Schueller ...	Organised Economy under Democracy.
Mr. Lionel Curtis ...	World Order.
General Faucher ...	Some Recollections of Czecho-Slovakia (in French).
Mr. A. G. Elliot-Smith } Mr. Con O'Neill } Mr. M. Zvegintzov } Mr. W. V. Emanuel ...	Recent Impressions of Germany.
Lieut.-Colonel Sir Arnold Wilson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., D.S.O., M.P.	Afghanistan: Its Place in Central Asian Politics.
Mr. H. N. Brailsford ...	The Suez Canal.
The Most Hon. The Marquess of Lothian, C.H.	Impressions of Tunis and Libya
Professor D. N. Binchy ...	The United States and Europe.
Signor Daniele Varè ...	Church and State in Italy.
	The Long View in Foreign Politics in relation to the Mediterranean and Far East.
Professor Vincent Harlow, D.Litt.	The Palestine Conference.
Professor Sir Alfred Zimmern ...	The World Situation.
Captain B. H. Liddell-Hart ...	British Military Power and the International Situation.

A recent publication of the Royal Institute is *Political and Strategic Interests of the United Kingdom: An Outline* by a Chatham House Study Group (London, 1939, 7s. 6d.). Another equally important work is *South-Eastern Europe: A Political and Economic Survey*. It has been prepared by the Information Department of the Institute in collaboration with the London and Cambridge Economic Service.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE PRISONER COMMUNITY AS A SOCIAL GROUP

Normal impulses are many times turned to perversions upon being transplanted to an abnormal situation. In a prison, "snut" stories are told that would cause a "professional" dirty story-teller in a college "bull-session" to cry with envy.

Deviations from the conventional sex code are tolerated by the convicts, for perversions are regarded as inevitable. Even if the sex drive is not satisfied in an abnormal manner, the mental conflicts produced in the individual may be more disturbing than the actual consummation of perversions. Not only may the sex attitudes of inmates be distorted by the prison experience, but the lives of sweethearts and wives may be made miserable after the men graduate from this type of "reformation."

It has long been recognized that our reformatories do not actually reform. Contrary to popular belief, however, old timers have no definite educational policy for the youngsters. Inmates learn new and improved techniques in our prisons, to be sure, but this is more or less an incidental feature of the prisoner community. Conversations in the reformatory are primarily with fellow convicts. As in groups in the outside, talk commonly turns to shop. Each type of convicts describes those varieties of technique with which he is best acquainted. The forger talks of forgery; the embezzler, of stock manipulation; the burglar, of methods for entering homes and stores; the stick-up man, of ways to overcome resistance. Thus many an inmate with a sincere desire to go straight on re-entering society is continually confronted with this kind of conversation. Whether he wishes to or not he assimilates new crime techniques.

The prison community is a social group developed by the outcasts of the larger society. The organization of this community is primarily an economic arrangement devoted to obtaining goods and services denied by the administration. Its entrepreneurs, middlemen, class structure, politicians and social deviates are comprehensible in terms of the social situation in which the convicts find themselves. The development of conniving, with its code of deception, means that inmates have daily training in traits that make reformation difficult. The prisoner community with its connivings, its perversions, and its exchange of crime techniques re-enforces those behavior tendencies which society wishes to prevent. One cannot expect to break down anti-social habits in an atmosphere that is definitely anti-social.—Professors Norman Hayner and Ellis Ash in the *American Sociological Review* (June, 1939).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE FOREIGN TRADE OF JAPAN

Today Japan has no cause to worry about the increase of imports, since she cannot have too many commodities, and the import costs may as well be considered as being settled when the goods are actually imported. Import increase in peace-time oftener than not suggests extravagance in

the people's living, whereas at present imports are placed under rigid control, says the *Osaka Mainichi* (Tokyo) for June 24, 1939.

The peace-time import-increase, unless accompanied by an export-increase, frequently gives rise to an adverse rate of the yen on the exchange market, because of the settlement requirements. As things stand today, foreign powers will not sell goods to Japan unless she produces cash.

Importing goods means *ipso facto* that Japan has sufficient cash or is in some other way able satisfactorily to settle her accounts. With some exceptions, most third powers have come to assume an unfriendly attitude toward Japan. Consequently, settlement of the adverse trade balance is not carried forward and the increase of imports demonstrates increasing capacity. The more the imports increase, the more clearly is it shown that Japan's economic potentiality has been strengthened.

The total of the imports up to the middle of June, this year, is Y 1,490,000,000. Compared with the amount for the corresponding period of the previous year, it shows an increase by Y 100,000,000. The amount of the exports is Y 1,480,000,000, this being a phenomenal increase of Y 280,000,000. The balance cuts only 10,000,000 from Y 190,000,000 import excess last year. Judging by the figures, Japan may feel somewhat less anxious about the increase in the imports.

The first difficulty with reference to commodity mobilization lies in the capacity for import. But in this respect, the fact that the nation has managed to increase by Y 100,000,000 in the first six months is being regarded as praiseworthy.

The only question is that concerning exports. In the increased exports, there is considerable amount of export to the yen-bloc nations. If the increase of export in the current year is only an increase to the yen-bloc countries, Japan can hardly be optimistic.

Figures indicating Japan's trade with the yen-bloc states and that with third powers separately are not available. Supposing that the total trade volume of Japan *minus* her trade with Manchoukuo and China is the commerce with the third powers, the trade result during the first five months of this year is fairly favourable, compared with that of the corresponding period of the previous year.

Japan's exports to the yen-bloc states during the first five months of this year showed an increase of about Y 50 million, while those to third powers showed a far greater increase of Y 160 million. Thus the increase of Japan's exports this year is seen in her trade with both the yen-bloc states and the third powers, especially the latter.

Up to the end of March, the exports to the third powers showed a decline. A remarkable increase, however, was seen in April and May. The advance of raw silk price is partly responsible for the larger amount of Japan's exports to the third powers this year, but it is true that the export trade was markedly stagnant during the same period last year.

Japan's foreign trade with the third powers during the first five months of last year resulted in an adverse balance of Y 190 million. The adverse balance this year is only Y 100 million, showing a decrease of Y 90 million and saving foreign payments to that amount.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN GERMANY

In January, 1939, there were in Germany (old territory of the Reich) 51,214 co-operative societies of all types. Including the provisional figures

for the extended territory of Germany the co-operative societies were distributed as follows over the various federations and groups:

Federations.	Types of Society.	Number of Societies on January 1, 1939.
German Co-operative Union	Credit Co-operative Societies (urban).	1,951
German Union of Agricultural and Raiffeisen Co-operative Societies.	Credit Co-operative Societies (rural).	20,680
German Co-operative Union	Craftsmen's Traders, etc., Societies,	3,225
German Union of Agricultural and Raiffeisen Co-operative Societies.	Agricultural Sale and Purchase Societies, etc.	25,421
Union of Housing Co-operative Societies.	Housing Co-operative Societies.	3,339
Auditing Union of the Consumers' Co-operative Societies.	Consumers' Co-operative Societies.	1,209
		<hr/> 55,825

In all the above groups, with the exception of the distributive societies, the final or provisional figures for the number of co-operative societies from former Austrian territory are included; in the case of the agricultural credit societies, the agricultural sale and purchase societies and the housing societies the provisional figures for the Sudeten territory are also included.

If account is taken of the societies that are not affiliated to any federation, the total number of individual co-operative societies of all kinds in Germany on January 1, 1939, was approximately 58,000.

In the old territory of the Reich the credit co-operative societies declined in numerical importance as compared with the previous year. The number of societies dissolved was fewer than in 1937, being 286 (of which 254 were savings and loan funds), but there was a further decline in the number of new societies founded, which was only 22 (of which five were industrial).

The number of handicraftsmen's co-operative societies dissolved in 1938 was 59, as compared with 54 new societies. In the case of the supply societies, there was a decline from 270 to 235. Handicraftsmen's co-operative societies are most common in the following occupations: bakers (409), tailors, weavers, furriers, etc. (150), locksmiths, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, instrument-makers, etc. (100), butchers and workers in hides and skins (206), building workmen (180), carpenters and joiners (105).

The number of housing co-operative societies also fell considerably in 1938. There were 16 new societies, as compared with 71 which were dissolved and 3 which went into liquidation. In the case of land settlement societies only one was founded and 32 were dissolved.

The establishment of new societies has ceased entirely in the case of distributive co-operative societies. In this group 17 were dissolved, generally by amalgamation. There were 1,200 distributive societies in all.

The number of agricultural co-operative societies fell off to a very marked extent during the year. The number of new societies was 345, but 656 were dissolved. The decline was particularly marked in the case of dairy and electricity co-operative societies.—*Blätter für Genossenschaftswesen*, Berlin, March 1, 1939.

Reviews and Notices of Books

The Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV—The Mughal Period. Planned by Sir Wolseley Haig. Edited by Sir Richard Burn.

The Fourth Volume of the Cambridge History of India traces the rise and fall of the Mughal Empire and besides political history contains a study of the revenue system and a description of the monuments. There are altogether eighteen chapters. Of these six have been written by Sir Wolseley Haig, four by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, three by Sir Richard Burn, and one each by Sir Dennison Ross, H. G. Rawlinson, W. H. Moreland, G. E. Harvey and Percy Brown.

From its very nature such a work that involves the co-operation of so many scholars cannot but be inorganic but we did not expect it to be so stereotyped. Most of the chapters are mere abridgements of previous works dealing with the subject. The most disappointing of the chapters is on "Akbar—mystic and prophet," which practically accepts all the views of Smith and summarily rejects the views opposed to his. Yet an air of impartiality is sought sedulously to be maintained. We give below a paragraph on the Din Ilahi from Chapter V: "This was not, as one writer has described it, merely 'an association of students and free thinkers who had transcended the barriers of faith and creed and shaken off the tyrannous yoke of age-long customs.' It was a new sect. This was certainly as Dr. Smith described it 'the outcome of ridiculous vanity, a monstrous growth of unrestrained autocracy' but we must not lose sight of the object which was to make all his subjects one people. The object was noble but the means adopted for attaining it absurd." V. Smith's attempt to find fault with Akbar because of his 'earth hunger' is repeated. We read, "His life's record is smirched with one dark blot. His 'earth hunger' was insatiable and he sometimes displayed duplicity." But has Imperialism, whether Eastern or Western, ever been free from the vice of 'earth hunger' and has not duplicity always played a remarkable part in its programme of aggression? How a scholar can go out of his way to fling mud is very well illustrated on page 102, where we read "Shaikh Salim, though described by Father Monserrate as 'being stained with all the wickedness and disgraceful conduct of the Muslims'—a phrase of sinister import—had great reputation for sanctity among his co-religionists."

The plan of the work has some features that are open to grave objection. There is a chapter on the revenue system, written no doubt by the most competent authority on the subject, but there are none relating to the Mughal administrative system. This negative attitude cannot satisfy any serious student of Indian History. Ibn Hasan's book dealing with the central structure of the Mughal machinery of government shows how systematic this study can be.

This Cambridge History is calculated to convey the impression that in Mughal India we find only court intrigues and palace revolutions, only 'the wild and dreamlike trade of blood and guile.' The topic of good governance is something that is irrelevant. We also look in vain for a freshness of outlook. Are we not justified in finding fault with a plan which gives us a careful account of the doings of the Jesuit missions and their influence, religious and educational, without even the show of an

attempt to give us a helpful study of the cultural relations of India with Iran and Turan, her neighbours, that furnished the Mughal Empire with great philosophers, beautiful princesses, brave generals and able politicians and statesmen? Inaccuracies in detail are by no means rare and we think that with the exception of Chapters XIII, XVI, XVII, XVIII, the volume cannot be of much use to any advanced student of Indian History.

I. BANERJEE.

Elements of Indian Company Law. Third Edition. By Sobrab R. Davar, Barrister-at-Law. Butterworth.

Mr. Davar is well-known as a writer of books on Mercantile Law, and his ability and experience have received recognition by his inclusion as a member in the Committee appointed by the Government of India for Companies Act Amendment, 1936. Owing to some of the drastic amendments made by the Amendment Act of 1936, a clear and connected statement of the law as it stands, compared with the law it replaces, has been rendered somewhat difficult, but Mr. Davar has made ample use of his opportunities to present a lucid analysis of the amended law, which makes the present edition of the book very helpful for the students of the Indian Universities, for whom it is primarily intended. The main characteristic of Mr. Davar's book is the practical application of the law, which is always kept before the reader's eye, and, accordingly, those who have to deal, in actual practice, with the many problems of the Indian Company Law will also find the book very useful for reference. The style of the book is attractive, and the get-up excellent.

SURES C. CHAKRAVARTI

Ernest Mackay: *Die Induskultur*. Firma Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1938. Reichsmarks 3.80.

Mackay's work entitled *The Indus Civilization* (London, 1935) is well known in India. His newly published *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro* (1938) is a sequel to the three volumes edited by Marshall under the title *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilisation* (1931), the first systematic account of the excavations issued by the Archaeological Survey of India.

It is interesting to observe that Mackay's study of 1935, which may be said to be a short but comprehensive introduction to the entire Mohenjodarian antiquities, has been rendered into German by Dr. Max Mueller of Iserlohn. The work before us embodies this translation as rendered available by the distinguished publishers, Firma Brockhaus of Leipzig. The translator has attempted to preserve the lucidity of the original and the publishers have enriched the book with fine illustrations, 78 in number, and a map.

B. K. SARKAR

A Modern School Chemistry, by A. J. Mee. Published by J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd.

The book embodies simpler treatment of some non-metals and metallic elements. The portion dealing with non-metals embodies a more elaborate treatment. The metallic portion is rather brief and does not give much information regarding such important metals as Aluminium, Magnesium, Copper, etc.

It is, however, a nice little book for the beginners. The presentation of the subject matter is so simple and the treatment is so attractive, that the book will prove to be very useful to those who want to learn Chemistry by themselves. A book of this type can be very safely recommended for the use of school children. I am sure it will be very much appreciated by the students taking up Chemistry in the new Matriculation Examination of our University. It is unfortunate that it cannot be recommended as a textbook for I.Sc. Examination of our University, as it falls short of the prescribed syllabus. I would not, however, hesitate to recommend it to the students of I.Sc. classes who will do well to give it a preliminary reading, which will help them immensely in learning Chemistry.

M. Q. KHUDA

Elementary Inorganic Chemistry, by S. J. Smith. Published by the Macmillan & Co., Ltd.

The book contains a preliminary treatment of some of the simpler elements. The theoretical aspects of Chemistry has been dealt with in the most elementary way, thus making it quite useful for the beginners. The metallic portion and some of the non-metals also require more elaborate treatment, in order to make it useful for the Intermediate students. The book cannot therefore be prescribed for the Intermediate Examination of our University.

It can, however, be recommended for use in Matriculation classes, where it is expected that the readers will derive some benefit by its use.

On the whole it is a fairly good book and will be useful to all who want to know something of Chemistry within a short time.

M. Q. KHUDA

Bankim Chandra: Prophet of the Indian Renaissance: His Life and Art, by S. J. Matlal Das. Published by G. Majumdar, D. M. Library, 42, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, 1938. Price Rs. 2-8-0 ; pp. 1-189.

A "tribute and homage" to Bankim Chandra on the occasion of the centenary, the book seeks to speak on various aspects of Bankim and his writings—and certainly there is scope for a handy, readable book on the subject written in English. The author's contribution to the literature on Bankim should be taken in that light. The significance of the great novelist both in the spheres of art and propaganda has been studied in the book and lovers of Bankim will enjoy its perusal, and we hope to see in its next edition most of the errors rectified.

When we compare our great men, the need of caution should be always felt and admitted by us. The writer has not, at least on one occasion, shown the proper amount of caution. In view of the importance of the matter at issue, the passage in question (p. 185) is reproduced below:—

"Rabindranath is subtle and mystic but he has no touch with the work-a-day world. Vivekananda is too much philosophical and is pre-occupied with religion in its narrow sense. Bankim Chandra was a man of the world. He accepted the Gospel of Hinduism in their (*sic*) loftiest and truest teachings and put them to use in the imaginary situation of the world of fiction. It is, therefore, easier for the foreigner to understand and appreciate the glorious teachings of Hinduism in the pages of Bankim Chandra."

Certainly Bankim Chandra is great, without any invidious reference to Tagore or Vivekananda.

P. R. SEN

Ourselves

[I. Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, Calcutta University.—II. Ghose Travelling Fellowship for 1939.—III. Amendment of the University Regulations.—IV Appointment of Departmental Heads —V Chittagong College —VI. Cotton College Gauhati.—VII. Indian Economic Association —VIII. A New D.Sc.—IX. Dates for Examinations to be held in 1940.—X Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Medal for 1938.—XI. Financial Aid for "A Vedic Concordance and Encyclopaedia." —XII. Excavation at Bangarkh.]

I. ASUTOSH MUSEUM OF INDIAN ART. CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

The Asutosh Museum established by Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee in April, 1937, primarily as a home for specimens of the Bengal School of Art has within less than two and half years of its existence acquired either by purchase or free gift a treasure of art and architecture whose significance may well be pronounced to be unique in the interpretation of India's culture and civilisation. The specimens which have already been collected represent practically every phase of Indian Art from pre-historic times until the present day. It was only a few months ago that we announced in the pages of this journal the gift of the Nahar Collection to the Asutosh Museum, consisting mostly of Rajput Painting and Architecture. The University has just acquired the private collection of Mr. Birendranath Roy of Puri, bears, a collection which testimony to Mr. Roy's labours extending over a period of twenty years as an amateur archaeologist. It contains well over 1,500 specimens, some of which are unique for their antiquarian and artistic interests. Of the more important objects belonging to the Collection, mention should be made of 300 stone sculptures including specimens of Buddhist art going back to the pre-Christian era as well as many beautiful carvings in which one may trace the growth of the Orissan art and its decadence. There are 250 manuscripts on literature, philosophy, religion, architecture, etc., written in Sanskrit, Bengali, Oriya, and Telugu, the most conspicuous of which is a brilliantly illustrated Ramayana containing not less than 200 drawings on palm leaves. Among the other principal attractions of the Roy Collection 200 pieces of painting executed on cloth and on wood covers for manuscripts, 700 coins dating back to ancient and medieval times, and 200 bronze and ivory figures showing wonderful workmanship. There are a few modern

specimens too, particularly the representations in miniature of the Jagannatha and Bhuvaneshwar temples made on wood and stone which give evidence of the great skill possessed by the Oriya artist of to-day.

* * *

II. GHOSE TRAVELLING FELLOWSHIP FOR 1939

The Ghose Travelling Fellowship in Arts for the year 1939 has been awarded to Mr. Jitendranath Banerjee, M.A. He will join the School of Oriental Studies, London, for investigating the "Early History of the Brahmanical Sects in relation to Archaeology (from the 4th century B. C. to the beginning of the Muhammadan invasions of India)." Mr. Banerjee will conduct his studies mainly at the British Museum Library where books on this subject are available.

The Ghose Travelling Fellowship in Science for the year 1939 has been awarded to Dr. Mahendranath Goswami, Dr.es.Sc., and Dr. Purnachandra Mahanti, D.Sc. Dr. Goswami will make a special study of Plastics visiting in this connexion the Plastic Institutes and Factories in the United Kingdom and Germany. Dr. Mahanti will work in England and U.S.A. on the latest methods of standardisation of electrical instruments, clinical thermometers, etc., and on the testing and manufacture of electrical instruments, specially House Service meters.

Two additional Ghose Travelling Fellowships of the value of Rs. 2,200 each have been awarded to Mr. Mohammad Ishaque, M.A., B.Sc. and Mr. Susilkumar Basu, M.Sc., M.B., D.P.H., D.T.M. Mr. Ishaque has been writing a work on the "Poets and Poetry of Modern Persia" since about a year and is now attached to the School of Oriental Studies, London. Mr. Basu will make a comparative study of the "Growth in Length of Limb Bones with special reference to the Union Epiphyses." He is now working on this subject with Professor J. C. Brash at the University of Edinburgh and will afterwards proceed to America to complete his investigation.

* * *

III. AMENDMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY REGULATIONS

[Chapter XXXII—I.A.]

The University has decided, subject to the final approval of Government, not to allow a student to take up Bengali, Hindi, Assamese,

or Urdu in lieu of a Classical Language at the Intermediate Examination in Arts, unless he has passed the Matriculation Examination in a Classical Language. Such a student shall be examined in a Special Paper in the Classical Language in which he has passed the Matriculation Examination in lieu of the paper in Vernacular.

* * *

IV. APPOINTMENT OF DEPARTMENTAL HEADS

The following Professors have been appointed Heads of Departments stated against their names for a period of three years:—

- Prof. Meghnad Saha, D.Sc., F.R.S. ... Physics, with effect from July 1, 1939.
- „ Phanindranath Ghose, M.A., Applied Physics, with effect from June 1, 1939.
Ph.D. Sc.D., F.Inst.P.
- „ Praphullachandra Mitter, M.A., Chemistry, with effect from June 1, 1939.
Ph.D.
- „ Bireschandra Guha, D.Sc., Ph.D. Applied Chemistry, with effect from June 1, 1939.
- „ S. P. Agharkar, M.A., Ph.D., Botany, with effect from June 1, 1939.
F.L.S.
- „ Nikhilranjan Sen, D.Sc., Ph.D. Applied Mathematics. with effect from June 1, 1939.

* * *

V. CHITTAGONG COLLEGE

The Chittagong College, Chittagong, has been granted extension of affiliation to this University in Political Economy and Political Philosophy to the B.A. Honours standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1939-40.

* * *

VI. COTTON COLLEGE, GAUHATI

The Cotton College, Gauhati, has been granted extension of affiliation to this University in Assamese as Second Language for women students only to the I.A. standard from the commencement of the session 1939-1940.

* * *

VII. INDIAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION

The Twenty-third Annual Conference of the Indian Economic Association will be held at Allahabad under the auspices of the Allahabad University from the 29th to the 31st December, 1939.

* * *

VIII. A NEW D.Sc.

Mr. Kshitischandra Bhattacharyya, M.Sc., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Science on the strength of a thesis entitled "An Examination of the Question of Strain on Mono-Cyclic Rings" which was examined by a Board consisting of Professor R. Cornubert, Sir Gilbert T. Morgan and Sir W. J. Pope.

We offer our congratulations to Dr. Bhattacharyya on his success.

* * *

IX. DATES FOR EXAMINATIONS TO BE HELD IN 1940

The dates for the following examinations have been fixed as follows:—

Matriculation	...	Monday, the 11th March, 1940
I.A. and I.Sc.	...	Thursday, the 8th February, 1940
B.A. and B.Sc.	...	Tuesday, the 19th March, 1940
L.T. and B.T.	...	Monday, the 15th April, 1940

Detailed programme will be published later.

* * *

X. SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE MEDAL FOR 1938

The Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Medal for 1938 has been awarded to Dr. Amrprasad Dasgupta, M.A., PH.D., who was formerly a Post-Graduate Lecturer in the Department of History and is now the Assistant Controller of Examinations of our University. Dr. Dasgupta submitted a thesis entitled "Studies in the History of the British in India." We congratulate Dr. Dasgupta on his new honour and also on the fact that he has found time to pursue his academic interests in spite of heavy official duties.

* * *

XI. FINANCIAL AID FOR "A VEDIC CONCORDANCE AND ENCYCLOPAEDIA"

Our University has promised financial aid to the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Lahore, in preparing "A Vedic Concordance and Encyclopaedia," to the extent of Rs. 250 annually for four years provided satisfactory progress is made in the work.

*

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*

XII. EXCAVATION AT BANGARH

It may be recalled that a scheme of archaeological excavation was prepared in 1937 under the direction of Dr. S P. Mookerjee, the then Vice-Chancellor of this University. Subsequently a great opportunity was offered by the modification of the "Ancient Monuments Preservation Act" of the Government of India enabling Universities and other learned Societies to participate in excavation and our University was the first in India to avail itself of the opportunity. During the winter of 1937-38, this University sent a batch of students and research workers under the supervision of Mr. Kunjagobinda Goswami, M.A. to Bangarh in the district of Dinajpur where excavation work was started forthwith. The work was carried on for four weeks and the results obtained were very promising. The excavation was continued for about three months at the same site in the following year (1938-39) and the area exposed was about 34500 sq. ft as against 10300 sq. ft. of the previous year. The following extract from the preliminary report forwarded by Mr. Goswami is worth reading:

"The excavation has proved more promising and encouraging both in the find of structural remains and discovery of portable antiquities. Brick structures of at least three distinct strata belonging to different periods of early history of Bengal have been exposed. There have been found remains of several houses with stone pillar bases *in situ*. Of these a brick-built hollow structure of the shape of a conventional lotus with sixteen petals is interesting. Within this lotus again a little down below an octagonal hollow structure with brick floor has been unearthed. This octagon contains a pottery pipe of 3½ inches in diameter at one of its sides. This drain passes through below the floor of one of the four corner rooms (Southern one) and discharges

itself into a circular pit at a lower level outside the main wall of the house. It has also been found out that this cess-pit had an outlet. A lotus-shaped structure together with such associated objects is not known to have been found elsewhere. It is really a rare discovery. A masonry well of the third stratum is also remarkable. Its existing top is found just below the foundation of a massive wall of the second stratum. Some pavements built of bricks on edge are also interesting. Mud was used here as mortar in the structures of the lower level, while traces of lime and sand in plaster are also available in the walls of the upper level.

As regards the minor antiquities the excavation was amply rewarded. Evidence of the art of ancient Bengal was discovered in the shape of terra-cotta objects, decorative bricks and architectural stone pieces. Of these, the terra-cotta objects throw sufficient light on a considerable length of time. For instance, these objects show the characteristics resembling those of the Sunga, Kushan, Gupta and Pala periods. Two clay sealings, and two fragments of a gold amulet (?) bearing Brahmi characters resembling those of Early Gupta (?) period are also illuminating. Three punch-marked coins (two silver and one copper) are also noteworthy.

Of the stone objects, namely pillars, pillar bases (double coursed) *amalaka* and door-jamb, the last mentioned one is very remarkable. It contains three columns of decoration on each of the two sides. The decoration contains figures, foliage and flower. It was removed from its original place and was placed at a later time to serve the purpose of a door-sill after mutilating a part of the decoration on one side.

There have been found other interesting objects also which will be dealt with in details later on

On the whole the site appears to be very promising. As the area is vast, it will take a number of years to reveal the buried remains and it is reasonably hoped that further excavation here (at Bangarh) is likely to open an illuminating chapter in the obscure history of Ancient Bengal."

NOTIFICATION

I

BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY

NOTICE

The subject for Swami Sri Madhusudanananda Saraswati of Matar Shanker Vedant Prize for the year 1939-40 is :—

The Place of Intuition in Indian Philosophy

The Shanker Vedant Prize of Swami Sri Madhusudanananda Saraswati of Matar of the value of Rs. 150 will be awarded to a graduate of not more than five years' standing of the Benares Hindu University who has taken the degree of Dharmashastry of the said University and writes the best essay in Hindi or Gujrati on *The Place of Intuition in Indian Philosophy*.

The essay must be sent in a sealed and registered cover so as to reach the REGISTRAR on or before the 31st January, 1940. Each essay is to have some motto prefixed to it and is to be accompanied with a sealed cover containing the candidate's name and full address and bearing the same motto outside. No part of the essay should contain the name of the candidate.

The Prize shall not be awarded unless the judges pronounce the essay worthy of it.

BENARES :
The 1st of July, 1939.

G. P. MEHTA, M.A.,
Registrar.

II

Competition for the "Chandulal Chotalal Mehta Prize." The subject chosen for the year 1941 is :—

The Population and Production in India

Extracts from the Rules

1. A prize called *Chandulal Chotalal Mehta Prize* consisting of the interest on Rs. 5,000 for one year or of books of the like value to be selected by the winner, shall be awarded for the best essay on the subject noted above.

2. Competitors shall be graduates of the Benares Hindu University of not more than seven years' standing from the date of the graduation.

The essay must be sent to the REGISTRAR on or before fourth Monday in July, 1941. Each essay shall be designated by a motto instead of the writer's name and shall be accompanied by a sealed cover containing the name of the competitor, his university standing, full address and a declaration that the essay is *bona-fide* his own composition.

4. The prize shall not be awarded for an essay which, in the opinion of the judges, does not show research or originality of treatment.

5. The essay shall be the property of the University which may print or publish it. The writer of the essay must obtain the previous permission of the Syndicate if he wishes to get it printed himself.

BENARES :
The 1st of July, 1939.

G. P. MEHTA, M.A.,
Registrar.

III

The Subject for the Narsingh Prasad Hari Prasad Buch Metaphysics Prize for the year 1939-40 is :—

The Concept of Moksha in the Shanker School of Vedanta

The Narsingh Prasad Hari Prasad Buch Metaphysics Prize of the value of Rs. 200 will be awarded to an Indian who writes the best thesis in English or Hindi on *The Concept of Moksha in the Shanker School of Vedanta*. The thesis must bear a suitable motto and must be sent to the REGISTRAR in a sealed and registered cover on or before the 31st of January, 1940, with a declaration that it is *bona-fide* the competitor's own composition, and also an affidavit countersigned by a local Judicial Officer or by the Principal of the College with which the competitor has been connected in the past to the effect that he is a strict teetotaler and vegetarian. No part of the thesis should contain the name of the competitor.

The Prize shall not be awarded unless the judges pronounce the thesis worthy of it.

BENARES :
The 1st of July, 1939.

G. P. MEHTA, M.A.,
Registrar.

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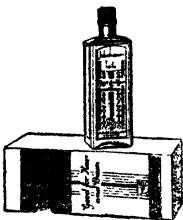
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1939

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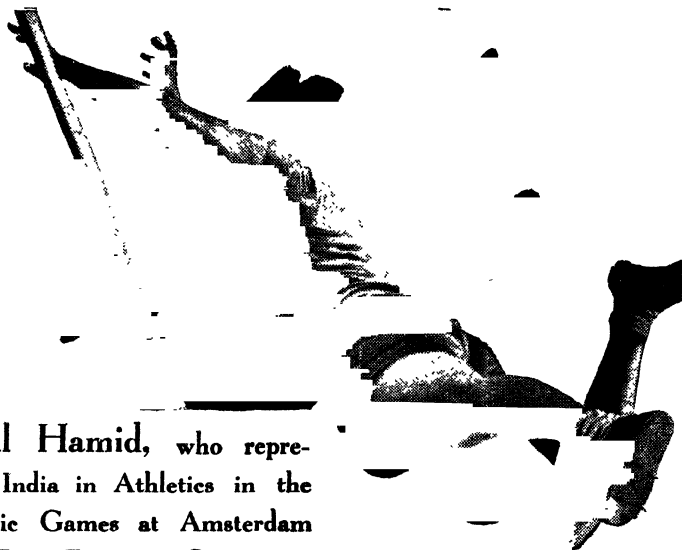
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1939

THE INDIAN PRINCES IN FEDERATION *

H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., PH.D.

*Fellow, Calcutta University; Member, Legislative Assembly, Bengal;
President, Bengal Evangelistic Mission; President, Baptist Lay Association, Bengal;
President, All-India Conference of Indian Christians.*

THE celebrated speech delivered in Calcutta on December 19th, 1938, was the first political pronouncement made by the Viceroy after his return to India. In it Lord Linlithgow emphasised the fact that provincial autonomy and federation are essentially parts one of the other. We know that considerable progress has been made in the shape of Instruments of Accession submitted in a practically final form to the Princes. Many important conferences have been held and no serious difficulty is anticipated in getting the minimum number of States to join in working the Federation scheme.

In the meantime, National India has entered its protest against the method by which the States are proposed to be represented in the Federal legislatures. It has been stated that in the Lower House the States will send 33½ per cent and in the Upper House 40 per cent of the total number of representatives, all of whom will be nominated by the Princes. Some critics go so far as to suggest that many, if not all,

* Address delivered at the Town Hall, Benares, 6th August, 1939.

will be not palace nominees but nominees of the British Government. With their nominated representatives and what is regarded as over-representation, the Princes may form a solid *bloc* which is likely to oppose the democratic and progressive elements representing British India. Then again, in case of a difference between the two Houses and of a joint sitting, the nominees of the Princes and the other unprogressive groups will find it quite easy to throw out any popular measure that may be introduced.

According to the second schedule in the Government of India Act, 1935, there cannot be any amendment of the Federal constitution until and unless the Princes agree to it. It is doubtful whether the Princes will ever be unanimous in agreeing to the demands of British India. Not only can they literally walk out of the legislature but they can prevent any measure from being passed into law. Whenever autonomous Indian provinces desire to introduce any progressive measure, they will have first to secure the consent of the Princes which, according to National India, will be difficult to obtain. For all practical purposes, the policy of the whole of autonomous India will be dictated by the Princes.

Federation under these circumstances will merely mean a set-back if not a total stoppage of India's march towards her ultimate goal either as an independent entity which is the dream of the extreme national section or, as an equal and honoured partner, with other members of the British Commonwealth, which seems to be the ideal of a less advanced section of Indian public opinion.

The position of National India therefore is that the Princes must give up the principle of nomination. They should also introduce responsible government in the States. There is no desire to do away with their Treaty rights but it is essential, according to one section at least, that "the paramountcy of the British Crown should be transferred to the Federal Ministers who are either responsible to the Crown or to the Federal legislature."

In recent times, popular agitation, ostensibly for "responsible government," has manifested itself not only in Mysore, Travancore and Hyderabad but also in certain small States of Bombay and Orissa. No distinction has been drawn between States that are comparatively well-governed and those that still cling to medieval methods, the result being that Hyderabad and Travancore have been placed on the same level as Rajkot and Ranpur.

It cannot, however, be denied that not only has political unrest grown persistent in the States but, what is more, it is growing in volume and intensity everywhere. In one instance at least—I am here referring to Ranpur—the agitation has led to most tragic results which merely demonstrate the risks attendant on political agitation among backward, ignorant and uneducated people. This instance is sufficient to prove that the introduction of responsible government in the States presupposes two things, viz., the conversion of the rulers and the political education of the people concerned.

It is noteworthy that the demands made by the States people are not identical in character. As a matter of fact, though every one of them is a demand for a larger share in the administration of the States to which they belong, they vary in the kind and amount of relief sought. For instance, in progressive States like Mysore and Travancore, the people demand responsible government; in certain other States they demand good government and civil liberties; in still others they would be content with freedom from oppression and misrule, at least for the time being. It therefore follows that in framing these demands, the people have been more or less guided by the general level of administration in the States concerned.

It is denied by the spokesmen for these States that these movements are “spontaneous and independent.” The Indian National Congress has clearly stated that one of the reasons for its opposition to Federation is that the States will not be represented by elected members. The official attitude of the Congress is “to convert the Princes to the view that their true interests lie in voluntary surrender of power to the people.” It has disclaimed any connection with these activities but prominent Congress leaders like Mr. Vallabhai Patel have not shown much hesitation in offering advice to the leaders of these popular movements in the States and also occasionally in directing the movements themselves, of course in their personal capacity. Even Mahatma Gandhi has somehow been drawn into the agitation for responsible government in the States. Critics may well point out that this makes futile the claim of the Congress that non-intervention in regard to the affairs in the States is its settled policy.

I am aware that many Europeans and Indians regard with grave disapproval the struggle for responsible government carried on in many of the Indian States. I also know that they condemn those Congressmen who, in their individual capacity, are not only giving advice and

directing the activities of the States' peoples' associations but are also taking active part in the conflict between the Princes and their subjects. Some at least of the Congressmen feel that this amounts practically to going back on the official attitude of our great All-India national organisation which has pronounced in no uncertain voice its neutrality in this matter. It is also true that, here and there, have occurred incidents which give the direct lie to the contention that the struggle for responsible government in the States is always carried on non-violently.

While the truth of all this is admitted fully, we have to remember that but for these activities, objectionable though they may be from certain standpoints, the attention of the public would never have been drawn effectively to the highly undesirable conditions prevailing in a majority of the States. It was in 1853 that the "Times" which we have come to regard as the mouthpiece of the conservative party in England first drew the attention of the English public to the backward condition of the Indian States. The leaders of progressive movements in India have cried themselves hoarse in condemning the abuses prevailing in them. Nor has honest and fearless criticism from Englishmen and Englishwomen been wanting. If I had sufficient space at my disposal, I could have given here a very long string of quotations covering the whole of the period between 1853 and 1939, every one of which would have proved how backward these parts of India are and how a majority of the rulers have failed miserably in discharging their obligations towards their peoples.

One result of the pointed way in which the attention of the world at large has been drawn to the States has been that even Anglo-Indian papers which have very rarely been characterised by much sympathy for India's political and economic aspirations have been compelled to recognise the justice as well as the urgent necessity of introducing changes in the administration of the States.

Early in February, 1939, the "Statesman," regarded as the most important Anglo-Indian organ in North-East, if not the whole of India, commenting on the appalling conditions in many of the States said, "Unbridled power inherited from generation to generation has throughout history led to tyranny, corruption and degradation of the worst kind." Continuing it observed, "These States are not merely examples of bad landlordism. The bad landlords, as well as the good ones, are subject to no laws; they have the power of life and death;

there are no obstacles to their greed or lust, or cruelty, if they are greedy, vicious or cruel."

National India feels that they are a disgrace to the British Government and that though they have been known to be such, the Paramount Power has very rarely utilised those powers it undoubtedly possesses in removing this blot on the fair name of Britain. On the other hand, on more occasions than one, it has shown by its actions that it resents any adverse criticism on this subject. Commenting on this particular aspect of the problem, the "Statesman" observed in the same article, "If the Paramount Power is for ever to have an obligation of 'honour' to defend the indefensible, then some day an irresistible force will encounter an irremovable object and, according to the classic answer to this problem, something will go to smithereens."

Some of the larger and more important Indian States are excluded by the "Statesman" from the category of those criticised by it. Undoubtedly there are some Indian States which are administered better than the rest. But they are very few in number and, even in them, it cannot be said truly that things are as good as they are in our autonomous provinces though, here too, they might be better. Recent events in Travancore, Hyderabad, and Kashmir, to mention only the largest and the most important States, have proved that all is not well with them. Neither is it correct to assume that the almost simultaneous agitation in States, separated by thousands of miles is being fomented by the Congress or Congressmen. Granting for the sake of argument that the Congress is the evil genius it is supposed to be, nationalists contend that no political agitation which involves all kinds of suffering can be fomented in the absence of genuine and long resented grievances. I intentionally make no reference whatsoever to the conditions prevailing in almost all the smaller States whose administration is admittedly bad.

It is not, however, quite unfair to assume that the demands for reform in the States are a repercussion of the establishment of provincial autonomy in British India. Such a profoundly radical change is bound to lead to unfavourable comparisons between the position of the citizens of British India and those of States India and to the desire of the latter to have more power in shaping their political destiny.

According to the proceedings of the Federal Structure Committee for September 17, 1931, Mahatma Gandhi is reported to have said,

“ After all there is no vital, real division between these two Indias (British and States India). If one can divide a living body into two parts, you may divide India into two parts. It has lived as one country from time immemorial and no artificial boundary can possibly divide it.” It is this fact, the correctness of which no one can deny, which inclines me to believe that the agitation, even if fomented by some leaders of the Congress for the definite purpose of compelling the Princes to send elected representatives to the Federal Legislature, is not an artificial one. The national awakening has come: the seeds were sown long ago. Taking the most uncharitable view of the activities of Congressmen like Mr. Vallabhai Patel, all that can be said with justice is that they have watered these seeds but they would never have germinated if the soil was not fertile and the seeds absent.

The next question which should interest us is how are the different States facing the present situation. Some have already introduced reforms or appointed committees to consider the question of constitutional reforms. Others, less wise in their generation, have denied the representative character of the sponsors of these movements or the existence of misgovernment which can be their only justification and affirmed the presence of civil liberties. Others, totally blind to the signs of the times, have questioned the genuineness of the agitation, abused the leaders and have tried to cloud the real issues by indiscriminate mud-slinging. These last are apparently forgetting that the unworthiness of the popular leaders is no justification for the existence of well-known abuses in certain of the States, a detailed examination of which is not called for here.

It has to be admitted that this States agitation has disturbed some of the Princes to such an extent that they have expressed their doubts as to the desirability of federating with British India. If they are wise, they should not overlook the fact that the old policy of segregating themselves is bound to be futile. What guarantee is there that, by staying outside Federated India, their States will be immune from the kind of political agitation which is now rampant within their borders? On the other hand, it may be suggested that the States are likely to be safer within rather than outside Federation. So far as the smaller and less prosperous States are concerned there is, I understand, a proposal to combine their resources in order to finance the kind of representative institutions demanded by their people. The Princes

should remember that their people are still looking up to them for what they want. Their traditional loyalty to their rulers is proved by the fact that, up to the present, they have not launched any organised campaign against the Princes as such. Refusal to remove at least some of the grievances may lead to deplorable results and the ultimate break-down of Federation altogether.

The position of the Congress ministries in British autonomous provinces is peculiar. Self-governing to a very large extent, they have not been able to make up their minds as to their line of action. It is not perhaps incorrect to assume that, in most cases, the ministries sympathise with the States people and that, with their hands tied, they are not in a position to give them active help in any form. The organisation to which they belong is precluded from participation in the agitation though individual Congressmen have been permitted to do so and, in fact, have been actually doing so. Mahatma Gandhi has made it clear that the dissociation of the Congress from States affairs is not due to lack of sympathy for the political aspirations of the States people. They are, as it were, put on their mettle to secure through their own efforts what, it is held, has been already achieved by people in British India. The position may be logical but it has to be admitted that, in at least some of the States, political agitation would not have assumed their present proportions or intensity but for the moral support, if nothing else, of Congress leaders from outside. The Congress again finds in this agitation one of its best arguments against Federation as envisaged in the Government of India Act, 1935, and feels that it would be making a serious tactical blunder if it does not utilise the present condition of the States to the utmost in discrediting a proposal so unwelcome to it.

The position of the British Government is bristling with serious difficulties. No one can deny that it is sincerely desirous that Federation according to the Government of India Act, 1935, should be introduced in India. To this end, it has tried its best to meet the wishes of the different States as much as possible. In the Calcutta speech already referred to, the Viceroy stated, "We have done all that lay in our power to apply a just judgment to the points which have been raised by individual States in connection with their accession to Federation and to find the wise and appropriate solution of those points; and we have, at all times, kept before us the ideal of the unity of India."

The British Government understands that Federation is not possible unless there is peace inside the States. It also appreciates the corollary following from this proposition, namely that at this stage in the development of the political sense of India, this much-desired peace cannot be secured unless the Princes make the necessary concessions to popular demands. At the same time, it realises that in making these concessions, the Princes must not go too far. There is no doubt that the Federal legislature has been constituted in such a way that the Princes, or rather their nominees, with the other ultra-conservative elements are meant to act as obstructions to the progressive forces of Indian nationalism which will most probably be marshalled under Congress direction. Only this can explain the disproportionate weightage given to the Indian States.

Undoubtedly many of the Princes have been chafing at the control exercised on them for generations by the British agents. It is not even remotely suggested that these agents in each and every case abused their position to wantonly interfere in the day-to-day administrative work of the States. I personally know of more than one State where such intervention was not only desirable but absolutely essential for the well-being of the States people themselves. At the same time, let us also be prepared to admit that almost autocratic power has been utilised now and again in ways calculated to needlessly cause misunderstanding and friction. Again I do not suggest that such abuse of power was due to the desire of simply making the Princes concerned realise their position as vassals of Britain. There have been still other occasions when interference was called for by the unfitness of some of the Princes to hold the position to which they had been born. These Princes are not so helpless as they were in the past. They have now learnt to organise themselves into a united and powerful body. Many of them have been taking important parts in the administration of their States. The British Government cannot welcome the taking of any step which is likely to offend their sense of self-respect. This difficulty was sought to be solved by a disclaimer on the part of the British Government that it would not put any kind of pressure on the Princes as regards the kind or amount of reform which they would introduce within their States. The pronouncement of the Viceroy on this matter is worth quoting and is as follows: "While the advice and assistance of the Paramount Power is always available to Rulers, it must rest with the Rulers themselves to decide

what form of Government they should adopt in the diverse conditions of Indian States." And, as the Secretary of State has made clear some time ago, "while the Paramount Power will not obstruct proposals for constitutional advance initiated by Rulers, His Majesty's Government have no intention of bringing any form of pressure to bear upon them to initiate constitutional changes."

But even here there is still another difficulty. One may well enquire what the British Government proposes to do, supposing for one moment that the Princes refuse to grant any concession in any shape in any one of the States. Such a position is, I know, unthinkable. If, however, such a state of affairs actually comes to pass, the Princes would play into the hands of the extremists of the Congress Left. This section of the Congress would in this way be able to immediately bring about a nation-wide struggle. Not only would the old bad days return but all the progress made so far would be lost and when peace is restored, we shall have to build again from the foundations upwards.

Recently, some of the States have attempted to improve their administration specially in the direction of discarding age-old customs which have, up till now, formed the basis of their financial system. It should, however, be realised that such reforms barely touch the fringe of the problem. It is also perhaps correct to assume that a majority of the Princes are willing to modernise their administration on lines that suit what they consider their particular needs and the long established traditions of their States. This change of heart, which political India considers has not gone far enough, is due to their realisation of the fact that their people are in a position to obtain by pressure, whether applied directly or otherwise, a greater say in the administration. It may be that in some of the more politically backward and less educated States, it is possible to satisfy the people by offering them a small instalment of the reforms due long ago, but there is little doubt that the constant interchange of population, the study of journals published in our part of the motherland, the first-hand experience of the political powers enjoyed by the common people in British India—all these and other factors which are persistently thrusting themselves into their notice can have only one effect, *viz*, that the popular demand will ever be on the increase and that it will have to be satisfied.

Probably many of the Princes have failed to appreciate the fact that in the self-governing provinces, though British power is there all

the time, it does not function except in the last resort. They do not realise that if this power remains unused for a sufficiently long period of time, its use will go by default, and also that in the event of the British Government attempting its use, there is bound to be such a hue and cry that the British, always practical politicians, will cease trying to utilise a power which has lapsed through disuse. Some people of the self-governing provinces who may be said to have attained political majority are helping the States people openly while nearly all, if not all, the people of British India would like to see their brothers enjoying privileges similar to those which they are themselves enjoying. For the Princes to rely on the British Government to fight popular movements is not a sign of wisdom. The Political Department can and will do much, but it will never, for the sake of pleasing the States, alienate autonomous India. Then, again, the stronger national solidarity grows in British India, the smaller will be the British help available in the States.

There is not the slightest doubt that Federation will come ultimately and also that it will not be a Federation of the provinces of British India only but also of the States. It is also equally certain that the Princes will have to part with some of the enormous powers they now enjoy. This giving up of powers may be brought about by the good sense and the statesmanship of the Princes themselves, by pressure applied secretly by the British Government or by direct action taken by the States people themselves. It is not likely that responsible government, as we understand it in British India, will be introduced on the eve of Federation. It is more likely that it will come in stages but it is equally likely that, in view of the progress already made by British India, large concessions will have to be given to the States people as a first instalment of the self-government that they are to receive later. Probably the rate of progress in matters political will have to be quicker in the States than it has hitherto been in British India. Whatever this rate, there is no doubt that the ultimate aim of all the Indian States is constitutional monarchy fired with Indian nationalism and working in thorough co-operation with the autonomous provinces of British India for the realisation of common national aims. No one, Indian Prince or the British Government, can expect to put off this much desired realisation of nationalistic aspirations except perhaps for a few years. Neither false notions of prestige on the part of the Princes or the very human failing of un-

willingness to voluntarily surrender power enjoyed for centuries on the part of the British Government should be allowed to obscure the very clear evidence we have in favour of Federation along national lines. It would be wise if the Princes assess existing political forces properly and gracefully yield what is destined sooner or later to be wrested from their unwilling hands; for thus and thus only can they retain the position of leadership to which they are entitled by their birth and position. Let the obstacles to Federation come, if they must at all, not from the selfishness of our own flesh and blood but from foreigners the amount of whose consideration for us we shall measure by the amount of sacrifice they are prepared to undergo for our political uplift.

AIR-RAID PRECAUTIONS¹

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INTRODUCTION

THIS paper is an attempt to give an unprejudiced account of Air-Raid Precautions and to describe the essential facts of gas and anti-gas measures. It is hoped to present it, as far as possible, in a non-technical form by giving a general review of the subject.

The main defence of a country is Active Defence such as the Air-force, Artillery, etc. In war-time, however, some of the attacking enemy aircraft will get through the defences and interfere with the normal life and work of the people. It is, therefore, necessary that the civil population and other services should be prepared and organised so that they may know what to do when an emergency arises.

HISTORICAL

The ordinary man's horror of an Air-Raid is chiefly due to its being new and unfamiliar. When guns were first used about six hundred years ago, the same things were said about them as are now said about gas. People said that guns were cowardly and inhuman, and that Valiant Knights did not approve of them. They have said the same things about gas warfare, but gas warfare has now come to stay.

As Science becomes more popular, an increasing number of people object to being told to do anything without also being told why they should do it, and it is chiefly for this reason that Appendix A on general principles has been added.

Gas warfare was started on 22nd April, 1915, when at 5 o'clock in the evening the Germans let off from their trenches a cloud of Chlorine Gas which was carried by the wind over the allied lines. The effect was astonishing—the troops, having no respirators, were quite unable to resist the gas and casualties were heavy. The second and only other important date in the history of Gas Warfare is 12th July,

* Address before the Rotary Club of Calcutta on Tuesday, 8th August, 1939.

1917, when Mustard Gas was used for the first time by the Germans. 50,000 Gas Shells amounting to 125 tons of Mustard were fired on to the Allied troops, resulting in 2,500 casualties with 87 deaths and that in the next three weeks one million gas shells amounting to 2,500 tons of mustard gas were put over, resulting in 15,000 casualties, with only 500 deaths. One can realise how comparatively ineffective the use of gas can be against disciplined personnel. The above facts, therefore, merely accentuate the importance of training the people as to what they should do during an Air-Raid, and of teaching them necessity for refusing to panic and taking all other possible precautions.

We are all familiar with fire and to some extent with explosives even if only in the form of fire-works, and we can all visualize the gross mechanical effect of a bullet or flying fragment of metal. But war gases are remote from an ordinary man's experience and less easy to understand. Nevertheless, it is of the utmost importance that as many people as possible should make an effort to understand gas defence, because by so doing they make an attack less likely. Though it may not be possible to make the houses fire- and explosive-proof, they can certainly be made reasonably gas-proof. It is the duty of the head of the family to study gas defence, or to see that there is at least one member of the household familiar with the subject.

THE WEAPONS OF AERIAL WARFARE

In order to get a clear conception of the problem of Air-Raid Precautions, it is necessary to study the weapons which may be used in aerial warfare, the forces exerted by them and their effects. They are:—

- (i) High explosive bombs.
- (ii) Incendiary bombs.
- (iii) Gas bombs and gas spray.
- (iv) Machine-gun fire and Anti-aircraft fragments.
- (v) Combination of all these.

The consequential effects of these attacks may be:—

(i) The collapse of buildings and their contents. This involves, in addition to the things to be protected:—

- (a) The safety of rescue parties, and
- (b) The stability of damaged buildings until repairs are carried out.

- (ii) The necessity for protection :—
 - (a) To provide a measure of protection for human life at work and also in shelter.
 - (b) Machinery and plant in operation, *i.e.*, telephone exchange, power house, etc.
 - (c) Valuable records and documents.
- (iii) The protection may be required in :—
 - (a) Existing buildings.
 - (b) Independent shelters.
 - (c) New Buildings.

EFFECTS OF FORCES EXERTED BY HIGH EXPLOSIVE BOMBS

High explosive bombs normally weigh from 20 lbs. to 2000 lbs. and possibly more. These bombs carry a high explosion charge, and are used to do damage to personnel and building. This is caused by :—

(i) Fragmentation.—The bomb casing splits up into numerous small pieces, which damage material and personnel in the vicinity. Splinters can cause death to people as far as 400 yards away, and cause enormous loss of life when a bomb falls in a crowded street.

(ii) Blast—Produced when a bomb bursts either in the open, after penetration into a building or soft ground. Blast interferes with anti-gas measures by bursting in doors and windows, etc. The general effect of such a bomb exploding under ground is similar to that of a mined charge.

(iii) Penetration.—The bombs may be fitted with Armour-piercing noses and with delay action.

The Armour-piercing bomb and semi-Armour-piercing bomb are specially designed for attacking very highly resistant targets, so that against ordinary structures the use of the lighter-case bomb may be expected, though the semi-Armour-piercing bomb may occasionally be used as well.

EFFECTS OF FORCES EXERTED BY INCENDIARY BOMBS

Incendiary Bombs.—These are small, varying from 2 lbs. 3 oz. up to about 60 lbs.

(i) The smaller ones are likely to be used, as the numerical load can thereby be greater and widespread fires can be started in different parts of a city. The bomb is filled with incendiary compounds (principally thermite) which are ignited when it strikes its target. The case of the bomb is either of aluminium or of electron, an inflammable alloy of magnesium, aluminium and zinc.

(ii) The force of descent is sufficient to penetrate slates, tiles and other thin roofs. The bombs are sometimes fitted with armour-piercing noses. These are dangerous against stores containing inflammable materials.

The penetrative power of an incendiary bomb is usually less than that of a high explosive bomb of an equal weight. A concrete roof about 5 inches thick will protect against a direct hit from a 20 lbs. bomb.

(iii) Incendiary bombs cannot be extinguished by ordinary means. Attempts to extinguish them with water (except by means of a fine spray) or chemical extinguishers may cause an explosion. Smothering with sand or earth is an effective means of controlling the bomb.

EFFECT OF GAS BOMBS AND GAS SPRAY

(i) Gas bombs may weigh up from 20 lbs. to 60 lbs. though normally they will probably be smaller. They contain more than half their weight of gas. Two types of gas are used—non-persistent, such as Chlorine and Phosgene, and persistent, such as Mustard Gas.

Non-persistent gases begin to diffuse from the moment they are released and non-persistent gas bombs are thus not very likely to be used. Persistent gases, on the other hand, may be a source of danger for a considerable time and will probably be the normal filling for gas bombs. Mustard Gas, for example, which is released in liquid form and vaporized slowly under the influence of the weather, is absorbed by porous materials, including bricks and concrete, and remains a source of danger until decontaminated or until it "weathers."

(ii) The gas may be sprayed directly from aircraft. A drop will penetrate thick clothing in about ten minutes and anti-gas clothing in about $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 hours. A single drop of blister gas, however small, in the eye will produce blindness.

The most important fact is that everyone who has not a duty to perform should remain in a shelter during an Air-Raid while those on

duty should have protection from Machine-gun fire and Anti-aircraft fragments.

COMBINATIONS OF THE ABOVE, *c.g.*, HIGH EXPLOSIVE GAS, AND
INCENDIARY MATERIALS

(i) High explosive, gas and incendiary materials may be mixed in one attack so as to produce the maximum effect and catch people unware.

A possible method of attack would be :—

(ii) High explosive bombs to create panic and to destroy or interfere with utility services, such as lights, water-supply, etc.

(iii) Incendiary bombs to start numerous fires and to drive every body out into the street ; and finally,

(iv) A gas spray or bomb attack when everything is disorganised and everybody is rushing about in the open.

PROTECTION AGAINST AIR ATTACK

(i) It may be that we shall never have to defend ourselves against Air attack, but it would be unwise not to get ready now. We cannot count on a long warning of such an attack because the enemy's chief hope of success might be based on a sudden paralysing stroke.

(ii) The main line of defence of the civilian is within buildings, and as near as possible to their works, offices and factories.

PROTECTION AGAINST HIGH EXPLOSIVE BOMBS

(i) The standard of protection which should be adopted is against the effects of a 500 lbs. bomb bursting 50 feet away.

(ii) Protection against direct hits is difficult in present type of buildings, as an armour-piercing 500 lbs. bomb will pass through many feet of concrete. We should, therefore, only protect against splinters and blast and reduce the danger as much as possible, for if the results of an attack were only confined to direct hits, then bombing raids would not be sufficiently profitable and would cease.

PROTECTION AGAINST INCENDIARY BOMBS

(i) These are difficult to extinguish as they burn under water. According to their size these bombs may continue to burn for anything

from 7 to 20 minutes, but it has been found that if water is applied by an $\frac{1}{8}$ -inch jet, the combustion of the bomb can be so accelerated that it will burn out in about two minutes. The surroundings must at the same time be protected against catching fire.

(ii) The burning of an incendiary bomb can also be controlled by covering it with dry sand. Dark glasses, such as those used for welding, must be used when approaching a burning incendiary bomb, and a shield $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter and of a light metal or asbestos should be used.

(iii) Gumboots or wet sacking should be worn as protection to the legs and ankles. It should be noted that the chances of fires can considerably be reduced if following precautions are taken:—

(a) Remove all inflammable materials from top floors and sub-roof spaces.

(b) Treat all wood work with either lime wash (three coats) or fire-proofing paint.

(c) To make fire-proof floors cover either with asbestos or with thin iron sheets and cover the sheets with 2 inches thick dry sand. The bomb will burn out harmlessly on this. A 5-inch thick concrete roof will probably resist penetration.

PROTECTION AGAINST GAS

(i) Protection against gas falls under two heads—protection of people and protection of buildings. The protection of people involves rendering some portion of building gas-proof and the provision of facilities for the Anti-Gas treatment of casualties.

(ii) The following method may be adopted with the object of making a room gas-proof: The idea of the gas-proof room is simply to close up all openings to the outside air, or by maintaining a slight positive pressure of air in the room so that any leakage is from the inside outwards. This is achieved by the installation in the room of an air filtration plant, which delivers sufficient pure air to maintain a continuous over-pressure.

(iii) The protection of buildings from the effects of gas and action of gas on various building materials is given in Appendix B.

(iv) The ordinary respirators will afford protection against inhaling the gases, but mustard gas requires the whole of the body to be protected. See Appendix A *re* Mustard Gas.

(v) It has been said that the water vapour in the breathed air is the chief factor which determines how long people can live in a closed space. The water vapour tends to condense on the walls and ceiling of the room, which are relatively cold, and it is the area of these which is important in estimating how many people a gas-proof room can actually accommodate for a given time. Experiment has shown that in normal weather 100 sq. feet of wall and ceiling area per person is sufficient for twelve hours.

(vi) Table showing the number of people to be accommodated for 12 hours :

<i>Size of Room.</i>	<i>Number of Persons.</i>
10 ft. × 10 ft. × 8 ft.	5
15 ft. × 10 ft. × 8 ft.	7
20 ft. × 15 ft. × 10 ft.	13
30 ft. × 15 ft. × 12 ft.	20

(vii) A large number of people could, of course, be accommodated in the rooms for less than twelve hours. These figures can only be used as a rough guide because the amount of condensation depends to some extent on the nature of the ceiling and walls and upon the temperature outside. It may be useful here to introduce the term *air-lock*. This consists of a close space with two doors, one opening to the outside air, and the other to the inside of the room or house. The advantage of this arrangement is that when a person enters the space, or air-lock, by one door and shuts it before opening the other, he can enter or leave the room or house with minimum of exchange of air between the outside or inside. Gas can be kept out of the room or house by sealing up the outside ventilators below the ground floor, closing all doors and windows, putting out all fires, closing up the chimneys. The method of sealing doors, windows and chimneys will be as detailed below.

(viii) Decide the way of entering and leaving the house, preferably through some room or lobby which can be shut off from the rest of the house so as to act as an air-lock, and provide a place where contaminated boots and clothing can be taken off or left. It is also desirable to keep the hot water supply working but not central heating

because this latter will tend to increase the general upward circulation of air through the house.

(ix) The gas-proofing is largely a matter of commonsense with the application of a few general principles as referred to above.

(x) It must be remembered that high explosive bombs have to be considered as well as gas, so that those who have a cellar may choose this provided it has a window or a second door which will serve as an exit in case the ordinary entrance should be blocked by debris. If a cellar is not available in an house, a ground floor room should be chosen, because it affords better protection from flying fragments of explosive bombs than an upstairs room. The room chosen should be on the far side of the house away from the prevailing wind which in most parts of Calcutta is South-West. *It is desirable that the rooms should be fitted with electric light and piped water supply.*

(xi) Having chosen the room the preparation is as follows:—

(1) Seal the outside ventilators to the space between the ground floor. This can be done by pressing a folded newspaper against the opening with wooden fillets held in place by a wooden strut on an angle of about 45°.

(2) Close the wooden shutters of the windows from the outside so as to prevent glass splinters.

If windows are not provided with shuttering the glass may be protected by pasting thick paper on the inside, to prevent the glass being shattered by blast or splinters from a high explosive bomb. Fasten thick curtains or blankets on the inside of windows. This can be done with tacks or drawing pins, or a better way is to put wooden fillets outside the blanket and nail them over the wooden frame of the window.

(3) The outside doors can also be protected by rugs, blankets or thick curtain. The blankets, etc., should be long enough to leave an inch or two lying on the floor. Stop up the key-hole.

(4) The fire must be put out and the chimney blocked up with sacking or newspapers, or covering the front of the fire place with a sheet.

(5) Fill up the gap between the skirting boards and floor either by sealing the fillets or by blocking the space with newspapers.

(xii) It is advisable to store the following things inside the

gas-proof room as we have to stay in there for about ten to twelve hours. The articles to be provided are:—

- (a) Food and water.
- (b) Plates, knives and other utensils required.
- (c) Sanitary fittings: Sinks, W. C., etc.
- (d) Electric torches, candles, or small lamps and matches.
- (e) Amusements, such as cards, newspapers and indoor games.
- (f) Easy chair, pillows, etc.
- (g) Bleaching powder and bleaching ointment.
- (h) Spare blanket and old newspapers.
- (i) Respirator, protective clothing, etc.
- (j) Fire-extinguishing apparatus or sufficient amount of sand or earth.

(xiii) Before going into the gas-proof room the food in the house should be protected from gas by placing it in closed jars or tins. There can be no certainty as to how much warning of an actual attack may be expected.

(xiv) Warning of an actual Air-Raid on the way.—This is likely to be half an hour approximately before planes arrive.

If in such emergency cases you are unable to get home within half an hour, the best plan would be to remain in the office or factory. If you are out in the open when the actual raid arrives, it is essential to get under some cover immediately so as to avoid being hurt by fragments of anti-aircraft shells and to prevent the risk of your clothing being splashed with mustard gas. It is also important that people should keep as calm as possible and obey the instructions of the police; otherwise congestion will occur, which will not only add to the chance of casualties but interfere with the putting out of fire and evacuation of the wounded.

CONCLUSION

To master the technique of dealing with the Air-Raid problem, a thorough knowledge of the protective measures is necessary. Some people seem to hope that gas may be banned by international agreement. There is no harm in such a hope so long as it does not tempt us to neglect defensive precautions.

APPENDIX A

KINDS OF GASES AND THEIR EFFECTS ON HUMAN BEINGS, ANIMALS
AND WEAPONS

1. It is usual to divide gases into two main groups :

(i) Non-persistent gases are true gases or minute particles of solids which are readily diffused, or dispersed by wind.

(ii) Persistent gases are those normally in a liquid form which give off vapour, for hours or even days.

2. Persistence of a gas varies greatly with the manner in which it is released and with the weather and the ground.

3. Gases are classified according to the effects on the body as—

(i) those that affect eyes only (Tear gases),

(ii) those that affect nose and throat (Nose gases),

(iii) those that affect throat and lungs (Choking gases),

(iv) those that affect skin (Blister gases).

Sometimes they overlap and belong to two or even three of the above classes.

The following are the principal gases that have been used up to date :—

CHLORINE (CHOKING)

(a) Chlorine has a smell somewhat resembling that of chloride of lime (bleaching powder). It has an immediate irritant effect on the nose, throat, and lungs, but it does not attack the skin. It will seriously damage the lungs and cause death if breathed for any length of time.

PHOSGENE (CHOKING)

(b) This is a true gas in summer and a liquid in winter. It is non-persistent. Phosgene has a pungent smell said to resemble that of musty hay. It has an immediate irritant effect on the eyes and throat and if breathed attacks the lungs.

This is nearly ten times as effective as chlorine and has the advantage of a delayed action. It is said that one part of phosgene in a hundred thousand of air is enough to incapacitate an unprotected person.

D. A. AND D. M. (NOSE)

(c) These are so similar that they may be described together. These are extremely poisonous, but owing to their high boiling points can only be got into the air in the form of smoke particles. These are non-persistent. The effect of smoke is most unpleasant. Produces sneezing, a burning pain in the chest, throat, nose and mouth with great mental depression. All these curious effects, however, pass off gradually after leaving the gased area, and no permanent injury results.

MUSTARD GAS

This is a thin oily liquid, heavier than water and boils at 217°C. It has only a slight smell, said by some to resemble garlic, but people who smoke heavily can hardly smell it at all. The liquid is usually dark-brown to straw-yellow.

It has no immediate effect. It is soluble in oil and spirits, neutralized by bleaching, has a great power of penetration and a high freezing point.

Effects :—

(a) Liquid—

(i) In eyes, immediate irritation, eye closed in about one hour, permanent blindness.

(ii) On skin, no irritation, redness in two hours followed by blister in 12 to 24 hours.

(b) Vapour—

(i) In eyes, irritation and inflammation with swelling and temporary loss of vision, usually develops within 24 hours, but earlier if the vapour concentration is high.

(ii) In lungs, loss of voice and coughing.

(iii) On skin, redness, irritation and perhaps blisters, but to an unprotected man, the eye damage is worse than the lung or skin effects. The effect of swallowing food contaminated by liquid mustard gas is severe injury to the stomach and intestines.

Mustard gas is likely to play a large part in future wars.

LEWISITE

This substance was not used in the last War. It is an American discovery.

A colourless liquid which gives off an invisible gas. It is rapidly destroyed by water and any alkali, penetrates materials in the same way as mustard gas. It has a low freezing point and is persistent.

Method of recognition—Smell of geraniums, powerful smell.

Effects :—

(a) Liquid—

(i) In eyes, immediate effect and permanent injury.

(ii) On skin, blister develops more rapidly than with mustard gas—tingling sensation.

(b) Vapour—

Causes severe irritation to nose, hence respirator will be adjusted immediately so that there will be no permanent effects on eyes, nose, or lungs. It has a much quicker effect on the skin than mustard vapour. Effects appear in 1 to 3 hours.

It may be used in future wars with mustard gas, to disguise the presence of the latter.

TEAR GASES

(a)

(b)

(c)

(K. S. K.) (C. A. P.) and (B. B. C.)

These, of course, produce tears—not milk, as some one suggested.

Though they affect the eyes, they are not poisonous in ordinary concentration.

These gases are used for testing the fit of respirators, and sometimes for dispersing rioters.

Minute solid particles almost invisible.

Effects.—Irritation to eyes and nose, non-persistent. Copious flow of tears and spasm of eyelids, slight skin irritation.

Effects appear immediately and cease on removal from the gas area.

APPENDIX B

1. AFTER THE ATTACK

After the actual aerial attack is over, air-raid precautions must be continued until it is known that the area is free from further attack. Specially, contamination parties should be arranged whose duty it would be to clear up any area affected with persistent gases. The rescue parties should be equipped with protecting clothing and necessary material and should tell the householders when it is safe for them to leave their houses.

2. TREATMENT OF CASUALTIES

(1) Casualties may be caused either by persistent or by non-persistent gases or by a mixture of both.

(2) The majority of casualties will be caused by high explosive and/or incendiary burns.

(3) Careful inquiry into such cases may be necessary before the decision can be made for treatment.

(4) The severity of the injuries caused by gases, etc., depends on—

- (i) the concentration,
- (ii) the amount inhaled,
- (iii) the duration of the exposure ;

therefore, firstly, every effort must be made to make gased men keep their respirators on whether or not they are suffering discomfort, and secondly, such men must be removed from the gased area as quickly as possible.

(5) Casualties should be treated within 15 to 20 minutes, or within 5 minutes if liquid spray has been used, with its resulting damage to the eyes of an individual.

3. TREATMENT OF NON-PERSISTENT GASES CASUALTIES

(1) Any one suffering from gas requires as much rest as possible, all exercise must be avoided.

(2) Smoking must not be allowed.

(3) Artificial respiration must not be attempted, except in cases that have ceased to breathe because respiration should be as quiet and easy as possible.

(4) Alcoholic stimulants must not be given, because they cause quicker respiration.

(5) Water, tea or warm milk may be given.

(6) The eyes, if affected, should be washed with clear water or with water containing one tea-spoonful of common salt to one pint.

4. TREATMENT OF MUSTARD GAS

(1) Those resulting from mustard gas vapour :

When burns on the skin or eyes effected by vapour of mustard gas become apparent, the casualties must then be evacuated to the medical services.

(2) Those resulting from contact with the liquid or with contaminated material :

If any one has been in contact with liquid mustard gas, his clothing must be removed. Liquid mustard gas penetrates serge clothing in ten minutes.

5. SKIN CASES

(1) Apply protective ointment, rub it well into the skin, and wipe it off after three minutes.

(2) Swab the affected part with paraffin, petrol or methylated spirit, taking care to destroy the swabs and to prevent the liquid running over the other parts.

(3) Scrub with soap and water until the skin turns pink.

6. MUSTARD GAS BLISTERS

If blister develops, it should on no account be broken but should be tightly covered until treated by a doctor.

7. TREATMENT OF LEWISITE CASUALTIES

The effects of this gas are more rapid than those of mustard gas, and consequently it is of the greatest importance that treatment should be put in hand immediately after contamination.

(i) *Vapour*—

Remove clothing and give a hot bath with plenty of soap and water. Eyes, nose, and throat should be irrigated with sodium bicarbonate solution.

(ii) *Liquid*—

The same treatment as for mustard gas.

8. TREATMENT FOR ANIMALS

(1) Protective ointment is of value against blister gases when applied to the feet and legs of animals, before they cross a contaminated area.

(2) The ointment and bleach paste are irritant, they should be washed off within half an hour of application.

9. FOOD

The food, if suspected of being contaminated, should be buried or destroyed by burning.

10. CLOTHING

(1) If contaminated by the vapour, clothing should be exposed to the air in the open from two to twenty-four hours or until the smell of the gas disappears. Washable articles may be boiled for fifteen to twenty minutes.

(2) If clothing are contaminated by the liquid, cotton and linens should be boiled for thirty to fifty minutes in water containing two ounces of washing soda to the gallon. Water-proof or rubber articles should be boiled in plain water for two hours. Leather articles must not be boiled but may be decontaminated by being heated in dry air for about eight hours. Woollen clothes should be disinfected in a steam disinfector.

(3) Articles not required may be burnt or buried.

11. WALLS

External walls should be left to the weather to cure. Internal walls should be treated with bleaching powder paste and covered with sheets of newspaper. This will stick to the paste. When the first layer is dried, a second coat of paste and paper may be added.

12. WOODEN FLOOR

Any actual liquid should be soaked up in earth and sand or sawdust, which should afterwards be buried or burnt. After removal of free liquid, scrub the floor with paste of bleaching powder and water using a long handled brush. Do not wash the floor until the paste is dry. The same process may be repeated if found necessary. If the wood is heavily contaminated by mustard gas, no cure will be effected and it should therefore be burnt.

13. ROADS, CONCRETE OR TARRED

If it is not possible to wash the concrete, it should be covered with dry bleaching powder ; leave for several hours and repeat the same process until all traces of gas have been destroyed.

14. PAINTED WALLS

These can be washed with bleaching powder, soap and water, but if mustard gas has penetrated through paint, it is difficult to remove. The only remedy is to remove the paint.

APPENDIX C

DECONTAMINATION

1. Speed is essential in all such work, for the longer the delay before decontamination is carried out, the deeper will the contamination penetrate and the longer will the contaminated substance remain as a danger to all concerned.

The best method of decontamination depends upon—

- (i) the type of material to be decontaminated,
- (ii) the amount of contamination present,
- (iii) the degree of danger arising to the public from such contamination, and
- (iv) the material required and the facilities available for such work.

DECONTAMINATION SQUADS

2. Each squad should consist of one leader and 9 men. The number of squads in a sub-area will depend on its size. The men should be provided with respirators and suitable full protective clothing, as they may be subject to contamination both from the ground and from sprays.

EQUIPMENT FOR DECONTAMINATION SQUADS

Spades, picks, buckets, long handled brushes, hose pipes, and nozzles with union to fit water-hydrants, sacks and bleaching powder.

They will also require paraffin, bleach vaseline ointment, cotton waste, danger gas boards, iron bins for receiving contaminated clothing and contaminated waste, etc.

APPENDIX D

RESPIRATORS

1. An anti-gas respirator is essentially an air fitter. But it does not manufacture fresh air from gas. All war gases which are heavier than air are stopped, but lighter gases such as Carbon-monoxide will pass through. The respirators offer no protection against this gas.

2. There are three types of Anti-Gas respirators in use at present :—

- (a) The General Service Respirator,
- (b) The Civilian Duty Respirator, and
- (c) The Civilian Respirator.

3. In the General Service type the fitter box is smaller and in the form of a drum attached direct to the face-piece. The face-piece is of plain rubber and is fitted with a simple form of outlet valve.

4. The Civilian Respirator.—This differs from the Civilian Duty type in two respects :—

- (i) It is provided with a rectangular window of thick cellophane in place of glass eye-pieces, and

- (ii) It has a more flexible rubber face-piece which enables the outlet valve to be dispensed with, because the pressure of the expelled air is able to lift the edge of the face-piece and so pass out between it and the face.

5. The different types of respirators will be required in accordance with the nature and amount of work expected to be performed in affected areas.

For children a special type of respirator is required and is designed.

For babies a gas-proof bag which can be ventilated through a suitable fitter by means of a bellows.

6. It is not safe to wear a respirator over spectacles, unless they have thin metal frames.

7. The respirator only protects eyes, lungs and face, and people who have to work in areas infected with blister gases need also protective clothing.

This consists of thick rubber gumboots, oilskin coat and trousers, oilskin gloves and an oilskin hood which fits closely round the face.

Wearing a respirator and dressed in this clothing, a man has practically no contact with the outside air. Unfortunately, as there is no ventilation, evaporation from the skin cannot take place, so that a man wearing full protective clothing can only work for $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour, in a climate like Calcutta. If he tries to work longer, he will collapse from heat stroke.

EDUCATION AND THE SOCIAL ORDER *

HUMAYUN Z. A. KABIR

IT is for me a great pleasure and privilege to be with you here today and I thank you for the honour you have done me by asking me to preside. It is not for me to raise any questions about the wisdom of your choice and such questionings are raised only because of our obsession with the importance of the individual. The moment we realise that individuality is based upon the conflict and union of various forces in society, we shall also know that the individual derives his value from his social significance. As one of your representatives, as a function of the social forces of which we are all products, I accepted your invitation with pleasure and gratitude.

It is about this social significance that I want to speak to you today, and of the place which an active student organisation must have in that scheme. Often we are told that the student must live detached from the turmoils of the world. He must not entangle himself in the stress and struggle of daily life but live in a palace of art unsullied by contact with the work-a-day world. But these teachings, however well intended they may be, strike at the root of the organic unity of life and as such are bound to fail. The student must also live in this world and cannot avoid the consequences of decisions taken on the plane of politics. In Spain and in China, students are affected as much as any one else by what is happening every day, and in Germany and Japan students must carry out orders like any one else. As a member of society and a citizen of a particular State, he cannot, even he wills, deny or ignore the claims which that society or State may make on him. All dreams of beautiful isolation are shattered upon the rock of social solidarity and social membership.

The inherent laziness of human nature often persuades us to try to forget this fact and ignore the outer world. The student, like other men, is neither consciously nor consistently a political animal. The world that is most important to him is the world that he has built up round his own experiences. He generally thinks, not socially, not politically, but in terms of his individual happiness or misery, and lets

* Presidential address at Assam Provincial Students' Conference, April, 1939.

the affairs of the world pass unheeded by till suddenly its impact makes him realise that however much he may try, he cannot live apart from it, that his good is inextricably tied up with its good. With a shock he realises that he cannot mind his own affairs unless he minds the affairs of the world as well. He may try to avoid politics, but will politics avoid him ?

Into every item of our life, society and politics enter and determine their texture and tone. Politics determines the form of our education and sets the limits within which alone we can operate. It even attempts to mould our character and shape our thoughts. Students are as much subject to these laws as anybody else and hence interest in politics is as much their right as it is their duty. If politics cannot be avoided, is it not much better that it should be faced consciously and intellectually, and with a full understanding of what it involves ?

That is why the student movement has everywhere become entangled with politics and its manifold manifestations. The entanglement has varied in different countries in accordance with their varying needs and circumstances. In England, a satisfied country till recently, students have been content to play with politics in a sphere of their own which has reflected but not constituted the real politics of the land. Unions at Oxford and Cambridge and other British Universities have played with political ideas, discussed them and debated on them, but generally maintained an element of unreality and detachment in such discussions. In less fortunate countries, the pretence has turned into reality, the intellectual fervour has hardened into grim earnestness. And in a country like India, where political enslavement is the dominant fact of our lives, students have found it impossible to keep away from the fight for independence when it challenged all that was finest and noblest in them. In India, the danger to the student movement is not from its intellectual aloofness and sterility, but from its absorption and the consequent obsession and exhaustion in political strife.

Yet even this obsession is easy to understand. For till recently, the tradition of education in India has been based upon authority and unquestioning acceptance, upon a sharp divorce from the realities of Indian life, and an absorption in dreams of officialdom and bureaucratic splendour. A spirit of criticism and imperial domination cannot flourish together and education in India has, therefore, aimed at quenching the spirit of enquiry in order to maintain the imperial domination

intact. It little mattered that this process also resulted in the stultification of education itself, for education in the true sense of the term, expands the mind and gives resilience to the intellect. Inquisitiveness and curiosity are the bases on which alone knowledge can grow, and inquisitiveness and curiosity cannot flourish in an atmosphere oppressed by a spirit of domination and circumscribed by narrow material ends. That is why in our country the number of literates does not mark the measure of education achieved. That is why in our country more than in others we find men who have received all the externals of a high intellectual culture and yet whose minds are encumbered with blind superstitions and effete traditions, with the shabby furnishings of beliefs that are the corpses of a vanished past.

Today with the resurgence of Indian national consciousness, a new spirit of enquiry and revolt possesses the mind of Indian youth. Nothing is sacrosanct today, nothing above question. And the absorption of the Indian student movement in the political struggle is at the same time a symptom and an effect of this new-found freedom of the spirit. Excess there may be in such expression, for that is only natural in the reaction from studied aloofness from politics and all other things that are of vital importance in life. But the task of the student movement today is to harness the forces that have been released, to canalise them in fruitful and purposive activity, and prevent disruption and waste by mere display of emotional abandon and frenzy. And this it is particularly important to remember in a country where enthusiasm flares up to lyric heights and then collapses with equal suddenness. Sustained effort, calculated and enduring passion are qualities that we have lacked. Our religions and our society have exalted the utter abandon of asceticism where one act of renunciation wipes out the balance of evils accumulated through long years of lethargy and lassitude. The earnestness of moral endeavour which struggles through unexciting days and months and years and builds up a concrete habitation of life with many mansions and many sides has not had for us the appeal of the lyric intensity and exquisiteness of an individual decision. In a word, our life has lacked discipline and order. That is why magnificent empires have been reared by individual effort and collapsed with failure or deterioration in the quality of the individuals composing it. Organisation and decentralisation are facts which we have not understood and do not understand even today. We have lacked in

social consciousness and this failure has stamped with impermanence all our endeavour to build a better India. The function of the student movement is to awaken in our young men and women a consciousness of social order and organisation, a feeling for social significance which may enable them to succeed where we have till now invariably failed.

I should like to express the same thing in another way and say that the problem of the student movement in India is to steer a middle course between the two alternatives of unquestioning acquiescence to authority and anarchic assertion of individuality. Students cannot avoid politics even if they would, and there are a hundred reasons why should not even if they could. On the other hand, for students to be obsessed by politics and allow their energies to be dissipated by the demands of current events constitutes an equal danger to their future and the future of the country. Avoidance of politics breeds a spirit of acquiescence in which the will to better the world is lost. Obsession with politics engenders a spirit of revolt in which each individual tends to constitute himself into the final judge of every question of society and State. Blind conformity to a general law is as much a danger as blind uniformity in self-assertion. One kills the spirit of questioning in society and the other tends to dissolve society itself. And this is more necessary to remember in a world where the intimate interlacing of social, economic and political factors has made the business of human affairs far more complicated than it has ever been before. Politics today is a matter of detailed knowledge in the history and geography of many lands, of familiarity with the construction and interaction of social and economic life not only in one's own country but in all the countries of the world. How can one determine one's course of action in the midst of the shifting sands of everyday unless one has in one's mind a clear conception of the course of events in history? How can we meet the challenge of experience's eternal novelty unless the record of human evolution in theory and practice, in ideals and achievements serves as a pointer of the path that mankind has trod and must tread in its yearning after the ideal?

This knowledge can be built up only by painstaking care and arduous work, in a word by a hard discipline in which the youngman's inevitable tendency for flamboyant and fervid expression is constantly checked. Politics, which under modern conditions has become the life-blood of youngmen all over the world, demands all their passion, all

their devotion and all their energy. But in order to ensure that they can express their passion, utilise their energy and satisfy their devotion, it is essential that they must submit themselves to rigid discipline and self-control.

This must be a discipline which they impose upon themselves, for an external imposition only serves to curb their spontaneity. The spirit of searching and enquiry is equally the condition of successful acquisition of knowledge and of significant issue in political activity, but it must be a spirit that obeys definite laws and possesses definite objectives.

Discipline and self-control must therefore be keynote of the student movement, and specially in India. Nowhere is this more necessary than in the sphere of politics. A wise general is he who marshals his forces with meticulous care, who refuses to lose one man more than is absolutely necessary. But in our country this is often forgotten and we try to make up by mass what we lack in quality. That is why it is possible for some leaders here to say that the student must throw himself into the vortex of politics and let the future take care of itself. They do not see or perhaps do not care to see that undisciplined frenzy or enthusiasm does not achieve its object. Even doing a conflagration, we can best fight the fires by organised and disciplined force. Children and infants are even there an encumbrance and their participation only adds to the chaos of the scene. The fires must be fought and they can best be fought under the leadership of a cool and balanced brain that organises and controls the forces at his disposal.

Nor is this all. If we could be sure that once the fires are mastered, they will never recur, there would be justification for making a supreme effort and concentrating every ounce of energy for putting out the flames. Who can have that assurance in the affairs of man? Who dares to put a limit to man's aspiration and endeavour? Man continually marches forward towards new adventures and new achievements and each new achievement is a challenge to a fresh adventure. The realisation of one end opens the perspective for other ends and there can never be a goal beyond which man cannot go. In a word, struggle shall be the law of human life so long man is man and young men in every age must dream new dreams to shape the world to their hearts' desire. Permanent crisis which is a permanent feature of the modern economic structure of the world may, and perhaps

must, disappear with the elimination of the profit motive from society ; but, when the causes of present discontent and conflict are no more, who knows what new dreams the revolutionaries of that new order will dream for further transformation of society and human relationship ?

In the field of politics, we must therefore live dangerously, for only by so living can we hope to secure the conditions of peace and stability for the world. Consider the long way which man has already travelled in that path. From the isolated individual living his life of impulse and instinct to the well-ordered family where reciprocal rights and duties are recognised and honoured,—it is already a long step. From the family to the clan and tribe and on to the nation mark further revolutionary changes in social content and social outlook. It is a matter of recent history how only a few centuries ago, factions fought in Europe to assert their factional rights and how absolute monarchy—at first sight a thing of evil—evolved to co-ordinate and harmonise the fighting factions. Today we are still struggling in the stage of absolute monarchies—whether these be autocratic or republican—but already the organisation of the world has marched beyond that stage, and transformed the warring nations into members of a world community. Nations may not recognise that fact, but who can deny that the political and economic ills of the modern world transcend and must transcend all national and territorial boundaries ?

We must therefore live dangerously, for to think of the future in the midst of conditions of the present is always dangerous ; it is the quintessence of revolution. But the quality of danger in our lives must be, not that which attaches to sudden conflagrations or unforeseen calamity, but that which is the constant companion of men who live on the shores of the sea and must wage an incessant fight to resist its constant threat. In such struggle, there is no occasion for bravado or sudden outburst ; what we require is steady persistence and silent endeavour, organised effort that is the more successful because of its lack of effervescence and fervid dissipation.

I shall take a few concrete examples where we require this fusion of revolutionary questioning with steady self-control. The urgency of our fight for freedom is accepted by everyone who has any political consciousness, but do we always realise the necessity of discipline and organisation in that fight ? The good is the enemy of the best, no

doubt, but in our country, the best has unfortunately become the enemy of the good. A mentality has grown that looks at political questions, and social questions, not from the point of view of the realities of the world, but from a pedestal of visionary doctrinaire which distorts whatever it looks at. This attitude will never temporise even when temporising may be necessary for the achievement of our ends. Just as Russia had to modify the idea of immediate world revolution in order to consolidate the revolution in Russia itself, we also may find it necessary to call halt at times and consolidate what we have already achieved. Those who will not allow that breathing space and want to rush to the goal in one frenzied breathless spurt, may end by spending the energy of our revolt long before we have attained our goal.

Political independence we must achieve for the restoration of our moral and intellectual integrity, for the making of our education real and vital, for the realisation of the tremendous economic possibilities of the land. That independence is today our immediate objective and for that purpose we must consolidate the energy of the student, the peasant and the labourer. But have we considered seriously what we shall do after the objective has been reached? Nor can we say today that the time for consideration will come after the objective has been gained, for I am sure you will all agree that success in that limited objective is perhaps not very distant. Already there are symptoms that soon, perhaps sooner than many of us dare to hope, India will be free. World forces and the process of events are hurrying towards that consummation. But the youngmen of our country must ask today: Would this resolve the problems implicit in our lives?

Without the achievement of political freedom, we cannot resolve our inmost purposes, and this is why the student movement has linked itself to the struggle for political independence. But by the same argument, this marks only the beginning of our endeavour. Once political independence is achieved, the problems of hunger, poverty and social inequality must be faced. Other politically free countries have not solved the problem of unemployment. They have not solved the problem of social inequality and social injustice. How can we be confident of success where they have failed unless we apply fresh measures to the remedy of our common ills? Can we hope to achieve and guarantee political liberty without also eradicating the economic and social

inequality from which human society has suffered since the beginning of time ?

I shall take another sphere where revolutionary reconstruction must be based upon a fusion of enthusiasm and discipline. Our educational system has been often condemned, and with justice, for its many inherent defects. It aims, not at education, not at the development of personality and the liberation of the mind, but at the injection of information that too often remains dead and alien. It stamps originality, and in the name of intellectuality, kills the intellect. We have lost our manual skill and gained nothing in recompense. The reconstruction of education must therefore start from the very basis if it is to be of value in our national life. Not only must its temper and tone change, but also its range and extent. In the past and even today, education has been for a privileged few and has aimed at creating a bourgeoisie who may help to distribute British goods in India and also help to maintain the conditions necessary for the purpose. The manufacture of clerks—in government or in merchant offices—has been its aim and it has succeeded ingloriously. The intellectuals have become sterile and useless. The masses, divorced from contact with the vital forces of the world, have become inert and dead. A new scheme of education to replace this effete and often harmful system must have three main objectives. It must be an education that is accessible to all and acceptable to all. Meant for all, it must be based on what is common to the culture of India, and avoid what is peculiar to any special group or community. It must aim at a universal ethic and avoid all religious colouring. Secondly, it must develop the spirit of spontaneity and freedom in the mind of India's youth. Our present system of education has sinned the most in this respect and it is in this respect the greatest expiation must be made. Questioning, not acceptance, enquiry, not authority, must mark the new system we want to evolve. This end can be achieved only if we free ourselves from the tyranny of an alien tongue. Memory, not intelligence, is the basis of our education today, for the energy of the young is exhausted by the mere effort of mastering the intricacies of the language. The medium of instruction has become more important than the instruction itself, with consequences which every thinking man deplors. Thirdly, a new system of education must aim at bringing back the manual skill we have lost, for if India is to grow machineminded, as she must under the stress of modern conditions, she must create a vast reservoir

of human material from which she can draw her technicians and engineers, her skilled workers and efficient operatives. Without this reorientation of her educational policy and a shifting of emphasis from purely literary aims to one which achieves a harmony of physical and mental culture, there can be no hope for education in India.

Recently there has been such an attempt at reorienting education in India. Judged from these standards, the Wardha scheme marks a step forward in the right direction, though in the opinion of many, it does not go far enough. We must aim at a scheme which guarantees free education to everybody, not up to the age of ten or twelve or even fourteen but so long as a student can derive benefit from it. In the modern world of individual anarchy, education also is looked upon from the point of view of the individual's struggle against his fellows. This is one of the greatest social losses which human stupidity permits, for the wastage of human material through lack of social opportunities results in impoverishment of the quality of life. Besides, one of the most potent instruments for the maintenance and increase of the inequality inherent in modern society is the system of education prevalent now, for it puts a premium on wealth and social status and exaggerates the initial disadvantage from which the vast majority of the members of our society suffer. In a partial, but very partial attempt, to remedy this in the lower stages of education, the Wardha scheme is a right and a necessary move. But the proposal to make higher and technical education a matter of private concern for the individual or the group is an undesirable and reactionary feature which must be discarded at the earliest opportunity. The attempt to emphasise manual skill is also a welcome shift in the tendency of education today, though the utility of the move will be largely formed by the choice of the type of manual skill imparted to the children brought under its influence.

I do not want to dilate upon the quarrel about the names of the schools started under this scheme. Vidya Mandir or Baitul Ilm, to me they seem equally a sign of retrogression and can be explained only by the confusion of renaissance and revivalism which is so marked a feature of Indian life today. Anybody with any political foresight could predict that in a country like ours, where community glares at community in suspicion, it is a positive danger to import fresh religious elements into the common life of society. Public education here should be secular,

for any attempt to suggest religious associations will lead to fresh causes for quarrel and further exacerbation of feelings. We often talk of Kemal Ataturk and admire what he did for Turkey. But do we seriously try to apply the principles which he found of use in Turkey to the remedy of our ills ? If there be nothing special in these names, why insist upon them ? If on the other hand they have a meaning, this meaning is bound to derive its importance from specific religious associations and should for the sake of India's future growth be eschewed. Call a school a school and let us be done with it.

The question of Urdu *versus* Hindi is to my mind another such exhibition of confusion between renaissance and revivalism. If we want a common language for India—and who does not ?—it must perforce be Hindustani ; not the rich and luxurious Urdu which a Lucknowite may display nor the sonorous Hindi which is the delight of the Pundits of Benares, but the Hindustani of the market place which you and I speak and understand. And I am equally convinced that the only way of achieving this Hindustani is to adopt the Roman script—the international script of the modern world—so that at one stroke we make Hindustani accessible not only to the whole of India, but to the peoples of the world as a whole. I have no doubt in my mind that when we have taken this single but revolutionary step and made it possible for the whole of India to contribute to the enrichment of Hindustani, it will become one of the major languages of the world. Till this is done, religious and regional, communal and cultural and linguistic bickerings will continue.

Revolutionary ardour and disciplined sense must co-operate in this endeavour. National vanity may at first be injured though there is no reason why it should. For the script is an artificial set of symbols which has little to do with a nation's genius. We must realise that the language is not the script. The language we may imbibe with our mothers' milk, but the script we painfully and laboriously acquire with tears and toil. Besides it is only a perverted inferiority complex—a slave mentality, if I may use a strong word, that prevents our adopting of what may be good in other cultures and other civilisations. A vital nation, an alive people never hesitates to borrow, adopt and adapt, for it assimilates whatever it acquires. But a subject race, continually hesitates and pauses lest a breath of air from the free and wide world outside sully its artificially preserved purity.

There are a hundred other questions which I would like to discuss

with you. But I must tax your patience no more. I shall in concluding once again appeal to you to achieve this intellectual emancipation, this freedom of the mind in your own lives. The society in which we are born seeks to tie us with a hundred bonds. Superstitions and beliefs are in our blood and forms of economic and political organisation seem to us like the unalterable facts of life. Today a new type of civilisation is emerging into the range of possibility. The conquest of the forces of nature has for the first time made it possible to bring freedom and light into the life of every single human individual. Achieve for yourself intellectual freedom and the wealth of knowledge, and use all your intellect and all your passion and all your knowledge to build up an order of society in which the injustices of the modern regime may disappear, and we may realise the supreme principle of social good in giving to everyone what he needs and taking from everyone what he can contribute. Into that revolutionary adventure of tomorrow, I welcome you as fellow workers, friends and comrades.

INDICES OF ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN FRANCE

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IN France the category “ economic planning ” or “ planified economy ” is not much in favour among economic theorists and social philosophers used as they are to the tradition of *laissez faire*. And yet it is possible to detect, as we have very often noticed in connection with our studies in French economy, that planning of one denomination or other has factually been in force in France for quite a long time. Some of the fresh indices of economic progress in France are being exhibited below such as point to the fact that *étatisme*, state-influence, state-intervention or state-control is a substantial force in the social system of France.

HYDROELECTRIC DEVELOPMENTS

As late as a few years before the War (1914-18) the output and consumption of electric power in France was comparatively insignificant, but the advance has been very swift, especially since 1912. The consumption increased steadily down to 1930: from 7,700,000,000 kilowatt-hours in 1923 it rose to 10,500,000,000 in 1925, and to 15,800,000,000 in 1930. In spite of the world depression which impeded the upward trend, the consumption again showed an advance in 1937; in the electro-chemical and electro-metallurgical works, the advance was something like 20% as compared with 1936.

In France water-power is superabundant and the percentage of its utilisation has, of course, increased during the last few years. In 1936, the proportion of hydraulic power stood at 40% of the total output of the works extant, as compared with 29% only in 1923; and there is a certain amount of work in hand which will materially increase this percentage. Now this is the more important in that while water-power, as stated above, is superabundant in France, her output in coal is, on the contrary, limited, making it important, therefore, to reduce the

¹ Based on a talk at the “ *Antarjatik Banga* ” Parishat (“ International Bengal ” Institute), August 25, 1939.

consumption of coal by an ever greater utilisation of hydroelectric power. The total equipment of France would permit of a saving of 40,000,000 tons of coal per annum, or more than half the consumption in France.

The Minister of Public Works estimated the requirements of French industry at over 18,000,000,000 kilowatt-hours in 1938—an advance of between 8 and 10% as compared with 1936. Now with the present means of production the output cannot exceed 20,000,000,000 kilowatt-hours. The decree-law of June, 1938, is intended to remedy this relative deficiency, by speeding up the works in hand (notably on the Rhone and the Dordogne), and instituting, moreover, a further programme providing for the establishment of waterfalls and power lines, at a cost of 14 milliards of francs. Such is, in short, the action taken in 1938 in the line of electrification planning.

The effort of the several local communes (*i.e.*, towns) has been a substantial one, particularly since 1936, in the matter of rural equipment—roads, water-supply, silos, storehouses, cellars, etc. That equipment was likewise directed towards electrification, and it may be stated that in this field State initiative has met with a substantial response. At the end of 1937, France had in operation some 2,000 kilometres of 220,000-volt and about 4,500 kilometres of 150,000-volt lines. By this time, out of 38,000 French communes, 36,126 have been provided with electricity; within two years' time, the whole country is to be similarly equipped.

During the first quarter of 1938 the amount of power supplied by the 69 most important Companies for the production and distribution of electric power amounted to 1,096,679,256 kwh. as compared with 994,345,187 kwh. for the corresponding period in 1937. The figures for the hydroelectric production are given below:—

Rivers flowing down from the Alps: 491,641,891 kwh. as against 428,819,154 in 1927; from the Massif Central: 80,899,853 kwh. as compared with 154,663,529; from the Pyrenees, 188,103,965 kwh. as against 154,464,275; from other uplands: 20,304,737 kwh. as compared with 20,961,683.

ELECTRIFICATION OF RAILWAYS

At the beginning of the century a few suburban lines of the Parisian area were electrified but there was no real advance until the utilisation of water power became a practical proposition and it became

possible to convey the power to a great distance without loss on the way. In November, 1918—just when France might have been thought to be exhausted by four years of war—the *Conseil Supérieur des Travaux Publics* appointed a Committee to enquire into electrification, made up of representatives of the Ministries of Public Works, Finance and War, as well as representatives of the relevant Parliamentary Commissions, the Railway Companies and Industry. The Committee's Report (submitted May 15, 1920) recommended the electrification of 8,839 kilometres of railway lines (2,684 in the Midi system, 3,101 in the Orleans system and 2,266 in the P. L. M. system); it furthermore projected 788 kilometres of new lines.

Of these, the Midi Co. carried out its programme the most methodically; the P. L. M. Co. merely attempted an experiment between Culoz and Modane; as for the Orleans Co., it electrified a main section from Paris to Orleans. In 1931 the *Conseil Supérieur des Travaux Publics* appointed a further Committee to ascertain the proper way to proceed with the carrying out of the programme, taking into account the suggestions derived from the earlier results. The Committee drew up a programme for 7,000 kilometres of rail roads, only 2,740 of which were to be put in hand immediately.

A survey of the present map of France shows that the electrified system now comprises 3,419 kilometres, almost equalling the Italian system (3,870 kilometres); Germany has electrified 2,977 kilometres; England 1,223 kilometres. Proportionately to the area of the respective countries, be it noted *en passant*, the Swiss and Swedish systems rank first, with 2,626 and 2,606 kilometres respectively. The electrification begun between Paris and Orleans has been extended as far as Brive; when it reaches Montauban it will join the line to Spain and it will be possible to travel from Paris to Puigcerda by electric train, as is now the case from Bayonne to Sete.

A further stage has now been covered: the last lap of the Paris to Bordeaux electric line, the Angoulême to Bordeaux section of which remained to be completed. One of the longest electric lines in the world will thus shortly be put in commission—the 824 kilometre main line from Paris to Irun, the first section of which, from Paris to Tours, was electrified in 1933; the second, from Tours to Poitiers, in 1938; and the third, from Poitiers to Angoulême in 1938.

The above account affords an idea of the strenuous and rapid achievement carried out by France since the last War. France

with a slight decrease. On the other hand, the balance is now on the debit side as regards Italy and has become more heavily adverse than before in the case of the United States, Australia, Canada, Japan and India, while less so at the moment in respect of Germany, Finland, Egypt, the Argentine Republic and others.¹

¹ B. K. Sarkar: *Economic Development*, Vol. II (Calcutta 1938), as well as articles on "The Electrification of France," "The Banque de France," and "France's Trade with her Colonies" in the *Calcutta Review* for June and July, 1934, September, 1936, and July, 1937. See also Sarkar: *The New Foundations of French Social Economy*, a study in French Economic Planning (Calcutta, 1933).

POE AND ROSSETTI

RAM BILAS SHARMA, M.A.

POE was one of Rossetti's favourite poets in the early days of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. He used to recite his verses, as was his practice with some other chosen poets, and he made a sketch from his poem, "The Sleeper." The sketch shows the girl with the ghosts staring at her and illustrates the lines—

I pray to God that she may be
For ever with unopened eye
While the dim sheeted ghosts go by.

Poe's poem might have suggested to Rossetti, the subject of Poe's poem, "My Sister's Sleep," where the girl sleeps silently and passes imperceptibly from life to death. There is a certain resemblance between the description of natural phenomena in both ; the moon shines in Poe and

An opiate vapor, dewy, dim,
Exhales from out her golden rim,
And softly dripping, drop by drop,
Upon the quiet mountain-top,
Steals drowsily and musically
Into the universal valley.

In Rossetti, the image of the moon is less vague and is fixed in its outlines :—

Without, there was a cold moon up,
Of winter radiance sheer and thin;
The hollow halo it was in
Was like an icy crystal cup.

There is an insistence on the silence of the atmosphere in both the poems ; in Poe, in—

And this all solemn stillness;

and in Rossetti, in—

I heard
The silence for a little space.

There are some other poems of Rossetti, where there is not only a resemblance of factual details but a kinship in feeling which connects Rossetti with Poe as of the same poetic brotherhood. Some of Poe's views concerning the more technical aspects of poetry might as well have influenced Rossetti.

The death of the woman, once loved, was a favourite subject with Poe. In actual life, his wife had died prematurely of disease as had that of Rossetti. The memory no doubt supplied them with themes for tales, pictures or poems. Earlier, when the mother of one of Poe's schoolmates, his first love, had died, he visited her grave by night, "and the experience of her loss and his desolation tinged his verse all his life long." ¹ In "Annabel Lee," he lies by the grave of the lady, listening to the sound of the sea in loneliness:—

And so, all the night-tide, I lie down by the side
Of my darling—my darling—my life and my bride,
In the sepulchre there by the sea,
In her tomb by the sounding sea.

In "Ulalume," he visits the tomb of this other lady with psyche, his soul, and this time, he is led to it unwittingly by an evil spirit. The element of surprise is greater here as he is suddenly made aware in his night-journey that he is standing before the grave of his beloved:—

And I said, "What is written, sweet sister,
On the door of this legended tomb?"
She replied, "Ulalume!—Ulalume!
'Tis the vault of thy lost Ulalume!"

The theme of these poems is closely related to that of "The Portrait" by Rossetti. The lover wanders in the night as Poe had done in actual life and he is suddenly made aware with a thrill that these are the very same regions where he had once been with his beloved:—

Last night at last I could have slept,
And yet delayed my sleep till dawn,
Still wandering. Then it was I wept:
For unawares I came upon
Those glades where once she walked with me

And as I stood there suddenly,
 All wan with traversing the night,
 Upon the desolate verge of light
 Yearned loud the iron-bosomed sea.

The sudden recognition of a scene once familiar characterises both "Ulalume" and "The portrait." In both, the scene evokes feelings connected with the future union of their beloveds; in Rossetti, there is hope that he would stand face to face with God when he would meet her, while in Poe, there is a vague apprehension of his being lost beyond all hopes of redemption. Like nature, Poe's heart becomes—

ashen and sober
 As the leaves that were crisped and sere,
 As the leaves that were withering and sere.

This vague apprehension relieved by sudden streaks of hope is characteristic of both these poets. Thus, Poe expresses his hope in future re-union in "Annabel Lee":—

And neither the angels in heaven above,
 Nor the demons down under the sea,
 Can ever dissever my soul from the soul
 Of the beautiful ANNABEL LEE:

There is a touch of exotic beauty in this lady as she is shown to have been brought up in a far-off kingdom by the sea. Rossetti's wanderings by the sea show a similar land to have been her birth-place. The supernatural associations of Rossetti's woman are evoked in the stanzas describing the background of the picture:—

In painting her I shrined her face
 'Mid mystic trees, where light falls in
 Hardly at all; a covert place
 Where you might think to find a din
 Of doubtful talk, and a live flame
 Wandering, and many a shape whose name
 Not itself knoweth, and old dew,
 And your own footsteps meeting you,
 And all things going as they came.

This vision of shadows passing one another in silence with a secret understanding of the powers of evil that haunt the place might as well

have been suggested by Poe's poem of " Dream Land," which describes a similar region, especially the lines—

There the traveller meets aghast
Sheeted Memories of the past,—
Shrouded forms that start and sigh
As they pass the wanderer by,—
White-robed forms of friends long given
In agony, to the Earth,—and Heaven.

In " The Portrait " Rossetti craves for a union in heaven, yet all the while—

Hopes and aims long lost with her
Stand round her image side by side,
Like tombs of pilgrims that have died
About the Holy Sepulchre.

The hopelessness of the poet's lot had been suggested in " Ulalume " but the association of tombs with hope might have been a reminiscence of a line in Poe's poem, " To Zante " :—

How many memories of what radiant hours
At sight of thee and thine at once awake !
How many scenes of what departed bliss !
How many thoughts of what entombed hopes !

Thus Rossetti was indebted to Poe for some of the significant details of this poem.

The " Blessed Damsel " is another poem of Rossetti, treating of the theme of the dead woman and the hope of future union with her in heaven. As pointed out above, a similar theme has been treated of in Poe's " Annabel Lee." Poe's lines in " To Helen," about the lady's eyes—

They fill my soul with beauty (which is Hope),
And are far up in Heaven—

remind one of the lady in heaven gazing at her lover on earth in Rossetti's poem.

The theme of " The Raven " too must have appealed deeply to Rossetti. A foreboding of unknown suffering in hell for loving the

evil woman finds expression in the work of both these poets. The bird in Poe's poem is a "Ghastly, grim, and ancient Raven, wandering from the Nightly shore" and there is a vague hint of its association with the soul of the woman he loved in the poem. In "The Philosophy of Poetic Composition," he says more explicitly that "it was the spirit of his mistress that knocked." The lamp-light throws its shadow on the floor—

And my soul from out that shadow that lies floating on the floor
Shall be lifted—nevermore!

The power of the evil has his soul in its power and will not release it again. The repetition of the refrain "Nevermore" reaches here its climax with the suggestion of suffering in hell till eternity. There are various poems of Rossetti in which by symbolic imagery, he describes the suffering of the lover due to his coming in contact with the powers of evil. This doom cannot be shirked by man even though he knows it; it is linked with man's very desire for woman, the desire to taste the forbidden fruit and undergo suffering in consequence. In "Love's Fatality" he portrays how Love becomes a slave to this desire. In "Body's Beauty" and sonnets of that kind, he describes the fatality of women. In "Orchard Pit," he dreams of the evil woman with an apple in her hand and the bones of her lovers lying scattered at her feet. Most of the sonnets on his pictures treat of the theme of the fatal woman and the suffering of the lover. This is not to suggest that Rossetti was in debt to Poe for his treatment of this particular theme but it is clear that the two poets satisfied their craving for suffering in a way that was common to both. In the second of his "Willowwood" sonnets, Rossetti describes the suffering of men inhabiting a strange land who had been once tempted to associate with the prohibited woman. The suggestion of eternal pain is given in the octave—

O ye, all ye that walk in willowwood,
That walk with hollow faces burning white;
What fathom-depth of soul-struck widowhood,
What long, what longer hours, one lifelong night,
Ere ye again, who so in vain have wooed
Your last hope lost, who so in vain invite
Your lips to that their unforgotten food,
Ere ye, ere ye again shall see the light!

"Your Last Hope Lost" brings out the hopelessness of their doom. The sestet stresses their despair and adds more details to the landscape :—

Alas! the bitter banks in Willowwood,
 With tear-spurge wan, with blood-wort burning red :
 Alas! if ever such a pillow could
 Steep deep the soul in sleep till she were dead,—
 Better all life forget her than this thing,
 That willowwood should hold her wandering!

The land of suffering where the soul wanders in agony due to some secret sin has been variously described by Poe. The region of Night haunted only by evil angels in "Dream-Land" is one of these. Another occurs in the "Fairy-Land" :—

Dim vales—and shadowy floods—
 And cloudy-looking woods,
 Whose forms we can't discover
 For the tears that drip all over.

Rossetti might have got a hint for his sonnet from this poem, especially with regard to the tear-spurge from the dripping tears by an association of sound.

Rossetti was a free-thinker in matters of religion, faith with him being more a matter of convention than of sincere belief. He put faith in heaven and hell because it added a motive to his description of imaginary suffering and happiness. Poe frankly admits that such faith is justified for reasons of poetry. He says in "The Philosophy of Composition" that the lover propounds queries to the raven, "not altogether because he believes in the prophetic or demoniac character of the bird (which, reason assures him, is merely repeating a lesson learned by rote), but because he experiences a frenzied pleasure in so modelling his questions as to receive from the *expected* 'Nevermore' the most delicious because the most intolerable of sorrow." Thus faith is a matter of convention and is used to extract pleasure out of imaginary spiritual suffering.

In midst of their pre-occupation with romantic themes, both the poets now and then pray to the Virgin to save their souls from pain after death. Poe's "Hymn" is an instance of such moments of piety; it might have suggested to Rossetti his "Ave" which begins with a similar prayer to the Mother. The first paragraph of "Ave" consisting

of 13 lines, exceeds Poe's "Hymn," which consists of 12, only by a line. Both have been written in octosyllabic couplets.

The symbolism of lakes or pools of water recurs incessantly in Rossetti. They are seen in the dim pale light of the moon or in utter darkness and signify the suffering of the human soul. Water is a symbol of life; relations of light and shade determine its significance with regard to happiness and pain. The "waters stilled at even" in the "Blessed Damozel" show the melancholy peaceful expression of the eyes of the Damozel. Under the pale light of the moon, water signifies suffering and in darkness, irremediable sin. In the "Bride's Prelude," the thought of the sinful bride has become stagnant and is stirred by speech like a black pool:—

Her thought, long stagnant, stirred by speech,
 Gave her a sick recoil;
 As, dip thy fingers through the green
 That masks a pool,—where they have been
 The naked depth is black between.

Poe had used stagnant water as symbolic of the sinful state of the soul in "Eulalie":—

I dwelt alone
 In a world of moan,
 And my soul was a stagnant tide.

In "Rose Mary," Rossetti compares the swoon of the lady with a pool in a moonless night:—

And as night through which no moon may dart
 Lies on a pool in the woods apart,
 So lay the swoon on the weary heart.

And this lady had sinned with her lover in her unmarried state. Poe had described similar blank lakes in "Dream-Land":—

Lakes that endlessly outspread
 Their lone waters—lone and dead,—
 Their still waters—still and chilly
 With the snows of the lolling lily.

The supernatural character of suffering is evoked in both by the description of pools and lakes in a dark night unrelieved by the light of the

moon. Poe's "Lake" describes a simala rock-bound lake which is a favourite haunt of the poet. In his sonnet, "Passion and Worship," Rossetti distinguishes between the passion of love and its worship. The former gives pain and the latter, pleasure; the music of love's worship walks a sunlit sea, but of love's passion—

Where wan water trembles in the grove
And the wan moon is all the light thereof,
This harp still makes my name its voluntary.

Poe had described a lake under the dim light of the moon with similar associations in "The Sleeper":—

At midnight, in the month of June,
I stand beneath the mystic moon.

* * * * *

Looking like Lethe, see! the lake
A conscious slumber seems to take
And would not, for the world awake.

The dim lake of Auber in the misty mid-region of Weir in "Ulalume" is another of these famous lakes. The suffering of the human soul is connected in Rossetti as in Poe with some secret sin of sexual desire; the pain is depicted in both by description of lonely lakes or pools, as emblematic of the state of the soul. seen under the light of a dim moon or in total darkness.

There are some technical aspects of art and poetry where Rossetti's views and often his practices closely resemble those of Poe. Poe is the forerunner of Baudelaire and Valéry in dealing with poetry as a science like Mathematics which could be taught by certain definite rules. In "The Philosophy of Composition" he says of the "Raven": "It is my design to render it manifest that no one point in its composition is referable either to accident or intuition—that the work proceeded, step by step, to its completion, with the precision and rigid consequence of a mathematical problem." What Poe says of poetry, Rossetti says of painting. He is reported to have told Hall Caine, "Now I paint by a set of unwritten but clearly defined rules, which I could teach to any man as systematically as you could teach arithmetic" and "painting, after all, is the craft of a superior carpenter. The part of a picture that is not mechanical is often

trivial enough.”¹ Both Poe and Rossetti hated the long poem though their own poems do not always conform to the length of the ideal poem. Rossetti said, “I hate long poems” and of Sydney Dobell, “what a pity it is that he insists on being generally so long-winded.”² And Poe wrote emphatically in “The Poetic Principle,” “I hold that a long poem does not exist. I maintain that the phrase ‘a long poem’ is simply a flat contradiction in terms.” Another point in the technique of verse-writing where Rossetti is a close follower of Poe is the repetition of the refrain. Poe makes many variations of the device and often repeats words or lines in a way that does not allow them to be called refrains. He, however, dwells on its importance and artistic uses to which it may be put in “The Philosophy of Composition.” “The universality of its employment,” he says, “sufficed to assure me of its intrinsic value, and spared me the necessity of submitting it to analysis. I considered it, however, with regard to its susceptibility of improvement, and soon saw it to be in a primitive condition.....I determined to produce continuously novel effects, by the variation of the application of the refrain,—the refrain itself remaining, for the most part, unvaried.” One has only to remember such famous poems of Rossetti as “Eden Bower,” “Sister Helen” and “Troy Town” to recognise Rossetti’s affinities with Poe in this respect. Like his predecessor, Rossetti makes his own variations of the refrain and does not confine its use to the ballad in its ordinary forms. About the general setting of the poem, the locale where the action should take place, Poe says, “It has always appeared to me that a close *circumscription of space* is absolutely necessary to the effect of insulated incident; it has the force of a frame to a picture. It has an indisputable moral power in keeping concentrated the attention, and, of course, must not be confounded with mere unity of place.” Poe practises this device much more in his tales than in any of his important poems save the “Raven.” But Rossetti more than once laid his scenes in closed decorated chambers as in “The Bride’s Prelude,” “Rose Mary” and “Sister Helen” which show how Poe had anticipated Rossetti in the use of such settings in his poems. Rossetti uses it also in the composition of his pictures like “The Marriage of St. George” and “Laboratory.”

¹ *Recollections of D. G. Rossetti*, by Hall Caine.

² *D. G. Rossetti*, by A. C. Benson.

Poe may, therefore, be credited with an important share in the development of Rossetti as a poet. Rossetti's debts to him with regard to certain themes as well as symbolic imagery and poetic theories are considerable. Poe treats of the doom of the ill-fated lover in the same manner as does Rossetti and the theme of the woman of evil powers is equally dear to both. The wives of both by natural coincidence had died in their youth due to disease and this made them repeatedly treat of the theme of the dead woman in their poetry. In using lakes and pools as symbols of the soul, Poe's influence on Rossetti is evident. In the more modern attitude to art emphasising its mechanical side as opposed to the romantic view glorifying intuition, Rossetti had been again anticipated by Poe. In the creation of a certain kind of poetical effect by repetition of the refrain and in the laying of the scene in heavily perfumed, closed and gloomy chambers, Poe was the master of Rossetti. Even where resemblances do not point to a definite debt on Rossetti's part to Poe, their artistic affinities are nonetheless clear.

NEW TENDENCIES IN ITALIAN DRAMA*

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A year before his death, in his preface to a series of studies on the Italian drama, Luigi Pirandello made the following clear statement: "If anyone is surprised to hear me assert that the first and most outstanding drama in the world is the Italian drama, I hope that, having read the following pages, wonder will have yielded place in his mind to a keener and more thoughtful consideration of the ideal values of which he, as an Italian, is the depository; these values have been renewed and increased from century to century by the creators of our great nation."

With these clear and concise assertions, Pirandello wittingly attacked the bad habit of those who for years have intentionally closed their eyes to both the older and the contemporary forms of Italian drama, who have forgotten the powerful religious spirit which, in the Middle Ages, led Italy to the popular forms of drama, the morality play, through which the spirit of the Greek legend became grafted upon Christian civilization; they have completely forgotten, too, the comedy of art; leaping over three whole centuries at one bound, though it had, in its time, been famous throughout the world; they forgot the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and above all, they forgot the marvellous way in which Italian drama has flourished during the last twenty-five years.

A far-reaching movement has taken place in the Italian theatre since 1910. The cultural antecedents of this movement may be sought in the new spiritual currents, from Hegel's idealistic philosophy, to Bergson's intuitive doctrines, to the pragmatism and the latest theories of the present idealism.

At first, of course, the new drama had its adversaries in those whose tendencies were clearly directed towards the more familiar forms; it also found its defenders in the ranks of the trained and enlightened minority who, by offering ardent and fervid support, carried the new trend on to victory.

* Based on a talk at the *Bangiya Dante Sabha* (Bengali Dante Society) before the Research Fellows, on August 29, 1939. Part of the material is derived from discussions with the author's colleagues in Italy.

authors were hissed ; they accepted these adversities as later they accepted their war wounds, and playwrights boasted of these trials as of some hardy adventure. They used to say, " Not all who are hissed are great dramatists ; but all the best new Italian playwrights are hissed." Success came later and was naturally of great significance.

During this period there was no lack of great discoveries : Luigi Chiarelli's grotesque play *La maschera e il volto* was produced by Virgilio Talli's splendid company ; Talli was a manager and producer of the very first order and was both the herald and the apostle of the new theatre. His production of the following plays, for instance, was unforgettable : Gabriele D'Annunzio's *La figlia di Jorio*, Ercole Luigi Morselli's *Glauco*, *L' uccello del Paradiso* by Enrico Cavacchioli, *Marionette che passione* and *La Bella addormentata* by Rosso di San Secondo, *Tignola* by Sem Benelli, and countless other plays by modern Italian dramatists.

During the last fifteen years Italian drama has been represented abroad almost exclusively by Pirandello.* But the small warlike band of his younger contemporaries has also brought to the theatre a new spirit, more or less freed from foreign influence. Pirandello's work undoubtedly constituted an imposing mass quite apart from the others ; from its very roots it belongs essentially to the school of Aristophanes. In discussing his work, which has earned a place on the stage of every country, mention is unfailingly made of the " central problem." But one must realize that the " central problem " to Pirandello, dramatist, was the performance, namely the stage expression of the myths of his imagination. Pirandello's drama, in its most vital and lasting manifestations, is closely linked out not so much with this or that philosophy, as with the eternal position of fancy. In the work of Rosso di San Secondo, on the other hand, one finds more of an Elizabethan spirit, it is less dialectical and more freely imaginative than that of Pirandello. To this group belong, also the works of Enrico Cavacchioli, Luigi Antonelli, Massimo Bontempelli, Gherardo Gherardi and some of the dramatic fantasies of Ugo Betti ; while the grotesque plays of Antonelli, Chiarelli, Bonelli, and others might be considered along with the bourgeois theatre, like a clever and often fantastic design on the reverse of the same medal.

* See L. Petech : " Pirandello's Dramas and Stories " (Calcutta Review, April 1939).

The fourth form which has made its appearance during the last twenty-five years, is the Italian "*intimista*" movement, movement closely allied to the extreme contemporary form of classicism, a classicism, revealed in a special objectivity, in an almost complete detachment from any incident, rugged and aggressive in style with a designedly classic intent, in the sense of the term as accepted in our day.

After the magnificent collective effort made by Italian writers during and immediately after the war, the movement has now entered upon a calmer period. But this phenomenon may be due to a special cause. It may be considered that the events, which occurred with the advent of Fascism in 1920, possessed a spiritual attraction for Italians and have set problems of new social ethics before artists.

The collective reaction of the Italian drama to the bourgeois spirit and to the fragmentary and episodic mentality took place simultaneously with the rise of the new political feeling, and, as an inevitable consequence, is likely to lead in the near future to the development of new principles in the artistic field. Just as new and original Italian institutions have been established and developed together with new moral and juridical currents of an equally original character, so may a new form of national drama be expected. Perhaps it will be described as the drama of the Fascist Revolution prepared by the writers of the pre-revolution period, several of whom are still in their full productive activity and much appreciated by playgoers.

Certain playwrights with different tendencies and temperaments have been acquiring considerable popularity in Italy during the past few years, and some have even obtained success in foreign countries. Among these are Rino Alessi, a writer of thoughtful historic and social dramas, Alberto Colantuoni, Guido Cantini, Alessandro De Stefani, Guglielmo Giannini, the author of successful detective plays, Giuseppe Romualdi, Vincenzo Trieri and a little band of authors of amusing and well-written comic and sentimental plays; the foremost of these are Aldo De Benedetti, Luigi Bonelli, Sergio Pugliese, Piero Mazzolotti and Carlo Veneziani.

However, Gioacchino Forzano, a hundred per cent. play-wright, is the best known of all, both in Italy and abroad. He has chosen to follow in the footsteps of Sardou, rather than to seek new trends and

assert his own personality. A man of considerable talent, he has thought only of his public. He handles the sentimental comedy, the complicated historic drama and the libretto of an opera with equal facility. He has even written two historic plays on plots outlined by Benito Mussolini: *Campo di Maggio* and *Villafranca*, the former having been translated and performed in almost every tongue.

This is a brief survey of the main outlines of the Italian drama during the past twenty-five years. During this period, a revolution has occurred which cannot yet be said to be over, since on its foundation a work is being constructed corresponding exactly with present-day Italian mentality and sensibility. The young writers of Italy are taking up their positions in regard to the problem of the stage. By common consent they are basing their activities on the principle that at the root of all great dramas there must also lie a deep religious concept, such religious sentiment being freely interpreted and not bound by forms and precepts.

At the same time the younger generation asserts that there can be no great drama without a language adapted to this religious sense, thus setting clear and well-defined limits to style, and establishing the idea that the theatre should go beyond the narrow confines of petty details and reproduce history as represented by the daily life of man. A brilliant future for Italian drama may confidently be forecast as the outcome of the noble and courageous task to which these young men have set their hands.

IS METAPHYSICS POSSIBLE ?

A STUDY OF KANT *

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KANT perceived that while the sciences were flourishing day by day, metaphysics could not make any progress or achieve any result which was acceptable to all. He undertook the task of investigating thoroughly into the matter and published the results of his enquiry in the Critique of Pure Reason. He found that while science was engaged for the acquisition of knowledge in a field where knowledge was possible, metaphysics had been pursuing a fruitless endeavour, because the indispensable conditions of knowledge were not available in the realm of objects which metaphysics chose to study. He concluded that there was no hope of metaphysics ever yielding better results simply because it was attempting an impossible task, viz., seeking to attain knowledge where the conditions of knowledge were not at all obtainable.

The above conclusion is attended with serious consequences. Kant claimed to have revolutionised the course of philosophy, but whatever might be the justice of that claim, there can hardly be any doubt that he wanted to be claimed as the last and the final philosopher in this universe by striking a death-blow to metaphysics and thereby causing its extinction once for all. Had the philosophical world seriously listened to and accepted Kant's arguments, there would have been no philosophy after him. The very fact that within a very short time of the publication of his Critiques, the most sublime system of metaphysics was preached in his own country by Hegel, the reputation of which is being gloriously maintained by his followers for more than a century, proves that the world did not pay great heed to the agnostic and sceptical conclusions of Kant, and that the great homage which he has received is due not to the destructive but to the constructive part of his philosophy.

Kant tells us clearly that knowledge is restricted to the objects presented to us in experience and that things which cannot be given in any possible experience can never be known. By experience Kant

* Read before the Calcutta Philosophical Society.

means sense-intuition and Kant unambiguously states that "there is no intuition at all beyond the field of the sensibility."¹ The categories of the understanding are themselves nothing but logical functions, and as such do not produce even the vaguest concept of an object, but "require some sensuous intuition as a basis." The categories can give us knowledge because their objects can be presented in sense-experience, while the ideas of reason or the "pure rational concepts" or what Kant designates also as "necessary concepts" can never give us knowledge because their "objects cannot be given in any experience."²

Kant holds that the objects of the pure rational concepts cannot be *known* but may be *thought* of. If those objects or the noumena could be *known*, they would have ceased to be noumena. They are noumenal because they transcend the conditions of possible experience, and as knowledge is confined to the limits of possible experience, the pure rational concepts, just because they are such and cannot be presented in sense-intuition, cannot be supposed to be *known*. These cannot have their confirmation in sense-experience and hence it cannot be definitely stated whether these ideas of reason are mere chimeras or whether objects do really correspond to them.

Kant tells us that the constructive part of his philosophy is much more important than his negative conclusions. That metaphysics is not possible and that scientific or accurate knowledge is not obtainable with regard to anything supposed to lie beyond the phenomenal universe had been proved by Hume already. Kant thinks that it is his merit to point out that although things-in-themselves or noumena cannot be known, still phenomena irresistibly point towards them. Phenomena do not contain their sufficient explanation within them and they cannot but point to something else. But what this something is cannot be *known* because the condition *sine qua non* for knowledge, *viz.*, presentability in sense-experience, is wanting in it. Metaphysics has its value as a natural tendency of the human mind but not as yielding any definite piece of knowledge. He gives us definitely to understand that he is not a sceptic like Hume, although he is for the destruction of all dogmatic metaphysical speculation.

¹ Prolegomena, p. 77 (Carus's Translation).

² *Ibid.*, p. 92.

Kant is undoubtedly the father of modern agnosticism which emphatically declares the existence of the noumenal reality but at the same-time holdly denies its knowledge.

There cannot be any doubt that Kant thinks that the objects of the pure rational concepts cannot be known in the same way in which the objects of the categories are known, and it is true that Kant has done an inestimable service to the cause of philosophy by pointing out the really transcendent character of the so-called rational concepts. If God or the soul is perceived as a sense-object it is certainly not the God or the soul which metaphysics wants to find, but a God or a soul having colour or touch or taste or smell or sound or all of these together, because such an object alone could be presented in sense-intuition. It ought to be pointed out again and again for the benefit of untrained minds that the reality that underlies the appearances and is fundamental can never be presented as an object as distinct from the subject much less as a sense-object. The very presentation as an object (as distinct from the subject) would reduce it to an appearance. The nature of noumenal reality precludes its presentation in sense-experience, and it unavoidably follows that it can never come within the scope of knowledge which is restricted to the field of sensuous intuition.

If the premises of Kant be accepted, the conclusion which he draws can hardly be denied. If knowledge is confined to sense-experience, and if "there is no intuition at all beyond the field of sensibility"¹ the pure rational concepts "which never can be given in any possible experience"² of course cannot be known, *i.e.*, "discovered or confirmed by experience." But we have to consider carefully whether there is any justification for restricting knowledge to the field of sensuous intuition. It is true that what is not an object of the senses cannot be known *in the same way* in which a sense-object can be known. But does it follow that what is not a sense-object cannot be known at all? If it is a technical sense in which the term "knowledge" is used, and if Kant means by knowledge only sense-knowledge, then it is mere tautology to hold that what does not form an object of sense-intuition cannot be known. If, on the other hand, the term knowledge is used in a general sense—and Kant's writings hardly leave any doubt that it is used in that sense—then

¹ Prolegomena, p. 77.

² *Ibid.*, p. 91.

Kant's conclusion is nothing short of sounding the death-knell of philosophy. However eager he might be to show his difference with Hume, the net result of his philosophy is identical with that of Hume, viz., that our knowledge can never extend beyond the region of sense-experience. The questions as to whether Kant asserted the reality of noumena, or whether Kant showed another way of realising them in the Critique of Practical Reason, or whether Hume also in his private life believed in the reality of things which he dismissed as a philosopher, are of little importance from the standpoint of philosophy. The crude empiricism that cannot find truth in anything higher than sense-experience is nothing other than untrained common-sense (guised in the garb of a philosophy) that is anxious to strike at the very root of reason simply because it cannot understand its higher deliverances. If sense-experience is the only solid foundation of knowledge and if the 'rational concepts' cannot be tested as to whether they are objectively valid or are mere chimeras simply because these "cannot be discovered or confirmed by any experience" ¹, then there cannot be any justification for philosophy and no useful purpose can be served by it. No rational enquiry or philosophy is needed to prove the truth of an object presented to sense-experience and if the confirmation by sense-experience is the ultimate criterion of truth and hence also of knowledge, philosophy will not help us in the least. A philosophy that deprecates reason and exalts sense even to the point of declaring that sense-experience is the sole and final criterion of truth contains its own refutation within itself. A *philosophy* of bare empiricism is almost a contradiction in terms. If we are committed to confine ourselves to the region of sense, we can hardly be consistent in offering the pride of place to reason; and philosophy is nothing if it is not rationalisation or interpretation by reason.

Kant was a firm believer in the truth of mathematics and the laws of the physical sciences and he found the way to save them. He was brought up in the school of pietism and he anxiously strove to maintain the integrity of morals. Kant had no similar regard for philosophy, and he took no interest in other philosophers.² He tells us frankly that he was never able to find the writings of learned philosophers

¹ Prolegomena, p. 91.

² Theodore P. Wright, Stickenburg, p. 124 (quoted in Carus's Translation of Prolegomena, p. 283).

"to have advanced the science of metaphysics in the least" ¹ and that the question as to the value of metaphysical speculations and the natural tendency of the human mind to engage itself in them belonged not "to the system of metaphysics but to anthropology."² His statement that it is the "young thinkers" who are "so partial to metaphysics of the truly dogmatic kind" ³ and the consequent implication of it that it is his old age and mature thinking that saved him from fruitless metaphysical endeavours, leave hardly any doubt that he had very little regard for philosophy and that he was not at all anxious to save it. Not being a metaphysician at heart, he could never love philosophy and find entrance into its esoteric regions and thereby experience the joy that comes from the realisation of truths intuited or perceived by something other than the senses. That Kant asserted the existence of the Self, God and Future Life in his Critique of Practical Reason does not show that he did not want to dismiss metaphysical speculation altogether. If he asserts them, it is by way of faith and not by way of knowledge. If he tells us that those noumenal realities cannot be had by way of sense-knowledge, he tells us an insignificant thing. If he tells us that philosophy cannot help us in the acquisition of knowledge of those realities, he has unequivocally given up philosophy. Those who believe that the universe can be rationally interpreted and think that reason is the supreme guide in our attempt to penetrate into the nature of the fundamental reality have nothing to be proud of the philosophy of Kant except in so far as it furnishes an illustrious occasion for proving that a philosophy without emphasis on reason is bound to be a stupendous failure.

We have to understand clearly the difference between the positions of Bradley and Samkara on the one hand and that of Kant on the other. It is true that both Bradley and Samkara hold that the Absolute or the Fundamental Reality transcends reason and that they speak of an intuition apprehending the Absolute where the bifurcating function of the intellect ceases to work. There are some who think that Kant also tells us similarly that the noumenal reality cannot be known by reason. But there is a world of difference between the views of Kant and Samkara and it is a mistake to suppose that they agree in holding the incompetence of reason for the apprehension of

¹ Prolegomena, pp. 142-43.

² *Ibid.*, p. 135.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

Reality. According to Kant, reason engages itself in an altogether fruitless endeavour when it performs metaphysical speculations. It has no useful function to serve in the sphere of metaphysics and it only deludes us and also itself when it fondly hopes to give us any useful information in that sphere. But Samkara tells us just the opposite. Reason is our only guide in the sphere of metaphysics and it not only serves the most useful purpose there but without it there is no other way of approach to Reality. Philosophy or metaphysics or speculative reason, in the highest sense of the term, alone can take us nearest to Reality and although the discursive or analytical functioning of reason is left far behind in the highest flights of reason, and although even the synthetic working of reason can no longer be discerned as a separate process, still the realisation that emerges is nothing other than the fruition of reason. Although in the final step or at the stage of realisation, it may not be designated as a rational process, although reason must "commit suicide," as Bradley puts it, and the distinction between the 'that' and the 'what' must be transcended in the apprehension of Reality, still what emerges comes as a result of the prior functioning of reason. The direct apprehension or intuition only follows the culmination of the functioning of reason. Although Reality is self-revealing and is not the *object* of anything and, strictly speaking, it is not even its own object, still the preparation for the revelation is all performed through the functioning of reason. It is pure reason, that is, purified or fully developed reason, that can find itself merged in its source, *viz.*, the Absolute.

Ratiocination or the functioning of reason is helpful in removing all doubts as to the possibility of the existence of the Absolute, and Samkara and the other Vedantic thinkers are unanimous in holding that this function, *viz.*, removing of doubts that may arise with regard to the existence of Brahman, is eminently fulfilled by philosophy. Kant unambiguously holds not only that "Reason is quite incapable of *proving* the existence of a Supreme Being" ¹ but also that "No human intelligence can ever understand how immortality and the existence of God are possible." ² We can understand Samkara and Bradley when they hold that the *realisation* of the Absolute transcends reason; but when Kant tells us that reason cannot even understand

¹ The Critique of Pure Reason, p. 667.

² The Critique of Practical Reason, para. 140.

how the existence of God is possible, "It is nothing short of the denial of the usefulness of philosophy. If philosophy cannot even show us the *possibility* of the existence of the Supreme Reality, it ought to be dismissed summarily. This is what Kant wants. It is therefore wrong to class Kant along with Samkara, Bradley and such other thinkers who recognise fully the usefulness and importance of philosophy in dealing with suprasensible truths and emphatically declare that the *possibility* of the existence and of the realisation of the Absolute is proved—and all doubts about the impossibility are removed—by philosophy.

Even in the Critique of Practical Reason, where Kant admits the existence of God, Freedom and Immortality, these are taken only as postulates or "presuppositions which are practically necessary." The fact that even here a distinction is still maintained between 'speculative' or 'theoretical knowledge,' and a "purely practical use," which latter alone we are entitled to make of the ideas of God, Freedom and Immortality, shows that Kant is not describing the highest state of realisation which transcends all distinction between theoretical knowledge and practical use. With Kant, those ideas are nothing more than presuppositions which make moral life possible. They are objects of faith which induce moral actions. Moreover, the way in which the existence of God is presupposed, and the fact that only an external connection is established between happiness and virtue, hardly leave any doubt that Kant is not attempting to establish or describe any fundamental reality *realised* by him. Those who find in the Critique of Practical Reason the revival of the dismissed Ideas of the Pure Reason either mistake the shadow for the reality or really import their own thoughts into Kant. The unsatisfied desire in the mind of the reader of the Critique of Pure Reason seems to be partially satisfied even when something like the shadow of the object of desire makes its appearance in the Critique of Practical Reason. The description in the Critique of Practical Reason does not bear testimony to a reality realised or experienced ; it rather suits an object that is set up by faith or only presupposed. Kant himself admits that they do not furnish any ground for the extension of speculative knowledge ; and, if they do not add to knowledge, philosophy may turn a deaf ear to them. If the Critique of Pure Reason seeks to annihilate metaphysics or philosophy altogether, there is no reason to suppose that the Critique of Practical Reason accords to philosophy any better claim for existence.

The ideas of God, freedom and immortality are valid for practical purposes merely and not for speculative reason. This statement is clear.

If these highest ideas are real, it is only reason, the most precious possession of human beings, that is competent to apprehend them. If it is held that practical reason or will perceives their reality, either the statement is unmeaning as it distinguishes between reason and reason, or the will here stands for blind instinct or faith, which latter is perhaps Kant's meaning. There is no other clear perception in the highest levels than the "perception of reason" as Jacobi puts it, and as Kant denies any such thing as the perception of reason, it is clear that Kant hardly reached those high levels of the synthetic intuitive working of reason and that he was still roaming either in the lower regions of the halting, doubting, discursive understanding or in those of blind faith or instinct.

The main point at issue is clear. We have to decide whether Kant is right in denying not only the value and validity of metaphysical concepts but also the usefulness of philosophy altogether. Does philosophy inevitably seduce us to illusory regions or does it, on the contrary, constitute the most valuable approach to truth and reality? It is useless to discuss whether Kant admitted the existence of God, freedom and other ideas. The only point at issue is whether philosophy is useful in giving us knowledge of reality. Kant has given an unambiguous answer to the question everywhere in his writings. We have now to examine the truth or otherwise of Kant's views on the function of philosophy.

Kant holds that we can acquire knowledge only of things which can form objects of possible experience, and by experience Kant means sense-experience. Those things which are by their very nature precluded from being objects of possible sense-experience, such as those with which metaphysics deals, can never be known. We have already pointed out how this contention would do away not only with speculative philosophy but with all philosophy whatsoever not excluding Kant's critical philosophy. When we recognise the truth of a logical argument such as All B is C ; All A is B ; therefore All A is C we take the argument as true not because A, B and C are things which can form objects of possible sense-experience but because of some necessity of reason. We do not care to know at all what A, B and C imply or stand for. Even if it be assumed that they are objects of possible sense

experience, the connection between them may be one which cannot be sensed but has to be rationally apprehended. In an instance of causal connection, Kant himself admits, the connection cannot be experienced by the senses. The truth that is declared, that A is the cause of B, cannot be tested merely by the experience of A and B by means of the senses. Causality is a category of the understanding and it is the understanding alone that can perceive it. The categories apply to objects of sense and hence physics can give us knowledge. But the ideas of Reason deal with objects not belonging to the region of sense. Hence metaphysics cannot give us knowledge beyond mere thoughts and speculations. In the example we have given, we do not know what A, B and C, are—whether they belong to the region of sense or whether they belong to the intelligible world, but still there is no hindrance to the acceptance of the truth of the argument. The truth or falsity of an argument is perceived not by the senses but by reason. Where the sense shows us something different from what we have arrived at through reason, we do not accept the testimony of the senses so long as a defect in the argument cannot be discovered. Through mathematical calculation, I find out that a star should be visible from a particular place at a particular point of time. If actually it is not visible from that particular place at that particular time, I think that there must have been some error of calculation. I am not sure that the instruments of vision are working accurately so long as I cannot discover any error in the calculation. The confidence in reason is much stronger than what we have in the testimony of our senses. That the Sun is so much bigger than what we see is being accepted not because it is possible to measure it by means of sense-devices but because our reason compels us to believe in it.

We have seen that sense-experience cannot show us causality beyond the mere existence of things or phenomena supposed to be causally connected, but still we have to accept the truth of the principle of causality merely because reason compels us to accept it. Kant tells us that as the ideas of God, freedom and immortality and all other metaphysical notions cannot form objects of possible sense-experience, they cannot be known. But, how does Kant know the truth of his argument? He cannot have knowledge, on his own supposition, of the truth of his argument concerning things which transcend sense-experience. Either he knows his argument to be true or he does not know it. If he does not know that his argument is valid, he is

asking us to accept something which he himself does not know and so he is deceiving us and also himself. If, on the other hand, he knows his argument to be true, he has falsified his own position, *viz.*, that we cannot have any knowledge of things transcending the senses. In his "Refutation of Idealism," Kant himself, like "the young thinkers who are so partial to dogmatic metaphysics," betrays his knowledge of the things-in-themselves as causes. He also knows that the things-in-themselves are many in number. The categories of number and causality which are applicable to phenomena only are applied by Kant himself to his noumenal realities.

Kant's view that confirmation by sense-experience is the only criterion of truth cannot be maintained. Kant clearly tells us that in the case of human beings a distinction between actuality and possibility has always to be made. As our knowledge involves the exercise of two heterogeneous faculties—understanding for conceptions, and sensible perceptions for objects corresponding to conceptions—the distinction between the actual and the possible cannot be ignored. "Were our intelligence perceptive, its objects would always be actual."¹ There may be "some unconditionally necessary existence" in which "the distinction of possible and actual no longer holds good," but when we are speaking of human reason, the distinction between the actual and the possible cannot but be maintained, because human reason may conceive something to be possible which may not be actual and consequently the actual can never be deduced from possibility. Kant's meaning is very clear in these sentences from the Critique of Judgment. Human reason may conceive of the merely possible which may or may not be actual. It is only those ideas which can find confirmation in sense-experience that can have a claim to actuality. But if this criterion is adhered to, not only philosophy, dealing with noumena, has got to be dismissed, but even Kant's favourite sciences, physics and mathematics, cannot be retained. Are the electrons and protons, the positrons and the neutrons, objects of sense-experience? Are causality and such other relations perceived by the senses or by reason? Do we grant the necessity of the geometrical deduction that an equilateral triangle is also equiangular because of its possible confirmation by sense-experience? Do we perceive the truth of the mathematical computation or of the logical argument by

¹ The Critique of Judgment, 414, 415.

means of the senses ? Do we have a sense-intuition of *truth* ? We may have knowledge of phenomena or objects of possible sense-perception because these are confirmed by sense-experience, but how is truth itself known ? Is truth phenomenal or noumenal ? By the physical object we no longer mean an object of possible sense-experience,—that is a thing of the past, Modern physics no longer deals with the sense-objects but with much subtler things. These are things perceived by the eye of the understanding or reason and their effects only can be perceived physically. The divergence of opinions which Kant noticed amongst philosophers has also begun to characterise physicists. How can we hold that we have actuality in the realm of physics but only possibility in philosophy ? The same reason which led Kant to dismiss philosophical knowledge is sufficient to reject modern physics.

The fact is that the senses form a very inadequate criterion of truth. We do not accept what the senses show us to be actual if and so long as our reason does not show us the possibility of its being actual. So long as we are in a moving train, our eyes show the adjacent things to be moving ; but we do not take the appearance to be real merely on the testimony of the senses. Our reason can never explain how the motion of the train can cause actual movement of the adjacent things and hence we reject the report of the sense-organ and explain the appearance of motion as illusory. It is reason that decides whether the report of a particular sense-organ should be accepted or not and it would be controverting the actual state of things if it is held that the findings of reason have to be tested by the testimony of the senses. The fact that illusions are common experiences and that the reports of the senses vary so often and so much from individual to individual ought alone to discredit the senses as criteria of truth. It may, of course, be said that the mistake of one sense-organ is corrected by another sense-organ and can be corrected by that alone. But this contention ignores the fundamental fact that if one sense-organ can and does actually show us something at one time to be very different from what is actual, there is no guarantee that another sense-organ or that very sense-organ on another occasion will not do the same.

Kant hints at the truth when he tells us that the distinction between the actual and the possible is transcended only at the level of " unconditionally necessary existence of original ground " and at every stage short of that level the distinction holds good. " An intelligence

for whom this distinction did not exist might say: All objects that I know are, that is, exist; and such a being could never suppose some objects to be possible that have no existence."¹ If the distinction between the actual and the possible disappears, it is because genuine actuality is now reached and the region of mere possibility is left behind. There is hardly any doubt that Kant here conceives of the stage where genuine actuality may be realised and also of the conditions which make such realisation possible. It is really unfortunate that the empiricism of Hume should have impressed him so deeply as not to enable him to reap the full benefit of his own valuable suggestions. As compared with the actuality which Kant speaks of in the above passage, the actuality furnished by the senses is only spurious. What the senses show us may or may not be true; really, they do not give us anything more than the possible. It is because of this inherent defect that Spinoza places adventitious ideas or the ideas furnished by the senses so low in the scale of knowledge. Truth must, in the last analysis, be found to be self-revealing. The truth of one thing may be furnished by another and the truth of this latter may be given by a third something, but until we come to such a thing which declares its own truth without reference to anything else, we cannot escape an infinite regress. Kant rightly suggests that there is a level of experience where there is no distinction between the possible and the actual, where everything that reveals itself carries the unquestionable criterion of its own actuality and where there is no room for any doubt, *viz.*, what appears may be only possible and not actual. Kant also rightly thinks that the limitations which apply to us, human beings, furnished with two such different conditions of knowledge as thought and perception, may not hold good of "every intelligence" and "all thinking beings." It is really assuring that Kant does not think of a being endowed with more powerful sense-organs or with a thousand other senses in order to conceive of a position where the limitations of a merely possible knowledge may be transcended but suggests the existence of some higher and more perfect intelligence or thinking being where the conditions are realised. It is true, as Kant holds, that our understanding or reason, as we are ordinarily acquainted with its working, cannot give us any experience of that higher level where everything that

¹ The Critique of Judgment, 415.

is thought of is actualised or rather where there is no room for any distinction between possibility and actuality, and that ordinarily we can only *think* of such a stage but cannot *know* or understand the nature of such experience or of any being having that experience. But it is wrong to suppose therefrom that the defect which reason experiences in not being able to reach actuality is due to its dealing with objects which cannot have any confirmation or rejection in any possible sense-experience. Reason does not want any confirmation by the senses when it is dealing with noumena or the intelligible world. It knows that if it has not yet been able to reach the depths where the truth of the fundamental reality may be known, the senses which lie in the outer skirts and are much further removed than itself from the fundamental reality which is of the nature of consciousness or spirit, cannot even be thought of as having any competence in that matter. The suggestion that reason is not here competent to give us knowledge because it is not getting that aid from sense-experience which it receives in other spheres, appears ridiculous to reason, because although it has not yet been able to achieve its end, still it has made sufficient progress at this stage to understand that the sense-organs have no competence to give us any knowledge of reality, and that the information which it itself has secured even at this stage is much more valuable than the testimony of the senses. Reason is much nearer to Reality than sense and when it climbs loftier heights than those which are ordinarily attained, it reaches that intuitive or "perceptive" level where the distinction between the possible and the actual is transcended, and, being then acquainted directly with reality, it also realises that although sense and understanding both attempt to know it indirectly, the medium which the senses employ is much cruder than that which the understanding utilises.

The whole mistake of Empiricism and of Kant lies in supposing that the knowledge gained through sense-perception is actual and somehow or other is the most perfect form of knowledge which human beings can attain. It is true that the directness and immediacy, the conviction and certainty, that we do find in sense-perception are wanting in the mere deductions or inferences of the understanding or reason. But it is wrong to suppose therefrom that there cannot be any higher level of the working of human reason where a greater directness and immediacy and a higher feeling

of certainty than that afforded by sense may be available. Truth is self-revealing and the conviction or immediate awareness of truth is its only criterion. Where this immediate or direct awareness is reached, truth impresses itself on us. We have an analogue of this direct awareness in sense-perception and therefore we ordinarily have such a conviction about its truth. But real immediacy can only be found in the case of the Absolute Consciousness where there is no intervention of ideas, where the ideal and the actual coincide, where nothing intervenes between the knower and the known, because the knower finds itself identical with the known. Kant also conceives of such an intelligence, but with him it is only a mere idea. Something like the immediate awareness which the Absolute or Pure Consciousness or Spirit has of itself is found where the consciousness that is revealed in and through the subject finds its correlate in the corresponding level of the object through which also the same consciousness is manifested. In the sense-level the correspondence between the subject-consciousness and the object-consciousness is established by means of the intuitions of sense. In the higher level of the understanding, this correspondence is sought to be established by means of the processes of reasoning, and something analogous to immediate awareness or conviction of truth is reached. Mathematical certainty and logical certainty belong to this level. The certainty of metaphysics or philosophy also belongs to this category. Still higher lies the stage of real immediate awareness which characterises the pure spirit or Pure Consciousness which is also identical with Absolute Consciousness inasmuch as there is in it no touch of matter which could make it limited in any way. On this theory Pure Consciousness or Spirit is the fundamental Reality and Truth. It is self-revealing and there is no gap between the subject and the object here, because here the subject-object distinction is altogether transcended. This alone is the region of Truth as it is in itself. In the lower regions, however, there is something like an appearance of truth. Wherever the gulf between the subject and the object is bridged over even partially there is an appearance of truth and a feeling of conviction to the extent to which the gap is healed. In sense-perception, a correspondence is established between the subject-consciousness and the object-consciousness and because the disparity and distance are removed to some extent due to the correspondence, conviction arises and sense-experience is taken to be true.

Processes of reasoning also help to remove the gap between the subject and the object. So long as a correspondence is not established in the higher sphere of the understanding, obscurity remains and conviction is not reached. But as soon as the correspondence is established, clear perception results and a conviction arises that truth has been attained. The correspondence that is required in the case of gross objects of sense-perception can only be established by the working of the sense-organs. The sense-organs, however, are altogether helpless in establishing the correspondence that is necessary when we are dealing with subtler objects, that is, objects with which the understanding deals. Kant is wrong in supposing that the certainty that is reached in mathematical knowledge is due to its connection with sense-perception. In mathematical and logical reasoning, it is the working of the understanding that establishes the correspondence required in this higher level. Higher levels require correspondence of a higher type and require working of higher faculties. It is wrong to suppose that as there is no possibility of the correspondence being established by the sense-organs, there cannot be any possibility of the correspondence being established at all. The only argument that Kant gives us is that as we have no experience of the perceptive working of reason, that is, no experience where reason alone produces conviction or certainty, we have to declare that such working is non-existent in human beings. The whole argument is based on the testimony of experience. There is not even the semblance of any really *transcendental* enquiry in Kant's Critiques. If any human being declares that he has experience of such working of his reason, Kant's argument at once ought to break down. There is no other support of the argument that human reason cannot attain such knowledge than that such knowledge is not being attained or that Kant has no experience of any such knowledge. If we begin at the other end and regard the immediate awareness of spirit, and not sense-knowledge to be the type of perfect knowledge, there will be no difficulty in supposing that if the senses can imitate that immediate awareness in the lower level of physical objects, reason also can approximate that immediacy of awareness to a much better extent in the higher level of intelligible objects. Reason appears to be a poor substitute for Sense, if Sense and Matter be regarded as supreme realities but it cannot but appear to be much more valuable than Sense when we come to realise that it is Spirit and not Matter that is the central principle of the universe.

MODERNISM IN BUDDHIST EDUCATION

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IF we look into the history of Indian Philosophy, we come to find that Buddhism exerted a considerable influence not only upon the philosophic thoughts of India and her religious ideals, but also upon the educational side, where its influence is very profound and far-reaching.

In a word, Buddhism may be said to have broken down the monopoly and some of the old conservative traditions of the Brahmanic schools. Buddhism placed both Religion and Education on a more popular basis than Brahmanism. In Brahmanism we come across so many prohibitions, restrictions and limitations in the field of Education. Higher learning was strictly always in the hands of Brahman teachers. Higher education in the sense of intellectual development and spiritual advancement, by the study of the Vedas, Upanishads, Grammar, Rhetoric, Philosophy, Religion, Metaphysics, and so on—all this was accessible only to the twice-born castes or Dvijas. The Sudras were as a rule debarred from all this.

Even among the twice-born castes, there were also provisions for different kinds of curricula and courses of studies, and different kinds of vows, observances and ceremonies of initiation to be performed by each caste at the time of entering a student-life. Buddhism, on the contrary, offered facilities for education to all alike—to pupils of all castes and creeds. Education, in modern times, is regarded as the birth-right of an individual, and hence it is meant for the rich and the poor, the high and the low, and for everybody. This is what is known as "Democracy in Education"—and this ideal was recognised in Buddhist Education. This is also the ideal of 'Mass Education,' as advocated in modern times.

Hence we may conclude that in those days of antiquity people realised the importance of mass literacy and advocated the wide diffusion and expansion of education throughout the whole country. This, in fact, is nothing but suggesting in those old days the demand for the growth of elementary schools in our country. We are now all

crying for compulsory Primary Education; but efforts were being made at that time for the rapid-spread of education among the masses. We are much surprised to find that the percentage of literacy among the Buddhist population in Asoka's time was much higher than it is now in many parts of British India. The great reformers of education in the Western World—like Vittorino da Feltre, Erasmus, Comenius and others—have all been made famous in the history of Education only by preaching the ideal of democratic or universal education, and by bringing the rudiments of learning within the reach of all alike, irrespective of castes and creeds.

The second great contribution of Buddhism to Education is that it founded education on a comparatively more secular basis. Education, they realised, should not be dominated through and through by religious and moral ideals. The Buddhist Monastery became not merely a place where simply religious and metaphysical doctrines were preached and discussed. Even those students who had no ambition to pass the rigid and austere life of an ascetic or who did not intend to pass their whole life in monasteries were also admitted, and they received education *for education's sake*. They would take part in debates, discussions, meetings, literary gatherings, and so on. It was, of course, a logical conclusion from Buddha's view of life that for rapid progress in spiritual culture and improvement, a life of retirement from the world and a life of meditation in the solitude of a forest is necessary and advisable. This sort of life was prescribed only for the most earnest. But, for the majority, patient studies in the monasteries were recommended.

Now, we may pass on to the great Buddhist centres of learning which may be said to be the ancient Indian Universities. We may consider, for instance, the centres like Nalanda, Vikramasila, Odantapuri, and Sreedhanyakatak.

The practice of Buddhist education varied much in different countries and at different times and we have no evidence as to how these monasteries gradually grew up into Universities. We get a valuable picture of Buddhist Education, as it existed in India, from the records of certain Chinese Buddhist scholars who visited India in the 5th and 7th centuries A.D. Mention may be made of the names of Fa-hien (399-414 A.D.), Hiuen-Tsiang (629-645 A.D.), and I-Tsing.

We find in the records of Fa-hien that there existed a Mahayana monastery and also a Hinayana monastery at Pataliputra (or modern

Patna). These two contained about seven hundred monks. He also found a monastery at Tamralipta (modern Tamluk) near the mouth of the Hooghly.

Nalanda, of course, was the most important Buddhist centre of learning at the time of the visit of Hiuen-Tsiang to India. It was famous far and wide for its learning. Priests and monks to the number of several thousands lived here. From morning till night they were engaged in the discussions of the Tripitaka. If people desired to enter into this seat of learning and take part in discussions, the keeper of the gate (better known as Dvarapandita—the gate-keeper of the gate of learning) proposed some hard questions which the entrants had to answer. The position of these Dvarapanditas was just like that of Provosts in the residential Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Many of the fresh entrants were unable to answer the questions and solve the problems placed before them, and consequently they had to retire.

After Hiuen-Tsiang's departure, another Chinese scholar, I-Tsing, came to India. He stayed at Nalanda which was still a flourishing centre of learning. The monastery had 8 halls and 300 apartments. The land in its possession contained two hundred villages. It is now a modern village (Baragaon), 7 miles from Rajgeer. There were 3,000 monks assembled from China, Egypt and Central Asia who studied here and received their board and lodging free. These ancient Universities, like Nalanda, had their name and fame spread all over the continent of Asia.

The names of persons associated with its royal founders are Sakraditya, Buddhagupta, Tathagatagupta, Baladitya, Vajra and others. The famous teachers mentioned by Hiuen-Tsiang were Dhammapala, Goramati, Sthiramati, Prabhamitra, Jinamitra, Jnanachandra, Seelabhadra, and others. The renowned scholars at Nalanda as mentioned by I-Tsing were Nagarjuna (who was later raised to the status of a Bodhisatva), Deva, Asvaghosa, Vasubandhu, Dingnaga, Kamalasila and others. The foreign scholars who visited Nalanda were Hiuen-Tsiang, I-Tsing, Hiuen Chin (who got the title of Prakasamati), Taon Hi, Sreedeva, Aryavarman, the great Korean monk On Kong, and others.

Nalanda had the biggest library in India. It was situated at Dharmaganj (Piety-mart). It consisted of 3 grand buildings called Ratnadadhi, Ratnasagara, and Ratnaranjaka. In Ratnodadhi, which was nine-storied, there were the sacred scripts called Prajnaparamita Sutra and various Tantrik works. The curricula consisted of the Great

Vehicle (Mahayana), the works belonging to 18 schools of Buddhism, the Vedas, Logic (Hetuvidya), Grammar (Sabdauidya), Arts (Silpa), Medicine (Chikitsa Vidya), Philosophy (Adhyatma Vidya), works on Tantra, and such miscellaneous works as Jataka, Bhartrihari Shastra, etc.

According to the statement of Hiuen-Tsiang, "The priests at Nalanda were men of the highest ability and talent with great distinction, with their conduct pure and unblameable. They followed in sincerity the precepts of the moral law. From morning till night they were engaged in discussions—the old and the young mutually helping one another. Those who could not discuss questions out of the Tripitaka were little esteemed. Learned men from different countries desiring to acquire quick renown came to enter this University in multitudes. But the keeper of the gate would ask hard questions—many being unable to answer them would have to retire. Seventy or eighty per cent of such would-be residents of Nalanda failed to pass the admission test."

Students from all parts of the world came to this place. Persons usurped the name of Nalanda to receive honour in consequence. The names of famous scholars would be written in white on lofty gates. The teaching here was both professorial and tutorial. The monks and students were occupied in copying manuscripts, which were preserved in the libraries. The library study is always more useful than mere lecturing or teaching in the sense of giving continuous narration and filling or stuffing the minds of students with a huge fund of information.

Next we may say something about Vikramasila. Vikramasila was situated at Sultanaganj in Bhagalpur. It was founded by Dhammapala in the 9th Century A.D. Under his royal auspices 108 Professors taught various subjects here. For about 4 centuries, there was successful work under his royal patronage, by a board of 6 members presided over by the high priest.

Dhammapala endowed it with rich grants, fixing regular allowances for the maintenance of priests and students. There were establishments for temporary residents. A central hall was there, called the "House of Science," having 6 gates which opened on its colleges. There was also a large open space which could accommodate an assembly of 8,000 persons. It was surrounded by walls like those at Nalanda. In its front wall, to the right of the principal entrance, there was an image of Nagarjuna—once the head of the Nalanda

University. To the left, the portrait of Ateesa was hung. There was a Dharmasala at the gate outside the wall where strangers, arriving after the closing of the gate, were sheltered. Each college was under the guidance of a Dvarapandita. In Vikramasila there were 6 Dvarapanditas as compared with Nalanda where there was only one. No one could enter here also without first defeating these Dvarapanditas with controversial debates. Perhaps, each college specialised in a particular subject with its Dvarapandita as a principal official. The names of the Dvarapanditas were Prajnakarmamati, Ratnakarasanti, Vageesvarakeerti Naropanta, Ratnavajra and Jnanasreemitra. The courses of study were perhaps less comprehensive at Vikramasila than at Nalanda. The most important branch of learning taught here was the Tantras. Next to Tantras, there were studied Grammar, Metaphysics and Logic.

Next let us pass on to Odantapuri. Gopala, the first of the Pala dynasty, founded a great monastery at Odantapuri, the ancient name of a modern town of Behar. This was in a flourishing condition during the reign of King Surabaladeva of Pala dynasty.

The monastery of Sreedhanyakataka was on the bank of the Krishna, near Amaravoti in Berar. It was a seat of both Brahmanical and Buddhist learning. It was famous for its learning at the time of Nagarjuna, an alchemist. This Nagarjuna was, of course, different from the above mentioned Nagarjuna of Nalanda.

Now, in conclusion, we might assert that the ideal of a truly modern University was fully realised in these ancient seats of learning. What, after all, should be the ideal of a University? It should not merely be an examining centre but a teaching body. If we consult the aim, curricula, organisation, method of teaching and discipline in these centres of learning, we are surprised to find all the principles of modern education embodied here.

The aim was nothing but enlightenment—self-knowledge and knowledge of the universe (Buddhatva). Hence the curricula in these places were also very wide, embracing in its scope Grammar, Rhetoric, Philosophy, Religion and the like, though Medicine and Grammar were most emphasised. The method of teaching was oral—by eliciting questions and answers. The most interesting item was their occasional debates and discussions as mentioned before.

With regard to organisation, I must finish by saying that the residential system is a very striking feature in these Universities. We always admire this ideal of Oxford and Cambridge Universities. But this was a striking feature of our ancient Indian Universities.

Last but not least comes the question of discipline and punishment. I should at the very outset state what 'discipline' in the modern sense connotes. The traditional teacher has hitherto demanded a *type of discipline* which he has so long maintained by virtue of his rod. He could not tolerate the sight of brisk and *free* children working and moving about in their perfect naturalness, which all the new methods of education are seeking to produce.

Discipline must come through liberty which has for its essential mark 'activity.' *Freedom first, freedom second and freedom last*—this is the watch-word of modern discipline or the discipline of *emancipation*. This freedom, however, is not to be taken to mean absolute licence, but it involves, on the contrary, some sort of creative work on the part of the pupil. The old conception of discipline was negative—it was rather a coercion to 'immobility.' But real discipline does not aim at reducing children to 'immobility' or mute silence in the class-room, or as Madame Montessori says, treating children like "rows of butterflies transfixed with a pin." Such children are not actually disciplined but annihilated. An individual is disciplined only when he is a master of himself and can, therefore, regulate his own conduct, and not merely when he has been rendered as artificially silent as a dumb person and as immobile as a paralytic.

Discipline in the positive sense of the term, is the result of the gradual building up of the habits of self-control and self-direction, and this will be accepted by the pupil and carried out not because it is imposed from above but because of his recognition of its necessity and value. It is a growth from within. There should be no external restraint, no fixed routine-work or absolute rigidity as in our traditional class-teaching. There is not even a fixed time-table in the school. Children will work according to their own rate, will progress according to their own speed and engage themselves according to their sweet will. And this discipline to which the child habituates himself here is, in its character, not only limited to school-environment but extends to society at large. This type of discipline existed in the ancient Buddhist system of education. There was nothing of

harshness or rigidity here. Perfect freedom and mutual reverence could also be seen there. The teacher and the taught were bound in relation akin to that existing between the father and son. We find also in Manu Samhita passages giving the ideas of the true discipline. One extract runs thus:—

“ The good of creatures should be effected with kind sympathetic means ; desiring virtue, one shall use sweet gentle words under the circumstances.”

According to Yajnavalkya Samhita, “ A preceptor should admonish his pupil without beating him or inflicting any kind of corporal punishment on him. In case of emergency, of course, he may be chastised with a cut piece of rope or with bamboo-twigs without leaves. A king shall punish a preceptor for chastising his pupil in any other way.” Manu was in favour of punishment but of a mild type: “ A wife, son, servant, brother, or disciple found guilty of an offence should be punished with a cord or with a foliated bamboo stick. They shall be beaten only on the lower parts of the body and never on the upper limbs.” In modern education, the teacher does not hold an authoritarian position frequently interfering with the students. His position is just like that of an elder brother—a companion, a guide and a director. In fact in many modern systems of education the very name ‘teacher’ has vanished. The Montessori teachers are called Directresses ; in the Kindergarten system of Froebel, the instructors are called Benevolent Superintendents. The teacher is just like a President in a republic having a veto power but he will not exert that too often but keep it reserved only for times of emergency. As Dr. Nunn remarks, “ the teacher’s part in short, in all matters, is that of a perpetual President in the Little Republic where the onus of school government is thrown upon the governed.” This is the warm and genial attitude of the teacher to the pupil in New Teaching, and fortunately in Buddhist Education this ideal of true discipline was not lost sight of.

In Buddhist Education, the ceremonies of admission into the academic institutions deserve our special attention. We can have an insight into the ideal of self-discipline fostered here. When the student was going to be initiated for the first time, he had to take several vows, saying some prayers. The ceremony was of two kinds. One called Pabbajja was the first act of admission. After this

admission the candidate became a novice. The other ceremony for full admission was called the Upasampada.

No one could receive the Pabbajja ordination till he was eight years of age, nor the Upasampada ordination till he was twenty. Respect for superiors was required from the novice, and the chapter, consisting of ten monks, might impose penances for offences, and could even expel a Bhikshu from the Order in case of a serious offence.

The usual mode of subsistence was for the monks to beg food from house to house. All monks took part in the work of begging but 'the manual labour' in connection with the Vihara was performed by the novices; and the senior members of the community were expected to devote themselves to meditation and to trances, and to learning thoroughly the doctrines of the faith and spreading them abroad in the whole world.

Every Samanera (or Novice) was required to choose a Bhikshu who was a full member of the order as his preceptor (or Upajjhaya or Acharya). A pupil was called Saddhiviharika.

The Upajjhaya ought to consider the pupil as a son and the pupil ought to consider the Upajjhaya as a father. Thus these two were united by mutual reverence and confidence.

Every student was to be neat and clean, free from disease and debt: he ought not to have been in royal service and he would have to take vows saying—

Buddham Saranam Gacchami
Dhammam Saranam Gacchami
Sangham Saranam Gacchami.

Here the word *Sangha* is very significant. This term indicates that they formed a strong society where each member was tied to the other by a bond of unity, friendliness and fellow-feeling. And all this shows that the members of this group were in heart and soul students or disciples in the real sense of the term. The word *Sisya* (disciple), as we know, comes from the root 'Sas' which means 'to govern' (*Sas-Kyap*). Hence the implication of the term *Sisya* is nothing but self-government, self-discipline and self-control, which were noticed in these disciples. As Tennyson has put it:

“Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control—
 These three alone lead life to sovereign power.”

As a whole, then, we might designate the Buddhist Education as monastic in character, and this follows as a result of Buddha's own life and character and his teachings. But yet we can never call it purely ascetic, for Buddha was strongly against any bodily mortification. This system of education may, therefore, be called a perfect and ideal system which could possibly be conceived of in those grim days of Indian antiquity.

CHARACTERISATION IN BANKIM- CHANDRA'S NOVELS

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I

THE story interest is immensely old. After hunting when the
caveman returned home he squatted near the camp-fire and listened
with wide-eyed wonder to the legends of his tribe. The Saxon Court
had its Scôp, the Norman, its Minstrel. The tale that Ulysses told
has its counterpart in every age and every clime. It is, therefore,
only natural that the backbone of the modern novel should
be a story—a narrative of events in their time-sequence.

There is, however, something else in life besides time, something
which is measured by intensity and value. The novelist, indeed,
cannot ignore the thread of history, he has to cling to it ; else he
becomes absolutely unintelligible. Yet a novel cannot leave any
deep impression on the mind of its readers unless and until it expresses
something besides the mere story ; it must include the life by value
as well. Characters appeal to our intelligence and imagination and
not merely to our curiosity. They make a novel really significant.
With them a new emphasis enters into the novelist's voice—an em-
phasis on value.

Characterisation in Bankimchandra's novels has an added
interest. Bankim was not a mere artist nor was he a mere moralist.
He wanted to tell a story effectively ; otherwise he could not have been
the great novelist he undoubtedly is. But he had also a higher
purpose in view. In and through his stories he wanted to create a
world of imagination which would not only give aesthetic satisfaction
to his readers but lift them above the common sordid atmosphere
of everyday life. He sought, sometimes indirectly and sometimes
directly, to instil into the mind of his readers the highest moral truths
and ideals. This he could do only by a close interaction between
character and incident. Environment and personality react one on
the other and out of their mutual interaction a world gradually gathers

shape before our very eyes—a world in which Bankim seeks to “justify the ways of God to men,” to illustrate in his own way the inscrutable yet just workings of human destiny.

His plots are, consequently, very often utilised for the purpose of building up central characters. They are simply woven round one or more human personalities. They are the background against which the characters are developed, mere patterns of incidents out of which human beings of flesh and blood seem to grow in distinctness and individuality. Very often the hero dominates the entire scene; he brooks no rival to his throne. All incidents, all other characters must be subordinated to him. They are of significance only when they contribute to the evolution of his personality. Such a hero is Sitaram—that man of sturdy independence and indomitable will whose unrestrained and immoderate love brings about his degeneration and downfall.

Such another is Kapalkundala, the Miranda of Bankim’s creation. The ocean thundering against its shore, the last glimmer of sunset on its waters; the homely personality of Adhikari, the Kapalik with his terrible potency for evil; the wit and culture of Matibibi and the domesticity of Shyama; the quiet midnight and the symbolic dream of a harassed mind—they are all artistically utilised to create and develop Kapalkundala, that fairy child of nature partially transformed by contact with humanity, who reverts to type when confronting the spiritual crisis of her life.

In a poverty-stricken home is born a spirited damsel. She keenly resents neglect by her husband and his family. Forsaken by all and left alone in the gloomy forest, she comes into contact with a philosophical brigand and becomes Debi Chaudhurani, the courageous leader of a band of philanthropic robbers. The various incidents of the novel, her expulsion from her husband’s family, the sudden death of her mother, her abduction, her fateful meetings with her husband, her conflicts with the minions of law and order—they are all artistically utilised to bring out the different facets of her complete personality. Her attendants act as mere foils to set off the grandeur of her heroic nature and the sweetness of her womanly character.

In *Indira*, similarly, through the varied incidents of its plot, Bankim presents before our imagination the picture of a full-blooded young maiden, crushed and at the same time strengthened by adversity, who, by one supreme act of bold adventure, attains the

greatest happiness of her life. With great art the novelist introduces minor characters who simply help to reveal the inner history of a woman's heart.

With similar deft touches of art the character of Rajani gradually develops through the incidents of the story. Every character and every situation is carefully utilised by the novelist to create the pathetic figure of the blind girl who, passing through all the experiences of love, gratitude and tragic self-sacrifice, at long last reaches the haven of repose in her husband's affection.

And then there floats into our vision the tragic figure of Nagendranath, a man of culture, whose lack of self-control releases stupendous forces of destiny which well-nigh crush him; and of Gobindalal, that youth of healthy normality who gradually degenerates through his infatuation for mere physical beauty.

In several novels, again, Bankim creates a pair of central characters. The experiences through which they pass, their clash with environment, their conflict with other characters form the stuff of which his novels are made. Such are Jibananda, the man of sturdy independence and delicate moral sensibilities who does not flinch, in the least, from sacrificing himself at the altar of duty; and his equally exalted companion Santi, strong in the strength of life's experience yet instinct with the joy of life and the spirit of adventure, who acts as the inspiring angel of her husband in all the spiritual crises of his life.

Through the entire world of *Mrinalini*, the outstanding personality of Hemchandra stands prominently before the imagination of the reader. But this patriot Prince has for his counterpart the equally important figure of Mrinalini whose constancy in love triumphs over slanders, calumnies and other vicissitudes of life. Unlike Jibananda and Santi whose characters are perfectly attuned, one to the other, the personalities of Hemchandra and Mrinalini have an added charm about them. The strength of the prince and the clinging tenderness of his beloved, the impulsiveness of the one and the calm resignation of the other—they are all blended together into a beautiful pattern developed and enriched by the incidents and subordinate characters of the novel.

A similar effect of harmonious blending in which the hero and the heroine form perfect complements of one another is discernible in *Durgeshnandini*. The generous man of action, easily swayed by

passions and suspicions, has here for his counterpart an innocent damsel who knows little or nothing beyond the narrow circle of Garh Mandaran.

In Pratap and Saibalini this differentiation reaches the height of contrast. The noble-minded Pratap, so full of sympathy and consideration for others, who exercises self-control even to the extent of self-immolation, is sharply contrasted with Saibalini, the impulsive and adventurous maiden, who, rendered desperate by the non-fulfilment of her early love, can plunge into adventures without any the slightest consideration for the proprieties of life. Such a contrast makes the characters themselves distinct, life-like, three-dimensional.

In historical or quasi-historical novels the artist has to draw his pattern of life on a larger canvas. He cannot confine himself to one or two central characters. He must give us the picture of an age—a panoramic view of people and places crowded with life, intense, vivid and inexhaustibly stirring. Such is "A Tale of Two Cities" where the surging life of revolutionary Paris gives significance and value to the story of a single family. Scott may, indeed, centre his historical tale round a hero, but his hero very soon recedes into the background and the historical movement itself comes into prominence. In fact novelists who seek to depict an age instead of particular individuals must use an entirely different artistic technique. A few figures may hold the main thread of the story and represent its course but it is necessary even for their typical truth that their attachment to the general drama of life should be felt and understood. The effect of a wide world must be given—a world opening away to the far distance round the action of the centre. Beyond the few that are to the fore, there must stretch a receding crowd with many faces in full light and many more that swell the impression of swarming life.

Although we cannot say that Bankim uses this technique in its perfection, yet in several of his novels like *Chandrasekhar*, *Rajsinha*, and *Mrinalini* he gives us the impression rather of a panorama of life than of individual characters in action. Hemchandra and Mrinalini are indeed prominent figures but they are almost submerged in the crowd of historical and quasi-historical figures like Bakhtiyar, Pasupati, Manorama, Madhabacharyya. Chandrasekhar in *Chandrasekhar* plays a subordinate part; Pratap and Saibalini hold the scene for some length of time. Soon, however, the canvas is overcrowded with historical personages—Mir Kasim, the statesmanlike ruler of Bengal,

his treacherous attendants and loving wife, Lawrence Foster and other factors of the East India Company, adventurers and conspirators like Gurgan Khan, Jagat Sett and others. They all live and move in the pages of the novel.

In both these novels certain central figures emerge out of the crowd and the plot contributes very considerably to the building up of their characters and fortunes. In *Rajsinha*, however, the hero is not an individual but an entire generation. Rajsinha the Patriot-Prince of Mewar, Chauchalkumari its symbol of womanly love and womanly pride, Zeb-un-nisa the Mughal princess wading through a life of dissipation and luxury to spiritual regeneration, Mubarak the chivalrous general torn between contending passions, Aurangzeb the super-diplomat who shakes his own throne by his short-sighted policy—which of these shall we regard as the central figure? Is it not rather the age which the artist seeks to create in his story? *Rajsinha* is, in fact, a many-centred novel which gains in massiveness what it loses in artistic unity. For its artistic effect it owes more to unity of impression based on a historical picture of the age than to anything else.

The choice of characters in a novel depends on many artistic considerations. Contrast of personalities often reveals the inner nature of human character far better than anything else. The virtues and vices of men are painted all the more vividly if they are contrasted one against the other. White shines most brightly against the background of black. Othello becomes all the more real when there is an Iago to set him off. Bhabananda, the lofty man of action, falling an easy prey to the charms of Kalyani, brings out clearly the self-restraint of Jibananda and Santi and invests with a peculiar strength and significance their meticulous sense of duty. Pasupati, the statesman, degenerating by his ambition into a traitor, acts as a foil to the steady, unhesitating patriotism of Hemchandra.

In order to create an atmosphere of verisimilitude round the incidents of *Indira* it was necessary to build up the character of a husband, sensual in nature, who might, if occasion arose, snap his fingers at the proprieties of life for the sake of gratifying his passions; and the result is Upendra who does not scruple to carry on a *liaison* with a maid-servant. The sensual nature of this man is rendered all the more convincing by an implied contrast with the constancy and affection of Ramendra. In *Dalani*, again, the faithfulness of an affectionate wife sacrificing with a smile even her life for the sake of love sets off

by contrast the errant Saibalini who yearns for the fulfilment of her early love and, rendered desperate by failure, finds no peace. Sundari, the orthodox Hindu wife with her traditional ideals of womanhood, similarly brings into clear relief the peculiar psychology of Saibalini's troubled mind. Chandrasekhar, that scholar absolutely indifferent to all worldly concerns, is an admirable foil to the man of action, Pratap, struggling against his own divided self and gaining repose in death. Zeb-un-nisa, the proud inmate of the Mughal Harem, refusing to obey the salutary traditions of her own religion, has to pay a heavy price; and, passing through the bitterest experiences of her life, attains spiritual regeneration. This transformation from an epicure to a woman becomes all the more significant as it is sharply defined against the background of the passionate personality of Daria, Mubarak's wedded wife, who sacrifices everything for her husband and loses her reason with the loss of her love. Sharply contrasted against Bhramar—the faithful wife buoyant and joyous in the possession of her husband's love—stands Robini, that type of sensual womanhood who falls an easy prey to temptation and desire.

In several of his novels, again, Bankim introduces characters who, by their different temperaments and different outlooks on life, render one another vivid and life-like. No contrast is implied in such characterisation. During the earliest stages in the development of Prafulla's character Sagar and Nayanbau are brought into the closest contact with her. They meet together and talk among themselves and there gradually grow up before our imagination three definite personalities—the ever-smiling and sympathetic Sagar bubbling with life, the jealous and haughty Nayanbau, and lastly the dignified and self-possessed Prafulla. The character of each one of them is realised all the more distinctly by this close association among themselves.

The same method of realising, clearly and distinctly, the personalities of different types of character by close association among them we can discern in the next triad—Kamalmani, Suryyamukhi and Kunda. They are all affectionate wives. But the buoyant wit of Kamalmani, the selfless devotion of Suryyamukhi (with just a touch of womanly *hauteur*) and the innocent all-absorbing passion of Kunda—all blend together into a symphony of love which invests the story with a new significance. In *Sitaram*, again, the plot is enriched by the characters of Nanda, Rama and Sree. Each has a distinct personality of her own—Rama the devoted wife, Nanda the trembling anxious girl,

and Sree the true self-reliant companion. Yet their different temperaments and natures are artistically brought out by coming into close contact, one with the other.

In the second part of *Debi Chaudhurani* there is a similar triad. But here the novelist has an entirely different purpose in view. He is now obsessed by his theory of self-discipline. He wants to create a character who will answer his ideal of strength made perfect in weakness, of a *sannyasini* and a woman too. To distinguish such an ideal character from common womanhood he creates *Nisha* (a symbol of the night of spiritual inertia ?) the plain normal woman untroubled by any ideal. Sharply contrasted against her stands *Diba* (representing the resplendent light of spiritual illumination ?) the devoted soul who, after passing through the bitterest experiences of her life, has consecrated herself to her God. Neither of these types, however, satisfies the artist, the one is too earthly and the other too spiritual for "human nature's daily food." Midway between them both stands *Debi Chaudhurani*. She so far transcends normal womanhood as to imbibe the spirit of disinterested service to humanity. But the woman in her she has not been able to suppress. It breaks out, time and again, and triumphs at last over her stoicism. Here, however, the purpose of the novelist is too glaringly manifest to be artistic ; for true art is unobtrusive and indirect.

Much less obtrusive is the implied differentiation between the three characters of *Mrinalini*, *Girijaya* and *Manorama*. The inner romantic nature of *Mrinalini* becomes more distinct and convincing when set off against the normal commonsense point of view of her companion *Girijaya*, and her essential womanliness is vividly realised against the background of *Manorama*, that enigmatic personality—half woman and half child. The two contrasting characters of *Girijaya* and *Manorama* serve the artistic purpose of bringing into relief *Mrinalini*'s complex nature in which romance and reality are harmoniously blended together.

Kapalkundala is transplanted to human society. She can no longer remain the unsophisticated creature that she was before. Her nature must react against her changed environment. This mental reaction in her has been very artistically brought out by Bankim in course of a conversation between herself and her sister-in-law *Shyama*, the normal Hindu wife. Set off against the normal commonsense point of view represented in *Shyama*, *Kapalkundala*'s peculiar outlook on life gains an added significance. The gradual

development of Mati Bibi from a sophisticated, refined lady of the Imperial court to a devoted, affectionate woman sacrificing all future prospects for love is described vividly and accurately in order that the part she plays in the development of action might be invested with an atmosphere of probability and verisimilitude. Yet there is a subtle and implied contrast between the artificial courtier turned woman and the innocent child of nature transformed into a social human being—a contrast which cannot escape the notice of discerning readers.

A similar technique of bringing out the essential characteristics of different persons not by contrast but by differentiation can also be observed in several pairs of characters in Bankimchandra's novels. There is, in such cases, no attempt to set off one personality against the other, yet their divergent temperaments, natures or outlooks on life serve to bring out their inner selves more clearly and with greater realism than would have been possible if they had not been brought so close together. The faithfulness of Kalyani, her bashfulness and strength, her absolute isolation from the outside world—they make it easier for us to appreciate Santi. Nurtured as she is in an atmosphere of freedom, Santi, coming into contact with the sordid world of everyday life, struggles hard against its temptations. Her bitter experiences, however, only make her stronger and more resourceful. They instil into her a stronger faith in Providence and a deeper attachment to the highest ideals of morality which mark her out from common womanhood. Her resourcefulness and strength, the way in which she boldly confronts the world of reality—are they not rendered more striking and life-like when compared with the shy and bashful figure of Kalyani? Both are typical wives of Bengal, faithful unto death and strong in the strength of the spirit, but their characters have been moulded differently because of the different environment in the midst of which each grew up.

Both Amarnath and Sachindra are lovers; but the disinterested self-sacrifice of Amarnath sets off very distinctly the all-absorbing passion of Sachindra. Osman and Jagatsinha are equally chivalrous and equally honourable. But the Pathan in Osman and the Rajput in Jagatsinha are fully realised when they come into closer contact. The passion of the Pathan throws into bolder relief the patient courage of the Rajput. These pairs of characters have, all of them, the same fundamental characteristics as the basis of their personality but the differences introduced render them more complex and

more real. It is that differentiations among characters of the same type that individualise them. The harmonious blending of the typical with the individual, which one can discern in them, makes these pairs of cognate characters, men and women of flesh and blood, creatures of this world of reality and not mere phantoms of a poet's imagination.

There are, however, other characters which have no such basic similarity. Nor do they shine by contrast. On the contrary, they seem to represent in themselves men and women of the world of actual experience, ever varied in their character and temperament, illuminating one another by light caught from the different facets of their own selves. The witty, cheerful Subhasini, bubbling with laughter and mischief yet full of the milk of human-kindness, flits across the scene in *Indira*, yet it is her influence which strengthens Indira in the darkest days of her life and gives her hope and courage. The mature womanhood of Lalitalavangalata, her humour and intellectual alertness, her shrewdness and womanly anxiety for her step-son—in short, the complexities of her nature—bring out all the more distinctly the childlike innocence of the coy, bashful maiden, Rajani. But we do not feel that any contrast is implied in their case. In all these instances of characterisation, the novelist, by the introduction and development of such loosely associated personalities, seems to invest his novels with a universality of appeal which, otherwise, it could not have possessed. We seem to be moving in a world which, inspite of all its imaginative idealisations, is still too near our own world of experience to be brushed aside as the creation, unsubstantial and unreal, of an artist's fancy.

Characteristic action is the stuff of which both dramas and novels are made. A close relationship between character and action has been universally recognised as one of the most fundamental principles of literary art. The conflict between personality and environment or their mutual interaction invests the most insignificant plot with a significance and value of its own. The plot of a drama or of a novel gives us true aesthetic satisfaction only when it issues out of the characteristic action of its protagonists vividly realised as human beings of flesh and blood. There is indeed a class of novels in which the action is everything and characters are merely pawns to build up the plot. We might admire the ingenuity of the plot-structure in such novels but they do not have about them the breath of life which is absolutely necessary for their proper appreciation. They have no significance as imaginative interpretations of life.

In Bankim's novels the emphasis is not so much on ingenuity of construction as on consistent characterisation. Yet he introduces many characters for the purpose of developing the story-element rather than for illuminating, by contrast or comparison, the different aspects of the human personality. Such characters are, however, not mere pawns in the game of story-telling. They have, on the contrary, personalities more or less fully developed. By participating in the action of the novels they render the plot less mechanical and more real. Gangaram in *Sitaram* is a character of this type. His importance lies solely in the contribution that he makes to the development of action. The first crisis in Sitaram's life centres round him. He is responsible for the exile of Sitaram and the gradual building up of his new kingdom. The complication of the plot is more or less due to his machinations against Rama. His irresistible passion for the queen of Sitaram and the questionable activities which issue out of it are the basis on which the novelist builds up one of the most moving scenes in the novel—the vindication of Rama. It is mainly through his instrumentality that Sree meets Sitaram—a meeting which is fraught with far-reaching consequences for both these central figures; and in the last scene when Sitaram, fallen and vanquished, cuts his way through the mighty hosts of the Muhammadan Sultan it is he who is discovered in the ranks of the enemy.

In the background of the Sannyasi Organisation looms large the outstanding personality of Satyananda. He is the guiding spirit of the whole movement. He it is who formulates and spreads the cult of nationalism among the common people. Through him it gathers strength and solidarity. His admonitions and warnings, his inspiring presence invest it with a stability, both intellectual and moral. In the crises of their lives Jibananda and Bhabananda are guided by him. Yet we never feel him to be the hero. He is never the centre of the real interest. On the contrary, even such an outstanding personality is subordinated to the central figures of the novel. He might be the motive force of action—a fully developed personality indeed, but one who is significant only because of his contributions to the development of its plot and the character of its chief protagonists.

Abhiram Swami is the guardian angel of the hapless family of Birendrasinha. It is through his influence that Birendra rejects the offer of Katlu Khan, with the result that his fortress is captured

and his family ruined. His benign presence strengthens Bimala in the midst of dire distress and it is he who in the end reunites the loving pair.

The Kapalik is the instrument of fate that ruins Kapalkundala. His grim presence in the first scene of the novel creates the atmosphere and prepares the ground for the appearance of Kapalkundala. When Kapalkundala becomes Mrinmayee he significantly recedes into the background. He appears and the shadow of impending doom settles on the entire scene. Thenceforward he moves with terrible significance creating everywhere an atmosphere of tragic suspense. He spreads his toils and entraps Nabakumar. He works upon his suspicious mind and brings about the final catastrophe.

Foster, similarly, is the evil genius of Saibalini. He complicates the situation by carrying her off and thus creating an insuperable barrier between the unfortunate girl and normal Hindu society—a barrier which renders her all the more desperate and reckless of consequences. He does, indeed, bring about her downfall, yet it is through him that her character is vindicated. This factor of the East India Company flits across the scene as an instrument of human destiny contributing to the development of action and forming a link in the different episodes of the plot.

In *Bishabriksha* Debendra and Hira act the same part as Foster. Debendra is responsible for the misfortunes of Kunda and her flight from the house of her protector; Hira contributes to the catastrophe by bringing about Kunda's suicide. Bit by bit, by deft touches of art, the novelist develops their character. They gather shape before our very eyes; and this gradual growth of their personalities is absolutely necessary to account for the part they play in the story. But Bankimchandra does not stop with the suicide of Kunda which is the true catastrophe of the novel. Without any artistic necessity whatsoever he proceeds to illustrate in the life of both Debendra and Hira the moral adage that the wages of sin is death. The moral interest of the tale has plainly carried him off his feet. He is too strong a moralist, too much obsessed with the idea of poetic justice, to let slip such an opportunity of "justifying the ways of God to men."

No such inartistic over-elaboration marks the character of Brajeswar in *Debi Chaudhurani*. He comes and goes in strict conformity to the requirements of art. He plays a very prominent part in the development of Prafulla's character. He it is who

prevents her from becoming a *sannyasini* which she was trained to be. He, again, is mainly responsible for her renewed interest in life and return to domesticity and normal womanhood. Not only so, Brajeswar is the pivot round which the plot centres. The different crises in Debi's life are all very closely linked with him. He is the mainspring behind all the activities of that spirited leader of philanthropic robbers.

A similar artistic restraint is shown in Bankim's characterisation of Bhabani Pathak in the same novel. The temptation of giving a full-length portrait of a philosophical robber was very great in that romantic age during which Bankim flourished. *Anandamath* fully illustrates Bankim's interest in the *Sannyasi* type. In many novels, again, this type persists with great tenacity. Yet here in *Debi Chaudhurani*, though Bhabani Pathak is the creator of the philosophical bandit into which the erstwhile village girl is transformed, he never occupies the centre of the scene. He is never too prominent. On the contrary, he is consistently kept in the background though the reader always feels his presence and influence. He is made just as much real as is artistically necessary for the proper understanding of Prafulla's transformation.

Apart from occasional lapses when he is carried away by his didacticism or his interest in particular types of human character, Bankim is very careful to maintain a just proportion between characterisation and plot-construction. He develops his characters just as much as is absolutely necessary from the artistic point of view. They grow indeed but never outgrow the part they play in the novel. Besides his heroes and heroines he paints full-length portraits of those characters alone who contribute very decisively to the action of his novels ; and it was necessary that he should do so. Inadequately motivated action leaves no impression on our mind. It appears too unnatural to be taken on trust. We miss that elusive atmosphere of verisimilitude which is necessary for the proper appreciation of art. But when the story-interest is definitely linked with character, it gains in depth and significance. The central characters are, however, too few to account for the entire action of a novel. It is, consequently, very often necessary to introduce subordinate characters to carry it on. Unless, however, such characters are more or less fully developed, the action itself hangs in the air. It can have no firm ground to stand upon. Bankim was fully conscious of this artistic principle. And so we find him creating an Abhiram Swami, a Kapalik or a Brajeswar.

MAORI LAND AND CULTURE

DR. KALIDAS NAG, M.A.(CAL.), D.LITT. (PARIS)

NEW ZEALAND, the home of the Polynesian Maoris, is generally considered to be a recent addition to our geographical knowledge. Tasman rediscovered it in 1642 and Captain Cook placed New Zealand on the map in 1769. But it was not settled until 1839 and that is how we find this year arrangements for the celebration of its first Centenary, on which I felicitate my friends of New Zealand.

Thanks to the recent progress in the science of Anthropology, we are now pretty sure that the Maori people discovered the islands long before Tasman. When Captain Cook arrived, there were about 100,000 Maoris out of which 30,000 in the South Island dwindled to 3,000 only according to recent statistics. The Maori population reached its lowest ebb 39,854 in 1896 and the extinction of the race was predicted. But suddenly the Maoris showed signs of revival ; their number increased to a little over 82,000 although 50 per cent. is reported to be half-caste. The Maori slowly regained self-confidence and self-respect under the effective guidance of their noble leaders like Sir Maui Pomara, a minister of the Crown, Sir James Carroll, once Prime Minister of the Dominion, Sir Apirana Ngata, M.P., poet, scholar and statesman and Dr. Peter H. Buck, anthropologist and Director of Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

Dr. Buck whose Maori name is Te Rangi Hiroa has given the most authoritative account on the migrations of the Polynesians right up to New Zealand (*vide Ancient Hawaiian Civilization*, pp. 19-30). He showed how the Polynesians, an offshoot of the Caucasian race, worked eastwards from the south of the Himalayas and reached the islands of the Malaya Archipelago known collectively as Indonesia. There they came in contact with the Mongoloid ancestors of the Malays, intermixed with them, developed the knowledge of ocean-craft provided with a single outrigger canoe and became a sea-faring people. About the beginning of the Christian era they entered into the heart of the Pacific Ocean according to the researches of Abraham Fornander of Hawaii and Percy Smith of New Zealand. Two routes were open to them: The Northern or Micronesian route extended from the Philippines through Micronesia to Hawaii in the North Pacific

(circa 450 A.D.). The Southern or Melanesian route extended from Indonesia, along the north coast of New Guinea to Fiji and thence to the Polynesian group of islands like Samoa and Tonga and Tahiti where they probably found earlier settlers called Manahune with Melanesian characteristics. Seligman also is of opinion that some of the islands that are now Polynesian were inhabited by primitive black population and therefore we find today much variability among the different groups of Oceania : " In the East the skin is light, the hair wavy or straight ; in the West there is a considerable number of dark-skinned people with almost frizzly hair."

About 950 A.D., according to the Maori geneologies, the audacious Polynesian pioneer Kupe sailed from the Tahiti zone and discovered the " Land of the High Mists " or *Aotearoa*, later called New Zealand. From the 11th to the 14th century we find Maori traditions recounting the stories of long voyages from Central Polynesia in organised expeditions under their chiefs or *Arii* accompanied by " learned priests as navigators." These chieftains and priests or medicine-men are called *ariki*s and *tohungas*. Between the years 1150 and 1350 many voyaging canoes came to New Zealand from *Hawaiki* and return voyages were also made. About 1150 the celebrated Maori ancestor Toi sailed down to the " Land of the High Mists " in search of his grandson Whatonga who had been blown out to sea and who was rediscovered. 1350 is usually regarded as the date when immigration ceased and the Maori island was cut off from the " sacred tide to *Hawaiki*." About a century after, but before the discovery of America by Columbus, sweet potato (the original home of which is Central or South America) was brought into Polynesia and therefore Prof. Dixon of Harvard supported the theory that some Polynesians whom we already find in their farthest eastern colony, the Easter Islands, may have discovered South America and returned with the sweet potato. It is indeed a glorious achievement and the Maoris perpetuated, in narrative speech and song, the memory of their crossing and recrossing of the Great Ocean of Kiwa or the Pacific. This great achievement was due to their canoe and therefore canoe is the auspicious symbol as well as the common welcome to the various Maori tribes visiting one another while they sing :

Toia mai, te wake !

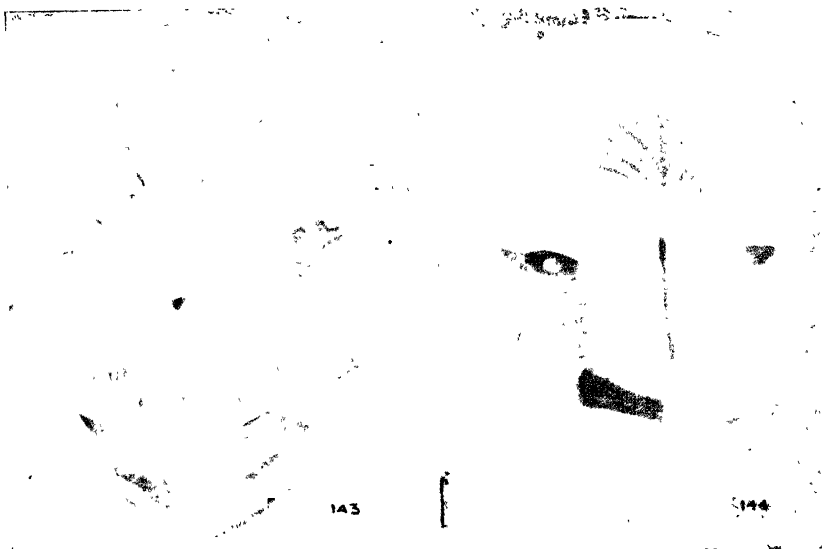
Kumea mai, te wake !

Ki te urunga, te wake !

Draw hither, the canoe !

Haul hither, the canoe !

To its pillow, the canoe !



Maori Masks



Maori wooden Icon

Ki te moenga, te wake!	To its bed, the canoe
Ki te takotoranga i takoto	To the resting place where
ai te wake.	shall rest the canoe.
Haere mai, haere mai.	Welcome, twice welcome!

Dr. Harvard E. Gregory, formerly, the Director of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu, also furnished us with important details regarding Polynesian migrations. Long before European navigators had ventured far from land, the Polynesians were sailing back and forth among the dots of land in the Pacific making voyages thousands of miles in length. The Polynesian outposts in the Carolines and at the Easter Island are nearly 9,000 miles apart and 3,800 miles of water lie between Hawaii and New Zealand. Four early trips were made from Hawaii to Tahiti, 2,400 miles apart. Uenga, a twelfth century sea-rover, sailed from Samoa to Tongareva, thence to Tubuai and through the Tuamutus to Tahiti, covering about 4,000 miles mostly against the trade-winds. Tukuaho, sailing from Rapa, discovered Rapa-nui or Easter Island after a voyage of 2,500 miles with no intervening places of stopping. Karika, a Samoan chief, discovered and colonised Rarotonga (*vide* E. Best, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 36, 1928) and the 13 voyages of Tangiia cover a distance of more than 18,000 miles. These apparently unbelievable records have been accepted as true by a group of experts who devoted their lives to the elucidation of the Polynesian problems. Led by Percy Smith, Col. Gudgeon, Edward Tregear and Elsdon Best laid the foundation of the Polynesian Society in 1892. In a famous work, *Hawaiki*, Percy Smith tried to show that the Polynesians reached the Fiji, Tonga and Samoa by 5th Century A.D. He traced the ancestors of the Polynesians from India by way of Java, Celebes, New Guinea, etc., into Polynesia proper, east of the Fiji group. In his paper "The Geographical Knowledge of the Polynesians," Percy Smith observes: "We are too apt to forget that in former times they had a class of canoe, *Pahi*, capable of containing a large number of people and abundant provisions . . . It was in canoes such as these that the Maoris made the long voyage from the Pacific Islands to New Zealand . . . The Maori traditions make special mention of these double canoes (*vide* E. Best, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 32, 1924) and further state that one, the Arawa, had three masts." Strengthening this thesis of Percy Smith his loyal collaborator Elsdon Best wrote a valuable paper on "Polynesian Voyagers" (*Dominion Museum Monograph*, No. 5,

Wellington, 1923). He characterises the Polynesians as "probably the most fearless neolithic navigator (*vide* E. Best, "The Neolithic Maori," *Journal of Science and Technology*, Wellington, 1923) the world has seen." He refers also to the Maori tradition saying that their ancestors, in times long past away, migrated from a hot country named Iribia (*cf.* *Vrihia*, an ancient name for India) and crossed the Ocean in an easterly direction." In another paper "The Origin of the Maori" (*Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 32, 1924), Elsdon Best gives a most interesting inventory of the various theories connecting the Polynesians and the Maoris with India. J. R. Logan, the renowned ethnologist, opined that "the Polynesians are a branch of the ancient Gangetic race of India." Two other valuable papers on this subject was published in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*—on "Asiatic Gods in the Pacific" by E. Tregear and on "Asiatic and Polynesian Points of Contact" by Percy Smith. Elsdon Best studied the Maori lore for over half a century and his papers and publications ranged over 40 years from 1890 to 1931 when he died, as I gathered from his friend and colleague Mr. Johannes C. Andersen, another authority on Maori music, myths and legends.

The mind of the Maori, quite apart from his material culture, is also a problem to many anthropologists. He is reputed to carry almost down to the 19th century some sort of neolithic culture but he demonstrated a mind nurtured in poetry and mysticism. Discussing the spiritual concepts of the Maori, Elsdon Best (*vide Dominion Museum Monograph*, No. 6, 1923) made the following significant observations:—

"The superior gods of the Maori are personified forms of natural phenomena; his mythology and religion teem with such personifications, and with mythopoetic allegories; no people known to us have excelled the Polynesians in evolving such quaint concepts. Observes the charming myth of Tane and the Dawn Maid; the story of the Mist Maid and Uenuku (the Rainbow); the concepts of the Wind Children, the Cloud Children, and the Children of Light. Peruse the myth of the grey old Earth Mother calling to her stricken offspring to return to her and find rest: she who refused to remember their rebellion in the days when the world was young; she said, 'I brought them forth to the World of Light, in death shall they find rest with me. Though they have erred and rebelled against me, yet are they still my children. Mine be the care of the dead.' And the Maori

will tell you that this saying of the primal Mother was the first evidence of the mother's love that outlives all races and all creeds, as exemplified in a terse aphorism of yore: *He aroha whacreere, he potiki piripoho* (A mother's love a breast-clinging child)."

While discussing the legends of "Maui—A Demigod" of Polynesia, Dr. W. D. Westervelt of Honolulu observed that "several hints of Hindu connection are found in the Maui legends." The New Zealanders claim Maui as an ancestor of their most ancient tribes and sometimes class him among the most ancient of their gods, calling him "creator of land," "creator of man," "the solar-fire." In his foreword to Dr. Westervelt's volume, Percy Smith very significantly refers to Maui's successful efforts to lengthen the day-light and observes: "It may be suggested that if the Polynesians are, as some of us suppose, Proto-Aryans who, in very ancient times, led the advance guard of the Aryan migration from—let us say, with Oppert—the shores of the Baltic, to south-eastern Asia; then the legends of Maui's deeds in lengthening the days would, in a measure, be accounted for." (*cf.* Tilak, *The Arctic Home in the Vedas.*)

The Maori showed a remarkable genius for personification and thus very appropriately his mind is characterised as "mythopoetic." Maori chants and other varieties of oral literature are remarkable and no less remarkable are his contributions in the domain of arts and crafts which we now proceed to describe.

MAORI ARTS AND CRAFTS

As early as 1898, Elsdon Best communicated his "Notes on the Clothing of the Ancient Maori" in the *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute* (Vol. 31). Thirty years after he quoted some Maori traditions with regard to the training of the young man in arts and crafts (*Dominion Museum Bulletin*, No. 13, 1929) which we quote below:—

"Now when the lad was fairly grown, then the task of teaching him the use of weapons and tools commenced . . . Then the lad was taught the construction of houses, huts, cooking shades, store-houses... Also was he taught the use of tools in agriculture . . . the art of dressing timber with stone adzes. The use of stone chisels and drill were also taught, also the arts of wood carving and of painting designs." (E. Best, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, September, 1928.) The handiworks of this highly gifted race were unfortunately scattered in different parts of the world and only recently careful inventories are

being made, thanks to the earnest researches of the members of the Polynesian Society, Wellington, and of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu. We draw the attention of the public in this connection to the richly illustrated catalogue of "The Oldman Collection of Maori Artifacts" (*Memoirs of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 14, 1938).

Some important facts relating to the arts and crafts of New Zealand as compared with those of Polynesia and Micronesia are given by Mr. Ralph Linton of the Field Museum of Chicago (*vide Ethnology of Polynesia and Micronesia*, Chicago, 1926). He points out that there were two distinct types of Maori art in New Zealand. The natives of the South Island used simple angular designs in their carvings. All the Maoris employed angular designs on their baskets, textiles and feather robes. "The natives of the North Island employed only curvilinear designs in their carving and painting. The most important single element was the spiral, but highly conventionalised human figures, faces and animal forms were much used in carving. Many of the scroll designs painted on rafters were said to be derived from plant forms but were so highly conventionalised as to be unrecognisable."

Like other Polynesians the Maoris made some use of human figures carved in the round which were set up in sacred places as representations of gods or ancestors. But most of the Maori figure carvings were in high relief on slabs. A small grotesque human figure called *heitiki*, carved from jade or whale bone, was the most favourite Maori ornament worn around the neck on a cord. Their finest ornaments and implements were made from nephrite, a variety of jade of rich green colour and, according to Linton, the desire for this special material was one of the main motives in the migration to New Zealand from Central Polynesia where the Maori jade objects were taken by the first native explorers.

While the ordinary dwellings of the Maori were small and crudely built, the Maori Council houses were the most beautiful structures in the Pacific. Linton describes in detail a structure that was acquired by the Field Museum of Chicago with a ridge pole hewn from a single log, 60 ft. long and weighing over a ton and a half. "The posts, panels, projecting end of the ridge-pole and the front of the house were carved with highly conventionalised human figures representing ancestors or mythological beings. After carving they were coloured red with



Dance of Maori females



Dance of Maori males

a mixture of ochre and oil. The rafters and underside of the ridge pole were painted with scroll designs in red, black and white. The reed-panels of the walls were worked into designs. The finished house was the pride of the village and so potent were the spells recited at its erection that even if the village was taken by an enemy, its Council house would be allowed to stand un plundered until it fell to pieces."

Just a century ago the fight between the Maoris and the British was terminated by the Treaty of Waitangi (1840) and a body of scientists and social workers organised the New Zealand Institute. It published in 1868 the first volume of its *Transactions and Proceedings*. Devoted mainly to Natural History, the *Transactions* publish now and then articles on Maori culture like Maori origins, food products, marriage customs, games and amusements, forest lore, etc.

In 1892 was founded the Polynesian Society with the Queen Liliuokalani of Hawaii as one of the patrons. Naturally the members of the Society tried to supply the proper perspective of Maori culture by bringing in the larger problems of Polynesia and of the vast Pacific Basin culture. Elsdon Best, for example, wrote an article in the first number of the *Journal* (15th April, 1892), on the *Races of the Philippines*, and another writer tried to equate the culture of the Maoris and that of the Incas of Peru. So E. Tregear described the stone images (3 ft. to 35 ft. high) of the Easter Island which was discovered in 1722 and where one supposed that a peculiar script was evolved which could be connected with the prehistoric scripts of western Asia.

With Tregear appeared, as joint-founders of the Society, Elsdon Best (whose writings we have quoted before) and S. Percy Smith and they often went beyond New Zealand to seek the clues to Polynesian origins, e.g., equating the *Uru* of the Maoris with Ur of Chaldea. Percy Smith's paper on "The Aryan Predecessors of the Maoris" (1919) still deserves careful perusal. The Polynesian Society was soon strengthened by another remarkable scholar Mr. Johannes C. Andersen who is poet, musician and anthropologist all in one. He was joint-editor of the *Journal*, with Elsdon Best, and for years Librarian of the Turnbull Library, Wellington. He published his *Maori Life in Aotea* (1907), the *Myths and Legends of the Polynesians* and the richly documented *Maori Music*, the last published amongst the *Memoirs of the Polynesian Society* in which series we also find "The Maori" and "Tuboe" by E. Best and the "Evolution of Maori Clothing," a masterly monograph contributed by Dr. Peter H.

Buck, the renowned Maori anthropologist, now the Director of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu. I gathered from Dr. Buck that valuable relics of Maori art and culture are scattered amongst the various missionary collections of France and Italy, of Germany and England. The museums of Vienna and Cambridge, the British Museum and the Royal College of Surgeons, London, have got to be ransacked by a student of Maori lore and he must not forget that there are private collections also like those of Von Hügel, Oldman and Giglioli.

The new generation of Maori scholars like Ngata, Pomare and Buck were inspired by the work of the white anthropologists and started researches and publications of their own. As a result of this happy collaboration was established the Board of Maori Ethnological Research, with special funds to foster original investigation and provide for printing and publication. It is due to the activities of this generation of noble workers that we see to-day a veritable revival of Maori spirit and culture in every sphere of life.

Another important institution is the Alexander Turnbull Library of Wellington which offers the greatest facilities for the study of Polynesian problems and original records of New Zealand history.

The capital city of Wellington is naturally proud of its Dominion Museum with its remarkable collection of Maori arts and crafts which were kindly shown to me by Mr. W. J. Phillipps. He contributed a valuable paper on "Maori Carving" (*Art in New Zealand*, June, 1938) in which he explains the fundamental elements in Maori designs and refers to the late Mr. Harold Hamilton, the Director of Maori Arts and Crafts, Rotorua, as an authority on the subject. The Dominion Museum also publishes a valuable series of *Monographs*, e.g., *Polynesian Voyages*, the *Maori School of Learning*, *Maori Myth and Religion*. Among the *Bulletins* of the Museum we find, among others, the following studies of Elsdon Best: *The Stone Implements of the Maori*; *The Maori Canoe*; *Maori Agriculture*; *Maori Religion and Mythology*. Dr. Peter Buck's valuable researches are being published, far away from New Zealand, by the Bernice P. Bishop Museum of Honolulu, famous throughout the world for its patronage of Pacific research, through which some day, we hope, Polynesia and India would be brought closer to one another.

The Maori arts and crafts of the South Island are to be found in the Museum of Christchurch and more fully in the Otago Museum of Dunedin. The culture of the Maoris of the South Island has been specially studied by Mr. H. D. Skinner of Dunedin University

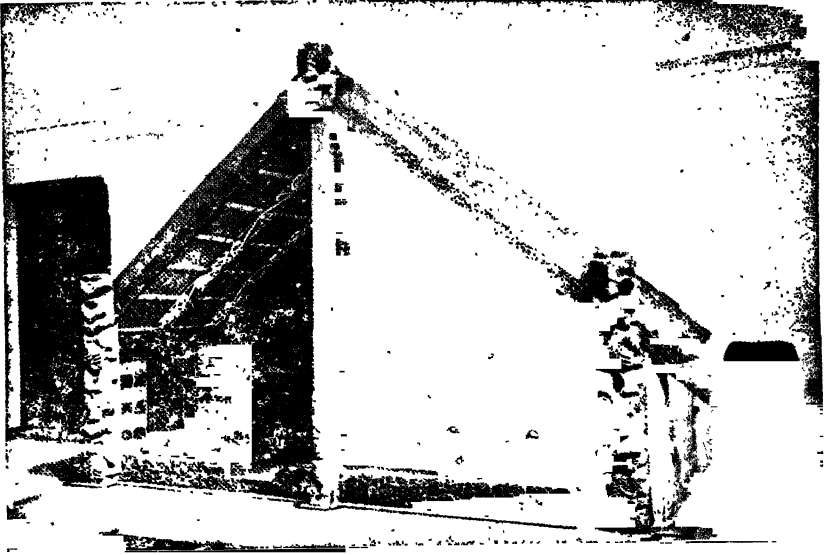
which is the only University in New Zealand to provide for systematic lectures on anthropology. Mr. Skinner has a rare collection of Maori artifacts and he contributed many valuable papers in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (1921, pp. 71-78 ; 1924, pp. 229-43). As early as 1923 he published his study on *The Morioris of Chatham Islands* in the Bishop Museum Memoirs, Vol. 9. In Dunedin there is a large collection of Maori tools, ornaments, canoes and wood-carvings in the Otago Museum under the expert care of Prof. Skinner.

Coming from Dunedin in the extreme south to Auckland in the extreme north, every visitor of New Zealand will be impressed by the rich and scientifically classified collection of the Auckland War Memorial Museum with Gilbert Archey as Director. Thanks to the kind introduction of my esteemed friend Mr. J. C. Andersen, I was warmly received by Mr. Archey who devoted a considerable part of his valuable time in explaining to me the various exhibits and their historical and artistic significance. New Zealand should be proud of such an imposing edifice, one of the best museum buildings that I saw on the Pacific Basin. Mr. Archey recently prepared a valuable paper for the Auckland Meeting of the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science (January, 1937). I found his observations so interesting that I conclude this article on "Maori Art and Culture" by drawing largely from his valuable notes as well as from his excellent hand-book of *Maori and Oceanic Ethnology* which he kindly presented to me. Mr. Archey refers to the widely prevailing theory that the art of the South Island, more *rectilinear* and simpler, was closely connected with the art of Eastern Polynesia. The art of the North Island, on the contrary, is predominantly *curvilinear* with double spirals and "bird-headed men" akin to the spirals and bird designs of Solomon Island, New Guinea, and Borneo where the Negroid race and Melanesian culture predominated. Skinner, however, pointed out several complications arising out of the above theory. He considered it unlikely although not quite impossible that the conquering Polynesians would take the art of the Melanesian people whom they subdued in the North Island. Moreover, *curvilinear* patterns are not exclusive to New Zealand for they are found in the Marquesas and also in the Easter Island where we find a "non-patternised art of naturalistic human figures and animals." Skinner, therefore, opined that a *curvilinear* art derived from New Guinea and the neighbouring islands was basic in Eastern Polynesia and that some *rectilinear* fashion had transmuted it

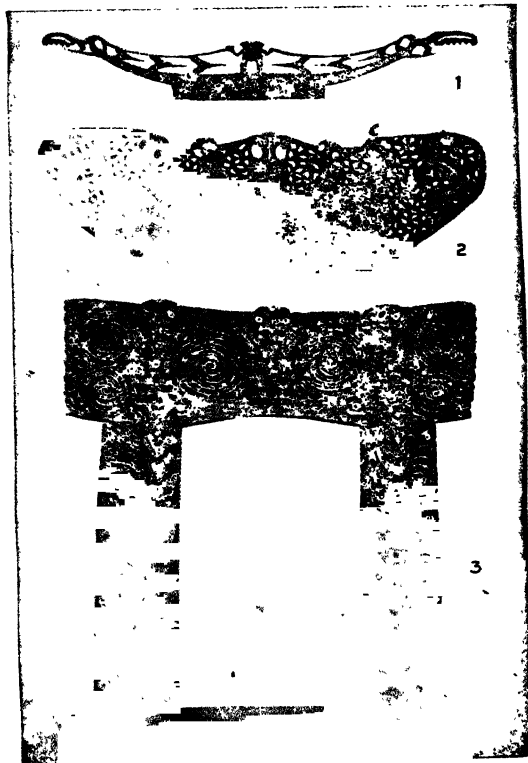
in the Tahiti-Rarotonga-Austral region. But recent researches have, according to Mr. Archey, simplified the problems by proving that the ancient culture of New Zealand was distinctly Eastern Polynesian and that, inasmuch as there is a certain Negroid element in the Polynesian race, one need not postulate a separate Melanesian migration to explain the Negroid strain in the Maori. Arts that appear to be superficially similar may have developed quite independently and we need not strain after relating such widely separated decorative arts. Among the basic elements of Maori carving we find a human figure with the face in profile, the "bird-headed man" or *manaia* and out of the interlocking mouths of these there developed the double spiral. This succession of human figures with alternate full face and profile is paralleled in Rarotonga. So the early Maori neck pendants are decorated with a succession of angularly stylized human limbs foreshadowing the conventionalization of the human figure in the *rectilinear* art of Eastern Polynesia.

Thus *human* figure, as against *geometrical* patterns, played an important rôle in Maori art and their large houses contain wall-posts carved with representations of some ancestors or hero-gods with whom they were connected by their "genealogical symbolism." They excelled also in their stone-tool industry, thanks to their many-toned jade found in the west coast of the South Island. With their high-class tools and excellent timber the Maoris naturally evolved a rich tradition of wood-carving. So in their weapons, utensils and ornaments in wood or stone, bone or shell, we always notice, as Mr. Archey observes, "A touch of decoration, so appropriately applied as to lead one to expect rather than to be surprised at the high standard attained in formal decorative art."

Among the animal motifs we find grotesque figures—half-man, half-animal—and various types of lizards in Maori carving (*vide* Elsdon Best, *Journal of Science and Technology*, Wellington, 1923). But however grotesque may appear the human figures, they were representations of their ancestors, generally in wood, sometimes in crude stone as in the island of Tahiti. Mr. Archey refers to the prevalence of human figures both in wood and stone in the Marquesas Islands. But it was in Easter Island that Polynesian sculptures, attained their most majestic proportions. In that Island good timber was extremely rare while there was an abundance of soft stone which was freely used and by spirit of competition amongst sculptors and chiefs, the Polynesians of the Easter Island created larger and still larger statues ranging from



Maori Council House



Maori Wood Carving

3 ft. to 35 ft. To reach that far-off Island was indeed an achievement in the history of primitive navigation. It was possible through centuries of negotiation with the Ocean by the heroic Polynesians who made a veritable cult of the Ocean and of the canoe-dance. They sang in the past, as they sang to me last year, when the hospitable Maori families of Rotorua received me with due ceremony in the home of Mr. H. Tai Mitchell, a leader of the Arawa tribes :—

Behold my paddle !
 It is laid by the canoe's side,
 —
 See ! I raise on high
 The handle of my paddle,
 The Roku-o whiti.
 I raise it—how it flies and flashes !
 Ha ! The outward lift and the dashing.
 The quick thrust in and the backward sweep !
 The swishing, the swirling eddies,
 The boiling white wake,
 And the spray that flies from my paddle !

Piri papa te hoe
 Awhi papa te hoe !

 Hapai ake au
 I te kekan o taku hoe
 I te Roku-o-whiti
 Whiti potato, rere potato
 Mama potato
 Te riakanga, te hapainga
 Te komotanga, te kumenga,
 Te Riponga, te awenga,
 A te puehutanga
 O te wai o taku hoe nei !

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

The Gandhi Training College

A plea that the intellectual training of the pupil-teacher should not be neglected was made by Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, a former Minister of Education, Bombay Government, when opening the Gandhi Training College, under the aegis of the Poona Municipality.

Dr. Paranjpye observed that while the science of teaching had made great strides, he had a feeling that intellectual training of the pupil-teacher was to a certain extent being neglected today. He commended the teaching of Sanskrit and Algebra in the training colleges towards this end and stressed that a knowledge of Sanskrit was essential to Marathi primary school teachers as it was the mother of Marathi, as of most other Indian languages.

Dr. Paranjpye also made a strong plea for a living wage to the primary teachers and hoped that Government would soon pay their attention to meet this demand.

Indian Institute of Science

The Senate of the Indian Institute of Science at its meeting on 14th September is understood to have resolved to recommend to the Governing Council the revival of Chemical Engineering and Technology course and for that purpose asked the Council to sanction an annual grant of Rs. 15,000 and capital grant of Rs. 25,000 from the depreciation fund.

In connection with the proposal of the Madras University instituting B.Sc. degree in technology with the co-operation of Science Institute the Senate, it is learnt, recommended to the Council that the Institute might admit 6 students from Madras University for the course and the University do pay an annual grant of Rs. 10,000 for the purpose.

The Senate also approved of the scheme of the Committee of the Council appointed for modifying rules and regulations for award of scholarships. Henceforth studentships of the value of Rs. 125 will be given only to D.Sc.'s and demonstrators of colleges, senior scholarships of the value of Rs. 60 to M.Sc.'s and junior scholarships of Rs. 40 to B.Sc.'s, making the maximum tenure of scholarships 4 years.

Travancore University Labour Corps

The Travancore University has made a somewhat new departure in establishing a University Labour Corps. Through such a Corps it is hoped

to give students training not only in military drill, but also in useful manual labour, said the Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the Travancore University, Mr. C. V. Chandrasekharan, speaking at a meeting held recently at the University to inaugurate the training of prospective officers of the Corps.

The Pro-Vice-Chancellor added that the University had great hopes in regard to training students in social service, and giving them the necessary equipment for being of real use to the country, especially to rural areas of the State.

The Commandant of the Travancore State Forces, Lt.-Col H. L. Watkins, in an address, dwelt on the value of the training proposed to be given in the University Labour Corps. He referred to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's keen support to the Benares University Training Corps and said that Pandit Malaviya had expressed his conviction that such training made the students in every way better.

Patna University

A Patna University *communiqué* says :—

It has been brought to the notice of the Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University that objection has been taken by somebody, writing in a local daily, to the publication of the statement supplied by proposers, containing special qualifications of candidates for election to the Senate. It is alleged that such "advertisement" of qualifications amounts to indirect canvassing on the part of the University, and is calculated to prejudice the decision of a voter against those who, out of modesty, or for some other reason, did not get their proposers to state their qualifications.

It is hereby notified for information of the public that the statement of qualifications of candidates for Senate election is required to be submitted to the Registrar with the nomination and also to be forwarded to voters, under the Regulations of the University.

This has been done all the years who ever election to the Senate took place, and is in strict conformity with the Regulations. The allegation that it amounts to indirect canvassing on the part of the University is, therefore, wholly unwarranted, since the Registrar publishes the qualification not only of a given candidate supplied by his proposers, but also those of his rivals contesting the same seat.

Primary Education in Turkey

Whereas, according to Turkish statistics, one million and a half children should be recipients of primary education, only some seven hundred thousand actually go to primary schools. The latter, in addition, have only three classes, and it has been observed that whenever a pupil gets no more than three years' tuition he is liable in after life to forget whatever he has learned.

This is the formidable problem with which Turkish public education is confronted, despite the unquestionably remarkable progress in recent years. Every year witnesses the erection of about fifty new primary schools, but there is evidently some very great difficulty in supplying a population of 18,000,000 spread over no fewer than 40,000 towns and villages with an appropriate number of schools and teachers.

This question, however, has now been tackled with renewed energy, and, to begin with, the number of classes in a great many primary schools

will be raised to five, while measures are being devised to extend education to all children without exception.

Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal

At the ordinary monthly meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal held recently Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, the Rt. Hon'ble the Marquis of Zetland, Prof. H. Liders and Sir Jadunath Sarkar were elected honorary Fellows. This is the highest distinction in the gift of the Society and given to men of eminence in both arts and sciences. There are altogether 18 honorary Fellows and they come from different countries of the world.

Mysore University

The University of Mysore has decided to institute a post-secondary Diploma course in Sericulture from the year 1940. At present no Diploma course in Sericulture under University auspices is given anywhere in India.

Music Diploma in Bombay

The hope that in the near future it would be possible to institute degrees in Music in the University was expressed by the Hon. Mr. B. G. Kher, Prime Minister, Government of Bombay, addressing the fourteenth anniversary of the School of Indian Music. Mr. Kher dwelt on the need for including Music in education and referred to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's report, which stated that the study of Music and Fine Arts would open up new avenues for the educated unemployed. Till now the Provincial Government had little to do with the University but things were changing and he hoped that it would be possible to institute degrees in Music. There was now a proposal to institute a diploma for Music in the University.

Referring to the high place of Music in ancient days and the evil days through which it had passed. Mr. Kher observed that it had now been recognised that the study of the Fine Arts was a bridge which linked education and culture with discipline.

Advanced Studies in Osmania University

The Osmania University, which has been providing for a course in M.A. and M.Sc. research work under the guidance of its Board of Research for a number of years, has now taken further step in stimulating original work by instituting the degree of Ph.D. in the faculties of Arts, Science and Theology.

The course for this degree, which has begun from June 21, 1939, will extend over three years and will be open only to those candidates who have taken the Master's degree in Arts, Science and Theology at least in the second division from the Osmania University or from any other University recognised by it.

The Ph.D. degree will be awarded on the basis of thesis which will have to be approved by a Board of three Examiners, one from the Osmania

University, one from another Indian University and the third from a University outside India.

Schools to Work for 5 Days in the Week

The Madras Government have ordered that elementary schools in the province should not work for more than five days in the week. At present some schools work for five and a half or six days and Government have expressed the desire that this practice should be abandoned.

The object of the order is to provide sufficient leisure for teachers to plan their work in schools and also to undertake adequate extra-rural and social activities.

Miscellany

THE THEORY OF PROGRESS¹

One of the formulations of the cult of progress is embodied in the doctrine of the *Gita* about the *Yugantaras* or transformations of epochs. The tannouncement of Krishna in this work is to the following effect :—

“ Whensoever into Order
Corruption creeps in, Bharata,
And customs bad ascendant be,
Then myself do I embody.
For the advancement of the good
And miscreants to overthrow
And for setting up the Order
Do I appear age by age.”

This doctrine of progress postulates the advent of the Messiahs, *Yugavataras* or Gods-incarnate-in-man in order to embody the successive *Zeitgeist* (age-spirit).

The problem of progress has been one of the topics of philosophy and social science in the Western world also. But, as say Barnes and Becker in *Social Thought from Lore to Science* (Boston, 1938), Vol. I, not until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries did theories of progress become a really absorbing subject of speculation. The authors have devoted a chapter to the rise of the idea of progress.

We are told that Montaigne, Bacon and Descartes began to divert attention from the ancient and medieval theology, thus making a definite start toward the idea under consideration here. Fontenelle (1657-1757) was the first to formulate a systematic theory of progress; he maintained that moderns were neither biologically superior nor inferior to the ancients, but that since progress is cumulative in science and industry, the moderns far surpass the ancients. Perrault's (1628-1703) view differed chiefly in that he considered that his age had already arrived at perfection, and consequently he had negligible interest in the future.

Vico (1668-1744), who has been credited with being among the first great writers on social theory to make systematic application of the historical method, attempted to formulate the principles which govern the development of society. His analysis was made in the form of stages and cycles; opinions differ as to whether or not these are compatible with a belief in progress. It can safely be said, however, that if he held such a belief it was simply a by-product of his analysis of intellectual and social development.

Turgot's (1727-1781) most profound contribution in this connection was his assertion of the unity and continuity of history. His views on the effects of culture contact and related matters were surprisingly in advance of his time. He also definitely anticipated Comte's conception of the three stages of intellectual progress. In a very elaborate and sanguine description of the past and prophecy of the future, Condorcet

¹ B. K. Sarkar : “ Social Metabolism in its Bearings on Progress ” (*Social Forces*, U. S. A., December, 1937).

(1742-1794) viewed each of his numerous epochs as an unequivocal advance over the preceding one, and regarded his age as the threshold leading to a consummate degree of happiness and realization of human potentialities. Godwin (1756-1836) believed that although man was capable of unlimited future progress through the influence of reason, oppressive human institutions had kept him from making progress in the past. The end of human progress was enlightened individualism, and the chief instruments were literature, education and political justice.

During the latter part of the eighteenth century the Romantic school began partially to displace the rationalist, to which most of the above-mentioned writers had belonged. The Romanticists arrived at a doctrine of political quietism, and a mystical strain colored all their thinking; on the other hand, they correctly emphasized the non-rational elements in historical development, called attention to the functional unity of culture-complexes, and expose the fallacies in the crude catastrophic theory of the rationalists.

Herder (1744-1803) was a connecting link between these two periods; he emphasized the mysterious psychic forces affecting mankind, and at the same time declared that human welfare rested solely on reason and justice. He declared that the destructive powers in nature must ultimately give way to the perfection of the whole. Kant's (1724-1804) idea of progress, which was a moral one, contained germs of social teleology. He believed the human species as a whole to be over more closely approximating its potentialities, and considered moral progress demonstrable.

The direct antithesis of such optimistic theories was set forth by the reactionary and traditionalist writers De Bonald (1754-1840) and De Maistre (1754-1821). They both regarded the "progress" culminating in the French Revolution as a great catastrophe, and hoped for the restoration of the *ancien regime*. They exercised much influence on Saint-Simon, Comte, and like successors.

Another authoritarian emphasis was introduced by Hegel (1770-1831), who viewed the historical process itself as the gradual realization of liberty. His dialectic contributed directly to the notion of progress through the young Hegelians, but his historicism and his belief that mankind had attained perfection in his own time were basically anti-progressive.

During the early nineteenth century, sociology began to take form, and the "climate of opinion" in which it grew was primarily determined by the idea of progress. Saint-Simon (1760-1825) argued the necessity for the creation of a science of social progress, and expected applied science to usher in a golden age. Comte (1798-1857) followed him closely in all his ideas, especially the emphasis on the necessity of a scientific basis for social reconstruction. Comte's means of attaining his positivistic utopia included secular forms and social justice. Spencer (1820-1903) seems to have believed that in general cosmic evolution makes for progress: he differed from such later sociologists as Ward, Small and Hobhouse in considering social evolution a purely "natural" process which could not be furthered by lawmaking or planning.

The most recent development in the discussion of this subject is a critical analysis of the term and its implications; advances in technology are no longer being equated with human advance.¹ There is a tendency

¹ For the theories of progress as developed during the twentieth century see B. K. Sarkar: *The Political Philosophies Since 1905*, Vol. I. "The Expansion of Democracy, Socialism and Asian Freedom (1905-28)" (Madras, 1928):—Vol. II—"The Epoch of Neo-Democracy and Neo-Socialism (1929-39)" (Lahore, in the press).

to substitute the term "social change" for "social progress" and even to develop cyclical theories of a kind that implicitly deny the possibility of progress (Spengler: *The Decline of the West*; Sorokin: *Social and Cultural Dynamics*).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE ECONOMICS OF SAVINGS BANKS

The Savings Banks are institutions, which, without any aim of money-making, collect savings deposits even for small amounts and see to their sound investment at interest, having for their purpose the well-being of all classes of society and particularly of the less well-do-do.

Savings Banks are founded on the initiative of either associations of persons enjoying general confidence and having at heart the welfare of the people, or of public bodies, communes, unions of communes, districts, provinces, regions, or lastly, on the initiative of the Government itself. In some cases, the deposits collected by the Savings Banks founded by public bodies enjoy the guarantee of these bodies.

In view of their character, the Savings Banks have no need of capital of their own in order to be established, as they generally carry out operations of investment of the funds collected. It is necessary, however, for the Savings Banks that are being erected, to be endowed with an initial fund, which may be reimbursed, for the expenses of the foundation and of the first management expenses.

After deduction of the interest to be paid to the depositors and of the other management expenses, the profits accruing from the investment of the funds collected are wholly or partially allotted to the formation of one or more reserve funds, representing the Savings Bank's funds. When the reserves have reached a given amount in proportion to the deposits, a part of the profits are distributed in varying measure for charitable and public utility works.

The Savings Banks are governed by a board of trustees differently composed. The office of a trustee is, on principle, an honorary one. If, in some cases, compensation is made to the trustee, this is always calculated at a minimum rate, commensurate, sometimes in the form of attendance fees, with his services. It never takes the form of a share in the profits, nor is it proportionate to these.

The trustees of the Savings Banks can, therefore, not be pressed to effect hazardous operations in the hope of heavier profits and for private gain.

The management of the Savings Banks is characterised not only by the aims pursued, but also by the particular nature of the deposits collected. The deposits flowing into the Savings Banks assume the character of capital in the process of formation, which seeks, more than a high yield, the greatest possible safety and which is, therefore, comparatively stable, chiefly in view of the fact that it results from numerous deposits for small amounts. Given this typical composition of the mass of deposits, the granting of long-term loan may, within given limits, be made in correlation with the relative stability of the deposits, although investments must be distributed in such a way as to ensure the Savings Bank the necessary liquidity in addition to the safety required.

In the choice of investments, the Savings Banks endeavour, by proportioning them equitably, to return the funds collected to those classes of society from which they have come, by assisting in a particular way local agriculture, industry and trade of small and medium dimensions and taking part in every work benefiting the community, in the field of personal credit, real estate credit, agricultural credit, etc.

Side by side with the Savings Banks, there operate in some countries, both as autonomous sections of the Savings Banks and as institutions to themselves, benevolent pawn institutes and wheat loan establishments.

Such pawn institutes, not to be confused with pawn shops run for profit, are a very old institution dating back to times when in Europe the habit of saving was not yet developed and economic conditions were backward, as they are now for instance in the mass of the Indian population. They grant advances on most convenient terms without any aim of profit against the pledging of objects in gold or silver and of various articles, even the most modest, in order to meet the most urgent needs of the less-well-to-do classes, which without this intervention would be compelled by necessity to resort to usurious debts.

The wheat loan institutions, also of old origin, advance money against the pledging of grain or other imperishable agricultural produce, allowing the farmer to wait for more favourable market conditions in order to realize the pledge.

These operations of granting cheap loans against pledges not only afford the poorer classes a sometimes indispensable means of assistance which saves from the strangle-hold of the money-lenders, but also represent safe forms of investment of the monies collected by the Savings Banks, as the realization of the pledge usually covers every risk.

Savings Banks of one and the same country, region or province are generally united in associations. In some countries, the Savings Banks have at their disposal common guarantee funds, which serve to strengthen the guarantees they offer to the depositors.—International Thrift Institute, (Milan).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

SAVINGS BANKS AND INDIA

As a manifestation of a human instinct, thrift is certainly practised in India also. As has been observed, however, it is carried on in anti-economic forms as a rule, for a good deal of the money saved is hoarded in gold and silver objects, produce and so on, and is deposited only to a slight extent in special institutions which function as intermediaries between those who have savings at their disposal and those who are in need of savings for the development of their enterprises.

The turning of the considerable masses of savings at present hoarded up into channels leading to more profitable investment takes for granted the existence of collecting institutions. The present state of banking organization in India seems not to be adequate for these purposes. The Post Office Savings Bank is reproached with directing savings towards the larger centres. The co-operative movement requires a degree of culture and material and spiritual elevation not yet reached in India.

The foundation of Savings Banks would strongly contribute to solving the problem of hoarding. In point of fact, the Savings Banks do not require

that degree of elevation demanded by the co-operatives as they are managed by persons having at heart the welfare of the public. They would moreover offer the depositors the guarantee of prudent management, free from any concern for immediate gain and cause the monies collected to flow back to benefit the same circles from which they have come, maintaining a local or regional character for the investments or for a considerable part of them. Lastly, as Savings Banks have also an educational character they would serve to dissuade the population by conscientious propaganda from the habit of hoarding.

First, the habit of saving, understood in the sense of investing savings in an economic way, would combat some practices now prevalent and contribute to raising both the material and the moral standards of the more humble classes of the population.

Secondly, it would put back into circulation substantial masses of gold and silver, which could be usefully employed for strengthening the vital forces of the country, with particular regard to the development of the more modest enterprises.

Lastly, the habit of saving would contribute directly and indirectly to solving, at least in part, the thorny problem of private debts.

The Savings Banks could conveniently join in the present banking system as special credit institutions with the specific purpose of assisting the less well-to-do classes, by fostering in them the desire to deposit and imparting to them a knowledge of the mechanism of credit.

From this work of economic enlightenment, the existing credit institutes could also derive benefit, since the Savings Banks, far from constituting for them competitors to be feared, would contribute to widening the circle of their possible customers through the propaganda of credit which the Savings Banks would be led to develop in order to attain their own ends.

Therefore, whilst the foundation of Savings Banks would not damage the institutes existing, they would be called upon to carry out functions, on behalf of the community which the latter cannot undertake, on account of the aims they pursue and the characteristics of their structure.

The problem of the establishment of Savings Banks in India thus seems ripe for solution. — International Thrift Institute (Milan).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

A Higher School Certificate Inorganic Chemistry—By E. J. Holmyard.

In Part I of the book the author has dealt with theoretical and physical Chemistry rather elaborately; in fact, this portion has been treated more fully than can be expected in a book of this size. It is a special feature of the book. In the opening chapter Mr. Holmyard has given an admirable summary of the important contributions to and of the various stages in the gradual development of the chemical science.

Part II deals with the typical elements in the various groups of the Periodic Table. This descriptive portion, however, is not as informative as one would like to see, though important technical methods have found a place. This book will prove an excellent text book for our undergraduate classes.

H. D. MUKHERJEE

History of the Bengal Subah (1740-70), Vol. I—By Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., Ph.D. Pp. 567.

The history of India in the 18th century has attracted the attention of research-workers. But most of those works that have seen print relate to the political and military history of this period of decadence. Dr. Datta's book which gives us the social and economic history of the Bengal Subah is a welcome exception to this general tendency.

Dr. Datta has given us a picture of the people's life, the laws and customs of their society and their economic resources and transactions. There is also a detailed account of the East India Company's trade in the pre-Plassey period. A section on communications, one on classes and conditions of labour, one on markets and prices of articles, explain the general economic condition of the period. Every reader would appreciate the author's description of the relations between the Hindus and the Muhammadans. The two communities lived in harmony and mutual attachment inspite of bitter relations prevailing in court circles. The map of the inland navigation has added to the usefulness of the work.

The author has sifted a huge mass of literary and documentary records. His treatment of his subject is very exhaustive. Though this book is professedly a by-product of his workshop, it will serve the purpose of an excellent book of reference. Documentation is perhaps overfull.

N. K. SINHA

The Meaning of Religious Forms (with a chapter on "The Universal Form of Worship")—By Babu Abinash Chandra Lahiri, B.A. Published by the Author from 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Board-bound. First Edition. Pp. 4 + 106. Price As. 12, Foreign 1s. 6d.

In this small brochure the author endeavours to give a rational explanation of the forms of the different great religions of the world, viz.,

Hinduism, Christianity, Buddhism, Muhammadanism, Judaism, Zoroastrianism, etc. He contends that these *forms*, when taken literally, may appear to be irrational, superstitious and harmful ; but when interpreted in their true light, these *forms* are found to be based on the rock-foundation of deep religious truths. But, for all that, as these *forms* are only the mechanical means of expressing the high spiritual truths, the author finds himself faced with the necessity of advocating the most rational mode of *Universal Worship*, which is mainly based on the Upanishadic principles.

The endeavour of the author is indeed laudable, though his treatment has been, at places, a little scrappy. The Sanskrit quotations from the Sacred Texts literally bristle with innumerable mistakes, all of which cannot reasonably be passed over as mere misprints. We hope to find a thorough improvement in the next edition. The book can be strongly recommended to the students of Comparative Religion for preliminary study.

“ *Priyadarśī* ”

The Gītā: A Critique—By Prof. P. Narasimham, M.A., L.T. Published from The Huxley Press, Madras. Copies can be had at Lalita Vilas Book Depot, Triplicane, Madras. First Edition, 1939. Cloth-bound. Pp. v+270. Price Rs. 2-8 (or 5 sh.).

In this small work, we find a literal translation of the verses of the Gītā with explanatory notes added where necessary. The author has not given the translation of the first chapter and the first ten verses of the second chapter, but has only added a brief outline of the contents thereof. The rest of the work has been fully rendered into English. The reason for this omission of the introductory portion is clearly pointed out in the ‘Foreword’ of the book by the author himself. The author maintains that the entire Gītā does not form an integral part of the Great Epic, but is a wholesale interpolation. Not content with this, the learned author further proceeds to condemn the absence of any critical outlook on the part of the ancient commentators. Says he: “That Śaṅkara and other Āchārya commentators on the Vedānta took for granted the reality and authority of the Gītā and commented on it, as though it contained the very words of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, to suit their own metaphysical and theistic systems, need not be regarded as giving the stamp of authenticity to the Gītā episode in the Mahābhārata. . . . Historical criticism was foreign to their purpose and outlook.”

In reply we have only to point out that the learned author cannot claim any originality even with regard to the formulation of these wild theories which had already been promulgated by more than one European scholar and thoroughly criticized by the late Lokamānya Bāl Gangādhār Tilak, Śrī Aurobindo, Sir S. Rādhākṛishnan and others. Since the author makes the dogmatic assertions unsupported by any arguments, we refrain from entering into an elaborate discussion on these topics.

The author further asserts that “the value of the Gītā is not much in its relation to a historical fact ; its abiding worth is in the exposition of the highly developed views of the Hindu mind on the great problems of human life which have determined the cultural tone of our civilization for thousands of years . . . to examine them from a commonsense point of view is the only object of this study.” The so-called commonsense point of view adopted by the author, bears no stamp of originality, but is obviously influenced by the views of the modern European thinkers. This will be

evident from the fact that the learned author interprets the expression 'Brahma nirvāṇa' as the state of being 'ever active for more and more of expression or manifestation.'

Thus, according to him, the Gītā seeks to establish the doctrine that constant progressive evolution—and *not* the final cessation of individuality—is the ultimate goal of human existence. We need not comment on the point at all; since the original text itself is too clear to admit of such tortuous interpretations.

The English translation portion, however, reflects much credit on the learned author. The rendering is plain, literal and forceful. In most places the explanatory notes also are free from all philosophical technicalities and sectarian bias. And for this reason the book may have a large circulation among those readers who want to possess a general knowledge of the ancient classical texts without being encumbered with the abstruse details.

The printing and get-up of the volume are good. We hope the author will add either a table of contents or an index to his work in his next edition.

“ Priyadarśi ”

The Defeat of War—By Kenneth Ingram Published by George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1939. Price 3s. 6d. net.

Mr. Kenneth Ingram carefully discusses the international situation, particularly in the light of the aggressive spirit which Germany has lately demonstrated to the world in annexing Austria and Czechoslovakia. The ambition of Germany is not appeased by this territorial expansion and the peace of the world is being seriously menaced by the way the Fascist powers are consolidating themselves. The League of Nations which was the crystallisation of a desire to maintain the peace of the world after the Great War has been wrecked by the rise of three major powers bent on territorial expansion and the failure of the League to meet their challenge to its police authority. England did nothing to check a Fascist victory in Spain out of a determination not to allow Russia to gain ascendancy in that country. The same attitude was again discernible in the policy of Mr. Chamberlain when the liberty of Czechoslovakia was threatened by Germany. He did not clearly intend to enter into any sort of alliance with Socialist Russia although Russia was a party to Czech integrity. To quote Mr. Ingram: "Great Britain and France moved right; they abandoned the League, in effect aligning themselves with the two Fascist powers."

Mr. Ingram does not support the policy of Mr. Chamberlain when an attempt is made by him to gain time to re-arm Great Britain. The Fascist powers will not remain idle while Great Britain thus adds to her strength. But he does not despair that war can not be avoided because some countries of the world are anxious to compete with Britain as an Imperial power. "War is not an act of God: it is a human invention. Why should we condemn ourselves to endure what we do not want to endure?"

Mr. Ingram makes a survey of the Pacifist movement for which support can also be found in the teaching of Christ, and observes that the law of love proclaimed by Christ "does not in the least prove that it is the duty of the Christian to attempt to apply this maxim absolutely at the present moment." Again he writes: "Christ was not a dictator. He laid on the

shoulders of his followers the supremely difficult task of discovering for themselves how to relate His principles to a world of time and imperfection."

Mr. Ingram criticises a number of Pacifist ideas and shows that their practical application is attended by serious difficulties. He maintains that Pacifism is not now practicable as policy in the British or in the international field. But its emergence as a movement proves that there is a growing consciousness that war must be abolished if mankind is to make any progress along the path of civilisation. This consciousness is indispensable to the success of Pacifism.

Mr. Ingram makes his attitude clear in the following sentences: "War is, in my view, a corollary of an economy which rests upon competition and therefore creates nationalism. I see no way in which Pacifism can be achieved but through a Socialist economy and the spread of international principles. These are the per requisites (pre-requisites ?) of the peace-order. You do not achieve a peace-order by Pacifism."

The solution he offers is that Great Britain should immediately invite a world-conference, accompanying this invitation with a declaration that under certain conditions it is prepared to place the whole of its colonial possessions under international mandate. She must also announce her intention to give dominion status to India at the earliest possible opportunity. War is inevitable as long as there are rival empires in the world. The step suggested by Mr. Ingram is one that should attract the notice of leaders who are in a position to give effect to this very carefully prepared programme. Mr. Ingram is evidently a man of conviction and he knows the art of communicating his conviction to others. His book is thought-provoking and contains one of the most lucid expositions of the international situation besides an examination of Pacifist ideas to which reference has been made above. There seems to be a serious orthographical mistake at p. 88 where "perquisites of a peace-order" should be changed to "pre-requisites of a peace-order" to make sense.

Recent events have, however, changed the international situation and have made Mr. Ingram's position untenable in a certain measure.

S. C. S.

Conquest of Sorrow—By Swami Sachchidanand. Published by K. L. Basu, 43, Badan Roy Lane, Beliaghata, Calcutta. Price 10 as.

The Swami has offered a rather inadequate definition of sorrow in declaring it to be "an emotional state of mind arising out of loss, actual or supposed, of some object of affection." This view is advanced immediately after his comment "Sorrow is universally felt but little understood!" Our author has forgotten that the sorrow which led to Gautama's renunciation does not come under any of his categories.

He discusses fundamental questions like the nature of the soul, the change involved in death, and whether sorrow is an unmixed evil. He makes frequent quotations from Sanskrit texts, some of which are no doubt interesting. He would have added to the attraction of his discourse if he had included in it some of the teaching of the Buddha. The Four Noble Truths tell us practically all there is to know on the subject of Sorrow and the absence of even a bare reference to them seems, therefore, a serious omission. The book appears, however, to have been written from the orthodox Hindu point of view.

According to the writer's view a Guru alone can lead a man out of the troubled waters of life to some peaceful haven. The whole problem thus resolves itself into a quest for a Guru. There follows an account of what the Guru can do. It seems he has infinite powers to bring solace to his disciple. The discourse concludes with a number of practical hints.

Dr. Srikumar Banerjee has contributed a preface to the book under review. Its readers must be warned that the title "Conquest of Sorrow" is apt to raise false expectations. It is thoroughly orthodox in spirit and contains the ideas which a Sanskrit scholar brought up in the old tradition is likely to discuss whenever an opportunity presents itself for launching into a philosophical dissertation.

Those interested in Sanskrit philosophy and Hindu ideas generally will find the booklet a welcome addition to the existing literature on the subject. The author seems to be a good Sanskrit scholar with an ability to systematise the knowledge he has acquired in the course of a discursive reading over many years.

S. C. S.

Ourselfes

[I. Our New Assistant Registrar.—II. Asutosh Prize in Zoology and Botany for 1938.—III. Golden Jubilee of the Kwansie Gakuin University (Japan).—IV. Indian Historical Records Commission.—V. University of the Philippines.—VI. Donation Received from All-India Soap-Makers' Association.—VII. Third Meeting of the Crops and Soils Wing of the Board of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry.—VIII. Proposal for a Diploma course in Tanning.—IX. Election of Fellows of the University.—X. Award of Scholarships by Department of Agriculture, Bengal.—XI. Sister Universities and Facilities for the Study of Bengal.—XII. Sibley Scholarships for, 1938.—XIII. Sir S. Radhakrishnan.]

I. OUR NEW ASSISTANT REGISTRAR

Mr. Sudhindrakrishna Dutt, M.A. (Oxon.), BARRISTER-AT-LAW, has been appointed Assistant Registrar of our University. Mr. Dutt, who has a brilliant record as a student of history has been associated with the University for some years as a teacher in the Post-Graduate Department. He was Secretary to the Calcutta Bar Council in the Calcutta High Court.

We offer our congratulations to Mr. Dutt on his new appointment.

* * *

II. ASUTOSH PRIZE IN ZOOLOGY AND BOTANY FOR 1938

The award of the above prize has been made in favour of Mr. Suryyakanta Das, M.Sc., whose thesis "On Embryology of the backbone of Amphibia and Mammalia" submitted in this connexion was examined by a Board consisting of Prof. H. K. Mookerjee, Rai Bahadur Dr. S. L. Hora and Dr. N. Srinivasa Rao.

* * *

III. GOLDEN JUBILEE OF THE KWANSIE GAKUIN UNIVERSITY (Japan)

Our University has conveyed its good wishes to the President of the Kwansie Gakuin University, Japan, on the occasion of its Golden Jubilee which will be celebrated from the 14th October to the 18th October this year. The nucleus of the University was a school founded by the Canadian Methodist Mission some fifty years ago where Theology was the principal subject taught although facilities existed also for the study of Literature and Commerce. This institution was transformed into a University in 1929 under the name of

Kwansie Gakuin University with provision for the teaching of Literature, Economics, Law, Medicine and Theology.

* * *

IV. INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION

The next session of the Indian Historical Records Commission is expected to be held in Calcutta on the 13th and the 14th December, 1939. Professor Hemchandra Raychaudhuri has been appointed our representative to serve as a co-opted member on the Historical Records Commission.

* * *

V. UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES

Our University has conveyed its good wishes to the authorities of the University of the Philippines on the occasion of the investiture ceremony of Bienvenido M. Gonyelez, sc.d., as the sixth President of the University to be held on the 19th October, 1939.

* * *

VI. DONATION RECEIVED FROM ALL-INDIA SOAP-MAKERS' ASSOCIATION

Mr. Amalkumar Raychaudhuri has been awarded a scholarship of Rs. 30 a month out of the sum of Rs. 400 placed at the disposal of the University by the All-India Soap-Makers' Association. Mr. Raychaudhuri who will work under Dr. M. N. Goswami will undertake research with a view to discovering how to prevent sweating of soap. The subject which has been specially selected at the request of the donors will require further financial aid from them for its proper investigation.

* * *

VII. THIRD MEETING OF THE CROPS AND SOILS WING OF THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

The Third Meeting of the Crops and Soils Wing of the Board of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry will be held in New Delhi from the 6th to the 10th December, 1939. It is understood that Prof. Jnanendranath Mukherjee and Prof. S. P. Agharkar will attend the meeting.

* * *

VIII. PROPOSAL FOR A DIPLOMA COURSE IN TANNING

The Superintendent of the Bengal Tanning Institute wrote to the University in April last year under the advice of the Director of Industries, Bengal, proposing that the Institute might be affiliated to the University and that a Diploma might be awarded to the students completing a course of study in Tanning at the Institute. Professor B. C. Guha who was requested to give his opinion as regards the standard of instruction in the subject at the Bengal Tanning Institute declared it to be satisfactory. A syllabus of studies as well as rules bearing on the proposed Certificate in Tanning have been prepared with the co-operation of the Superintendent of the Bengal Tanning Institute. The University has not, however, given its sanction to the scheme and has referred the matter to a joint meeting of the Board of Studies in Chemistry and the Board of Higher Studies in the subject.

* * *

IX. ELECTION OF FELLOWS OF THE UNIVERSITY

The University has fixed the following dates for the election of Fellows by the Registered Graduates, the Faculty of Medicine and the Faculty of Law. The dates will be formally announced when their approval is signified by His Excellency the Chancellor to whom they have been forwarded.

The University has suggested Tuesday, the 9th January, 1940, for the holding of Election by the Faculties of Law and Medicine and Saturday, the 13th January, 1940, by the Registered Graduates. The Registered Graduates will be called upon to fill two vacancies and the Faculties of Law and Medicine, one each.

* * *

X. AWARD OF SCHOLARSHIPS BY DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
BENGAL

The Department of Agriculture, Bengal, has announced two Scholarships, each of the value of Rs. 50 a month and tenable for two years, to suitable candidates, one of whom would be required to study Mycology and the other Entomology at the Imperial Research Institute as part of the Post-Graduate course taught there. The University

which was approached by the Director of Agriculture, Bengal, with the request that candidates with the requisite qualifications may be recommended by it has suggested that the award in Mycology may be made to Mr. Jagadischandra Saha and that in Entomology to Mr. Himangshulal Sarkar, M.Sc.

* * *

XI. SISTER UNIVERSITIES AND FACILITIES FOR THE STUDY OF BENGALI

Our University has recently addressed a letter to the Indian Universities and the Boards of Intermediate and Secondary Education to the effect that in view of the importance of the Bengali language arrangements may be made by them so that Bengali students and others desiring to study Bengali may have necessary facilities to do so at schools and colleges under them. It has been pointed out in the letter, that Bengali is studied at the Calcutta University up to the M.A. standard and that there is also an Honours course in that language for candidates preparing for the B.A. examination. Besides this, the University offers students from outside Bengal every opportunity to keep up the study of their provincial languages as part of the course for the different examinations conducted by our University.

The request has been made in the letter that the policy of the University may be reciprocated and that arrangements may be made by Universities and Educational Boards to include Bengali as an optional subject for the examinations that are held ~~by~~ them.

* * *

XII. SIBLEY SCHOLARSHIPS FOR 1938

The Sibley Scholarships in Civil, Mechanical and Electrical Engineering for 1938 have been awarded to the following persons :—

Civil	...	Pranabkumar Chattopadhyay, from 10th August, 1939.
Mechanical	...	Nirmalchandra Datta, from 3rd November, 1938.
Electrical	...	Sureschandra Bandyopadhyay, from 16th November, 1938, to 15th May, 1939.

XIII. SIR S RADHAKRISHNAN

We take this opportunity of congratulating Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan on his appointment as Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University, in place of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who has so long occupied this exalted office. Sir Sarvapalli has been the recipient of the highest honours in the academic world. From a philosophic scholar's secluded nook he was brought out to administer the affairs of the Andhra University, and this he did with considerable success. He has now been appointed at Benares for three years for the present and we hope that he will equally prove his worth there.

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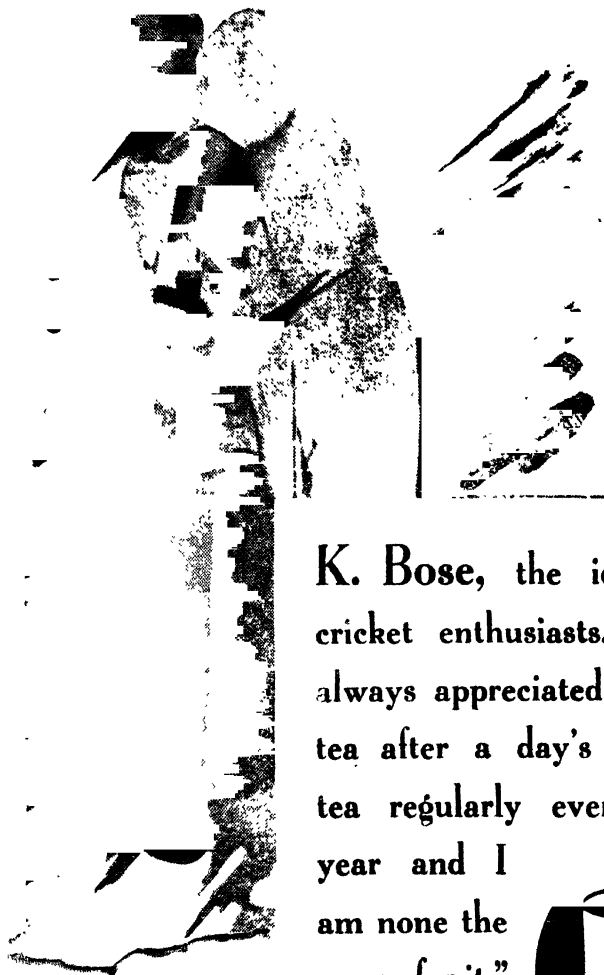
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The Late Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen

Born—Nov. 3, 1866

Died—Nov. 20, 1939



THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

NOVEMBER, 1939

THE SHAKESPEAREAN PUZZLE—ENDEAVOURS AFTER ITS SOLUTION

SIR P. C. RÂY

I

INTRODUCTORY

AFTER an interval of more than half a century (strictly speaking, 54 years), I have resumed the study of my favourite subject—Shakespeare, and that for the present in one aspect only—the enigma which presents itself in every phase of his life and ~~writings and~~ shrouds him in impenetrable mist. Browning, in his well-known lines, very aptly puts in a nutshell the difficulty which the immortal poet presents at every step of his writings:

“ Here’s my work : does work discover
What was rest from work—my life ?
Did I live man’s hater, lover ?
Leave the world at peace, at strife ?

Blank of such a record, truly,
Here’s the work I hand, this scroll,
Yours to take or leave : as duly
Mine remains the unproffered soul.” ¹

• ¹ Browning—*At the Mermaid*.

Asquith also acknowledges the same difficulty but in a different way :

“ The most splendid genius of his own or any other time has left behind him hardly a single undisputed trace of his own personality. There has not been preserved so much as a single line in his own handwriting of any of his poems or plays. We do not know that the greatest teacher of antiquity wrote a single line. Shakespeare, who died less than three hundred years ago, must have written well over hundred-thousand. And yet, thanks to Plato and Xenophon, we have a far more definite and varied acquaintance with the man Socrates than we shall ever have with the man Shakespeare.” ¹

Munroe, who has made a careful and detailed study of the bard of Avon, very pithily remarks on the paucity of contemporary interest in Shakespeare :

“ The still silence in which this greatest of Englishman came into the world is equalled only by the silence in which he left it again. It is particularly important to remember that of all the poets who had sung the praises of Shakespeare and of all those who had plagiarised his works, not one was moved by his death, which must have been known before long in London, to make any immediate expression of loss or sorrow.” ²

Eminent authorities such as Dowden, Halliwell-Phillips, Boas, Lee and others bear such testimony to the almost insoluble problem presented by Shakespeare and speak of him as *elusive*, *evasive* or *baffling*. In fact, every Shakespearean scholar whenever he fancies he has discovered something material and relevant to the life or writings of the poet finds himself at last groping in the dark. Steevens who made a life-long study of the immortal poet is at last constrained to admit that “ All that is known, with any degree of certainty concerning Shakespeare, is that he was born at Stratford-on-Avon, married and had three children there, went to London, where he commenced as an actor and wrote plays, returned to Stratford, made his will, died and was buried.”

The literature on Shakespeare has already grown to gigantic proportions. In the shelves of the Shakespeare Memorial Library of Birmingham alone there were some 21,000 volumes (on the 31st March, 1930) ; and in the British Museum catalogue the Shakes-

¹ *Occasional Addresses*—Asquith.

² *Shakespeare Allusion Book*—Introduction by Munroe.

pearean entries alone comprise 3,680 titles. Add to it the books and manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, and in the archives of many noble families of England (*e.g.*, Hatfield) and of late years in the libraries of American millionaires, *e.g.*, Pierpont Morgan.

We thus get an idea of the colossal and stupendous mass of work done on Shakespeare. Then again, on *Hamlet* alone in Germany, there is already a vast and bewildering literature. Other continental countries, namely France, Denmark, Holland, Poland, Sweden, etc., have also contributed their quota.

When the present writer entered on his self-imposed task he actually feared that in a place like Calcutta the available literature on Shakespeare would naturally be very meagre; but on ransacking the shelves in the libraries of the Calcutta University, the Presidency College and the Imperial Library, he was agreeably surprised to find that most (though not all) of the standard works are to be met with, as would appear from the numerous references in these articles. It has further been a source of satisfaction and encouragement to him that exactly 60 years ago (1879) Malone's edition of Shakespeare, brought out by Boswell (Jr.) in 1821, was reprinted in Calcutta by H. C. Mullick, showing evidently the popularity of Shakespeare in Bengal. He well remembers, when he was just a college student, John Bright (in 1877 or 1878), in introducing Mr. Lalmohan Ghosh before an English audience, remarked that there were as many students of Shakespeare and Milton on the banks of the Ganges as on the banks of the Thames.

At one time it was almost taken for granted that all that has to be said of Shakespeare has been exhausted; but, since the beginning of the present century the literature on Shakespeare has been growing anew and apace. Many scholars, notably Israel Gollancz, Raleigh, Greg, Quiller-Couch, Chambers, Pollard, Alexander, J. D. Wilson, Granville-Barkar, J. M. Robertson, Thorndike and others have approached the subject from new view-points and have materially added to it. The literature on Shakespeare—already encyclopædic—bids fair to grow in dimensions and “critical and scholarly notions about Shakespeare have changed in the last 30 years.”¹ The great master of human passions will always present us with new problems for solution which will ever remain open and the final word on the poet will still remain unsaid.

¹ G. B. Harrison—*Introducing Shakespeare*, p. 69 (Penguin series).

At the outset, the present writer might be held presumptuous in descending into such an arena and trying to cross swords with so many masters of acknowledged merit and may be placed in the category of those who rush in where angels fear to tread ; but his task is, indeed, less pretentious and an humble one. In the beginning one is simply appalled by the divergent views of the writers and the critics of accepted authority and the far-fetched interpretations they have put forward on facts which admit perhaps of easy solutions. To take one or two instances: The Danish author, George Brandes, who, a foreigner though he be, shows an admirable command of his subject and has studied Elizabethan literature and the condition of the English society towards the close of the sixteenth up to the middle of the seventeenth century, has, it appears, been thrown off the track by trying to connect the plays of Shakespeare with his mood of mind at that time ; no less futile seems to be his attempt to read into the texts of his plays various biographical data of the poet, and in this line of research Brandes has his precursor, Dowden.¹ The sonnets, again, present an infinite variety of interpretations ; several authors go so far as to connect the dark lady with Mary Fitton, a maid of honour to Queen Elizabeth. The hapless reader thus finds himself completely lost in the labyrinthine maze of literature emanating from the pens of commentators and critics holding contradictory and divergent views, and would naturally look for a cue to unravel the skein.

The scholiasts, commentators and conjectural emendators have often confounded the confusion and vastly added to the difficulty, and have served to scare away an average reader. Thus Pope, Theobald, Warburton, Hanmer, Capell, Samuel Johnson, Steevens, Malone—each according to his own light—have made conjectural emendations and hence even in the middle of the eighteenth century Henry Fielding in his humorous way gives vent to his feelings in his *Journey to the Other World* :

“ I then observed Shakespeare standing between Betterton and Booth, and deciding a difference between those two great actors, concerning the placing an accent in one of his lines: this was disputed

¹ The idea, it seems, originated with Malone, cf. Vol. II (ed. 1821), p. 353.

It is observable our author's son, Hamlet, died in August, 1596. That a man of such sensibility, and of so amiable a disposition, should have lost his only son, who had attained the age of twelve years, without being greatly affected by it, will not be easily credited. The pathetic lamentations, which he has written for Lady Constance on the death of Arthur, may perhaps add some probability to the supposition that this tragedy was written at, or soon after, that period.

on both sides with a warmth which surprised me in Elysium, till I discovered by Intuition, that every soul retained its principal characteristic, being indeed, its very Essence. The Line was that celebrated one in *Othello*.

'Put out the Light and then put out the light,' according to Betterton Mr. Booth contended to have it thus.

'Put out the Light, and then put out the Light.' I could not help offering my conjecture on this occasion, and suggested it might perhaps be:

'Put out the Light, and then put out the light.' Another hinted a reading very sophisticated in my opinion.

'Put out the Light and put out thee, Light'; making Light to be the vocative case. Another would have altered the last word, and read—

'Put out thy Light, and then put out thy light.'

But Betterton said, if the Text was to be disturbed, he saw no reason why a word might not be changed as well as a letter, and instead of put out thy Light, you might read put out thy Eyes. At last it was agreed on all sides, to refer the matter to the Decision of Shakespeare himself, who delivered his sentiments as follows: 'Faith, Gentlemen, it is so long since I wrote the Line, I have forgot my Meaning. This I know, could I have dreamt so much nonsense would have been talked, and writ about it, I would have blotted it out of my works, for, I am sure, if any of these be my Meaning, it doth me very little Honour.'

In order, however, that the reader may be placed in a favourable position to approach the subject it is desirable that he should be well-grounded in certain preliminaries relating to the condition of the stage and stage-writers towards the third quarter of the sixteenth century. It will be the aim of the present writer to submit them one by one in a concise and systematic way as far as practicable.

PRELIMINARIES

(a) *Elizabethan England.*

The consideration of the achievements which the greatest poet of the world has made in the field of English dramatic literature is bound to remain imperfect if we fail to understand the true spirit of the age in which he flourished. Elizabethan England is the proper back-

ground of the marvellous picture which the Elizabethan dramatists in general presented to the world and it will not be out of place to describe here certain salient features of the social and political situation of the land under the famous Tudor monarchs, notably Henry VIII, Edward VI, Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth.

All of them were profoundly learned and great supporters of learning. Their inclination for literature indirectly supplied impetus to the *litterateurs* of the soil. When the continent was plunging into the turmoils of religious controversy and divided all countries into camps—conservatives and radicalists—England was smoothly passing her days under the sovereignty of Henry VIII—the Defender of Faith—as an erstwhile supporter of Papacy. But matters were not to continue in this tame way and England had to shake off the yoke of Rome as a result of Henry's plan of divorcing Queen Katherine and subsequently marrying Anne Boleyn, mother of Queen Elizabeth. A change of policy on the state towards the church had taken place and Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher had to place their heads under the executioner's axe for refusing to acknowledge the king as the supreme head of English church.

Mary, however, threw the dice in the reverse order and Roman Catholic faith began to acquire its lost strength. But already the general outlook of the people had begun to change since the advent of Protestant ideas which were gaining in volume and intensity. With her premature death the wheel turned a full cycle; Elizabeth ascended the throne in 1558 to bring England in the forefront and to make her an aspiring nation of vast potentialities. Protestantism brought home free-thinking among the populace and emancipated their minds from the shackles of age-long prejudice and superstition; as a result of this, strong individualistic and keen rationalistic spirit began to grow. Simultaneously with the growth of this spirit Spain initiated England in adventures, and Queen Elizabeth's far-sighted policy successfully blended these rare qualities acquired by the nation and she gave it the actual impetus for real action. People became sturdy and fearless, adventurous and ambitious, seekers of fortune and unmindful of failures. In fact, during the reign of Elizabeth the English phase of Renaissance reached its zenith.

The literary talents of the nation began to develop as the general political situation was becoming favourable. A galaxy of talents in diverse fields dazzled the firmament of national life. Raleigh, Drake,

Coke, Hooker, Shakespeare, Spenser, Sidney, Bacon, Jonson are names which still fill every English heart with pride.

It must not, however, be lost sight of that during Shakespeare's youth the English nation was just emerging from barbarism. Henry VIII accompanied by Queen Katherine was in the habit of witnessing the Jousts, bear-baiting, bull-baiting and such like cruel pastimes which were, in fact, patronised by the nobility, the gentry and the commonalty. The famous theatrical actor-proprietor, Alleyn, maintained bear-gardens and acquired a large fortune therefrom. This with his other incomes from the theatres, etc., enabled him to found his "God's gift" or Dulwich College, which he very richly endowed.

The dialects spoken had not till then taken their standard form and varied from place to place. But on the whole the language of the midland counties was steadily being established in literature. Then again, the land-system of the country was in a transitional state and while the lords were parting with their lands, the middle class people were becoming land-owners. In short, the whole country was passing through a vast and all-round change, and the literature of the land was coloured accordingly.

At this time King Phillip was the sovereign of Spain, Austria and the Netherlands, and was indeed controlling the foreign policy of practically the whole of Europe. England was a nation in the making and her aspirations were looked upon with grave concern by Spain. With the close of the religious feuds in the Netherlands, which so long kept the king of Spain's attention engrossed, Phillip of Spain sent the famous Armada (1588) to crush England once for all. Elizabeth had to face the contingency with as much strength and prudence as were in her and the miracle happened. The defeat of the Spanish Armada and the consequent humbling of Spain had the effect of a great national awakening in England. Her sons gained self-reliance and fully utilized the advantage which Spain thrust at her door. The English nation now circumnavigated the globe, fitted out commercial enterprises in the East and West Indies and established colonies in the far distant part of the world, namely America, enrolled as volunteers in the Netherlands in the Protestant cause. Then again, in the centre of humanist culture, namely Italy, there were pilgrims from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, who returned laden with the literature of Ariosto, Petrarch, Machiavelli, Boccaccio and Bandello. France, following in the wake of Italy, had absorbed the

literature of Renascence and attracted a band of English seekers of the new classical learning. Ronsard and Garnier were made familiar to the scholars of Oxford and Cambridge.¹ This had its repercussion in the cultured society of England. Henry VIII, Edward VI, Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth, as already pointed out, were all cultivators of the learned tongues and often sought solace in dramatic performances. Queen Elizabeth was a great devotee of the classical tongues and her command over the continental languages excited the envy of her contemporaries. Roger Ascham, Queen Elizabeth's tutor, gives his testimony in the following sentences :

"Yea, I believe that, beside her perfect readiness in Latin, Italian, French and Spanish, she readeth here now at Windsor more Greek every day than some prebendary of this church doth read Latin in a whole week. And that what is most praiseworthy of all, within the walls of her privy-chamber she hath obtained that excellent of learning, to understand, speak or write both wittily with head and fair with hand as scarce one or two rare wits in both the Universities have in many years reached unto."

But the general mass was steeped in illiteracy and Shakespeare's father could not write his name even though he was the bailiff of the Stratford Corporation. Besides, they were highly credulous and believed in all sorts of ghosts, witches, fairies and supernatural beings.

Dr. Samuel Johnson graphically describes the general literary atmosphere of England at the time of Shakespeare in the following lines :

"The English nation, in the time of Shakespeare, was yet struggling to emerge from barbarity. The philology of Italy had been transplanted hither in the reign of Henry VIII ; and the learned languages had been successfully cultivated by Lilly, Linacre and More ; by Pole, Cheke, and Gardiner, and afterwards by Smith Clerk, Haddon and Ascham. Greek was now taught to boys in the principal schools and those who united elegance with learning read with great diligence the Italian and Spanish poets. But literature was yet confined to professed scholars, or to men and women of high rank. The public was gross and dark, and to be able to read and write was an accomplishment still valued for its rarity."

¹ Kyd, as far as one can make out, was a non-university man, yet he had mastered the French language and translated Garnier's *Cornelie* under the patronage of Lady Pembroke.

(b) The Early English Stage.

In the transitional period in Elizabethan England, when land was slipping out of the hands of the lords, the traders and the middle classes were making substantial speculations in land-investments. As a rule these new owners of land were making the best efforts to get the maximum return from out of their landed properties and as such they converted arable lands into pastures which were evidently expected to yield better monetary return. The unavoidable consequence of this change of policy of the land-holding classes was that the agriculturists had to become landless and unemployed, and had to take to some other profession that would provide for their livelihood, no matter what this new vocation of their life might have been. Again, with the end of the religious feuds in the Netherlands a number of Englishmen who had enrolled themselves as volunteers in the Protestant cause there, returned out of occupation to their motherland almost ragged and penniless. It was, indeed, extremely difficult for the state and the public in the sixteenth century to offer adequate employments to these disbanded volunteers and landless peasants and it was quite natural that the country was overflowed with vagrants and vagabonds who had really no ostensible means of livelihood.

These fellows often took to stealing and highway robbery and as such the British Parliament could not but enact from time to time several severe laws for restraining them in their various malpractices. "Capital punishment was the invariable penalty for robbery and it was difficult to supply sufficient gibbets whereon to hang the offenders."

Minstrels, mountebanks and strolling actors were all included in the category of vagabonds and no wonder that Taine should observe of Shakespeare in the following terms:

"He was a comedian, one of 'His Majesty's poor players'—a sad trade, degraded in all ages by the contrasts and the falsehoods inseparable from it; still more degraded then by the brutalities of the crowd, who not seldom would stone the actors, and by the severities of the magistrates, who would sometimes condemn them to lose their ears."

In order that the actors might claim exemption from the stigma of bad character they had to enroll themselves as the servants of some nobleman or of some gentry of position who might be held responsible for the good behaviour of their retinue and thus a class of actors were exempted from maltreatment. We have thus 'The Earl of Leicester

—his servants, The Lord Strange—his servants, or the Earl of Pembroke—his servants ' and so forth

But apart from the question of law and order, a vigorous propaganda was being carried on against the stage and the Puritan movement was making considerable headway among the London public, especially the civic authorities. Although the masses and the court could not or did not support the attempts of the Puritans to denounce the stage, the Puritan movement was gaining in intensity among the middle class of the then London population. The civic authorities of the city represented this section of people most and were in frequent collision with the Privy Council. A Lord Mayor of London considered the theatre-going public as " being of the base and refuse sort of people or such gentlemen as have small regard of credit and conscience," and the playhouses as " the ordinary places for vagrant persons, masterless men, thieves, horse-stealers, whoremongers, cozeners, cony-catchers, contrivers of treason and other idle and dangerous persons to meet together." Queen Elizabeth was, however, a staunch supporter of players and often sought solace in Court performances. Only one thing the sovereign would keep her eye upon as in her proclamation, dated May 15, 1559, she orders " that they (Lieuetenautes for the quenes Maiestie) permyt none to be played wherin either matters of religion or of the gouernaunce of the estate of the common weale" have been criticised. The Councillors, though some of them had decided Puritan leanings, could not but adopt a *via media*. On the one hand, they had to gratify their sovereign and on the other, had to put a check on the overzealous city-fathers. The theatre-managers themselves had again evaded the law by erecting their playhouses in the counties of Middlesex and Surrey whose mayors were more favourably disposed towards the stage and which were situated just outside the 'Liberty' of London.

Among those who hurled their unwarranted invectives against the stage Phillip Stubbs and Stephen Gosson deserve prominent mention. Gosson was himself a dramatist and saw several of his plays placed on the boards as he in his *School of Abuse* offers an explanation for his writing plays in the following lines: " I have sinned, and am sorry for my fault: I gave myself to that exercise in hope to thrive but I burnt one candle to seek another, and lost bothe my time and my trauell, when I had doone." In this piece he deprecates plays, reproaches players and condemns playhouses where " every

wanton and his paramour, every man and his mistress, every John and his Joan, every Knave and his queane, are there first acquainted." Phillip Stubbs in his *Anatomie of Abuses* (1583) considers "Theatres and curtaines Venus pallaces, to worship deuils and betray Christ Iesus." Similarly, Anthony Munday (1580), who was a dramatist first, then a denouncer of dramas and ultimately returned to his own vomit, regards plays as "publike enemies to virtue and religion: allurements Unto sinne; corrupters of good manners; the cause of securitie and carelesnes; meere brothel houses of Banderie; and bring both the Gospel into slander; the Sabboth into contempt; mens soules into danger; and finalie the whole common-weale into disorder."

Nor was condemnation from the pulpit lacking. Thomas White in a sermon preached at Pawle's crosse on 3rd November, 1577, remarks: "The cause of plagues is sinne, ... and the cause of sinne are playes."

The dramatists, however, failed not to answer the charge against their profession and strove very hard to vindicate their trade and their supporters, the theatre-going public. Lodge, Nashe and finally Heywood among the notables came forward with their arguments, each in his own way, in support of the stage.

Thomas Nashe (*Pierce Penilesse*, 1592) emphatically supports plays and says: "How would it have joyed brave Talbot (the terror of the French) to think that after he had lain two hundred years in his tomb, he should triumph on the stage, and have his bones now embalmed with the tears of ten thousands spectators at least (several times) who in the tragedian that represents his person imagine they behold him fresh bleeding." Thomas Heywood too (*An Apology for Actors*), interrogates in the same vein: "What coward, to see his countrymen valiant, would not be ashamed of his owne cowardise." According to him, "playing is an ornament to the Citty." It refines the taste of the mass, provides the ignorant instructions and teaches them moral lessons.

Despite all attempts of the Puritans to suppress the stage the greater bulk of the people supported it—nay, went mad over theatrical displays. We cannot summarise the chapter better than in the words of Emerson: "People wanted them (players and plays). Inn yards, houses without roofs and extemporaneous enclosures at country fairs, were the ready theatres of strolling players. The people had tasted this new Joy."

THE DOCTRINE OF MALNUTRITION IN ITS BEARINGS ON OVER-POPULATION

(WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ECONOMIC INDIA)

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THE FOOD-ECONOMY OF INDIA

IN connection with the population question we have to deal with the problems of food, nutrition and economic efficiency. The deliberations of the Crop-Planning Conference, held at Simla in June, 1934, should appear to be very valuable. The report tells us that in regard to the rice and wheat resources of India there is no need for any scare.

The problems of rice and wheat were studied province by province, both in regard to indigenous output as well as exports and imports. The object of investigation was to ascertain if there was any over-production. The conference came to the conclusion that neither as regards rice nor as regards wheat was it desirable for any provincial government either to offer any stimulus to an increase in the present acreages or to recommend restriction. Food shortage, then, was considered to be out of the question.

The crops situation should corroborate the findings of the *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I. *India, Part I Report* (Delhi, 1933, p. 30), to the effect that the "danger of a shortage of food supply is not the most serious aspect of the question," and that the "point has not yet been reached at which the ability of the country to feed its occupants is seriously taxed."

As for the Indian standard of living attention may be drawn, first, to the diversities of standard in other countries by way of general orientation. Let us look to the meat-ratio of European dietaries as revealed by the *International Labour Review* (Geneva, December, 1933, pp. 873-875). Those statistics are well calculated to convince us that we cannot afford to speak of a general European, or even Teutonic, or Slavic standard. Nay, a general working class standard also is unthinkable even for a single country. The meat-index cannot be taken as a correlate of climate or national wealth or efficiency.

The so-called rice-standard of China, Japan and India deserves intensive analysis. Indian experts will find reasons to agree with the Japanese scholar Isoshi Asahi who maintains in *The Secret of Japan's Trade Expansion* (Tokyo, 1934), that dietetically, the rice-standard is not necessarily inferior to the beef-standard. Besides, if we examine the folk dietaries as prevalent in Bengal and other rice-standard countries we should have to stress the fact that these are not exclusively starch dietaries. Protein, salts and vitamins of diverse orders are factually available in the articles generally consumed by the masses of Southern and Eastern Asia including India through millenniums, although the relative smallness of meat is to be admitted as a reality.

Another important point, which has a special economic bearing, is to be adduced. It is to the effect that in Bengal and other semi-industrial or predominantly agricultural countries the natural and barter economies as contrasted with the market or price economy prevail in a considerable measure. The masses in large proportions are not, as a rule, much affected by the high or low prices or ups and downs of prices. Although statistically not defined and undefinable the masses have therefore very often the chance to consume large quantities of substantial food stuffs, no matter what be their income in terms of money. Instances of agriculturists such as bring their food crops to the bazars for barter or sale without keeping an adequate supply for their annual family nourishment are rare, to say the least.

THE QUESTION OF CALORIE PLANNING

Owing to the absence of adequate information the amount of calories and vitamins available in the daily food of the millions in India is an unknown quantity. Good results may be expected from the Nutrition Research Laboratories established by the Indian Research Fund Association at Coonoor. In the meanwhile Indian demographers ought to favour schemes of reconstruction in the articles as well as in cooking. The food-reform movement prevalent in England might help India with suggestions in this regard. India ought also to profit by the example of Japan, which although a "low-standard country" by the Eur-American beef-standard has in certain particulars succeeded in rising up to the industrial might as sustained by it. The calorie-vitamin complex is like every thing else in economic and social affairs to be taken in a "relative" as contrasted with the absolute manner.

“Food-planning,” or calorie-planning for the teeming millions of India is accordingly a matter of degrees, doses or stages. India should by all means discard the Anglo-German-American conception of national welfare while discussing the improvement of her own standard or standards. We ought to be interested just in those measures that are calculated to help forward the emergence of the “next stage in our socio-economic life.” It is the relatively more modest programmes of uplift adapted to the age-long and primitive conditions obtaining in the country that should belong to the statesmanship of food reform.

The problem of “relativities” and “next stages” in food planning, calorie-vitamine complex, nutritional minimum, etc., deserves emphasis. During the Great War the Inter-Allied Food Stuffs Commission bestowed considerable discussions on the problem of calories. Starling, the British physiologist, and the French experts were for different figures according to nationality, which implied mainly the dimensions of the body and temperature. Against differentiation argued the Italian statistician, Gini, who claimed that if duration of work, profession, etc., were considered, the calorie requirement for the Italian would not be less than those for the British and the French. According to Starling the Italian requirements would be 3177, the French 3220 and the British 3300.¹ We may add here East’s demand in *Mankind at the Cross Roads* (New York, 1925), for 3500 in regard to the Americans.

There are still other ideas about adequate calorie requirements, and to those also the attention of Indian demographers ought to be invited. At the World Population Conference (Geneva, 1927) Monsieur Henri Brenier² of Marseilles observed that according to French physician, 1650 calories would be enough in hot seasons and in hot climates for a male adult weighing 55 kilos and performing light work. The corresponding figure for cold seasons and cold climates was 2750 calories. This French standard would then look upon the previous standards as by all means too high.

In the perspective of these war and post-war standards we may place the recent “London standards”. The Technical Commission of the Health Committee of the League of Nations met in London in November, 1935. The conclusions of Burnet and Aykroyd’s paper on

¹ C. Gini : *Problemi Sociologici della Guerra* (Bologna, 1921), pp. 156-174.

² *Proceedings of the World Population Conference* (London, 1927), p. 98.

“Nutrition and Public Health” in the *Quarterly Bulletin of the Health Organisation of the League of Nations* (Geneva, June, 1935), were accepted by the Technical Commission. The “physiological bases of nutrition” as recommended by the Commission comprise the following items: (1) that in temperate regions the minimum for the health of the average man or woman not engaged in manual labour is 2,400 net calories, (2) that for light work 50 calories per hour, for moderate work 50-100 calories p.h., and for hard work 100-200 calories p.h., and so forth would be required in addition.

The first criticism about these so-called London standards, is, as has been observed by the authors of *Workers' Nutrition and Social Policy* published by the International Labour Office (Geneva, 1936, p. 6) that the standard contemplated here is primarily a Eur-American standard. Neither India nor any major countries of Asia in the socio-economic conditions of India are taken cognizance of in this physiological nutrition minimum. Indian demographers, economists, food-reformers or social servants should not, therefore, jump at these standards with a view to render them accessible to the Indian people overnight.

We ought further to observe that the 2400 calorie unit is not a very high standard when one recalls the many recommendations by previous experts of diverse countries. And yet so far as Eur-America is concerned, it is too high for very many countries as well as very many classes of men and women in each country.

Malnutrition is indeed a world-reality and is not confined exclusively to the poorer countries. “The lowest income groups—even in the United States and Germany—are insufficiently supplied with calories according to London standards. In so far as proteins are concerned, only the richest countries and the highest income groups attain the London standards. The majority of the workers of the world can be assumed to fall short of this ideal.” The problem of the nutrition of agricultural workers is, even as regards the number of calories, below an adequate level in view of the trying work these workers have to perform, and the composition is too unilateral to ensure the maintenance of a good standard of health throughout life.”³

We may now call attention to a German standard, which is still more recent. According to the findings of the *Reichsarbeitsgemein-*

³ *Workers' Nutrition and Social Policy* (Geneva, 1936), pp. 76-79.

schaft fuer Volksernaehrung and the *Deutsche Gesellschaft fuer Ernaehrungsforschung*, as reported by J. Schwaibold of the German Institute for Research in the Chemistry of Foodstuff (Munich) in 1937, a change over to proteins and fats (*i.e.*, meat, butter, etc.) from carbohydrates (potatoes, grain, etc.) is not desirable. A change of nutrition in the opposite direction is considered to be a necessity. In this position we encounter a veritable revolution in nutritional physiology. The latest conclusions of German nutrition experts prescribe an adequate diet as made up of the following items: (1) protein (80 grammes), (2) fat (70 g.) and (3) carbohydrates (450 g.). The total calories required for adequate nutrition come up to the modest figure of 2800. For the working adult engaged in ordinary work a daily consumption of 50 g. of albumen (protein) and a very modest amount of fat with a correspondingly greater consumption of carbohydrates is considered to be the desideratum.⁴

In case the 2800 calorie unit be considered adequate for the average German, the question for Indians as well as Chinese, Japanese and other Asians has to be solved according to the principles of relativity. Occupation, physique (weight, stature) and climate are important modifying factors. What percentage of the German unit,—75 per cent., 60 per cent. or 50 per cent,—would be regarded as fairly adequate for India? That is an important physiological problem which can and ought to be discussed in a dispassionate manner. We should be convinced that whenever the estimates of India's food resources or food shortage are attempted by demographers and economists on the 3000, 2800, 2400, or 2000 or 1600 calorie basis they are likely very often to be without scientific foundations.

By multiplying 350 or 400 million inhabitants by 3000 or 1600 calories we may get the astronomical figure of 5 to 12 billion calories as the total "requirements" for the Indian population. As long as the multiplier can range between 1600 and 3000 it is questionable if the multiplication, although a very simple process, is worth while in a serious demographic study. The other side of the shield is not less complicated. In order to find out whether the total requirements in calories can be supplied by the total food resources of India we should be in a position to estimate these latter with a reasonable degree of accuracy. Here the Government statistics do not claim finality of

⁴ *Germany and You* (Berlin, 1937), No. 8.

any sort. Besides, there is the very important consideration that considerable proportions of the output belong to what is known as the natural economy as distinguished from the barter and the market economies. It is nothing short of guess-work of extraordinary dimensions that can be attempted in regard to the output of agricultural and animal and other food resources, first, in amount, and secondly in calories.

THE IDEOLOGY OF INDIAN EXPERTS IN MALNUTRITION AND OVER-POPULATION

In a paper on "The Population Problem in India" (*Indian Journal of Medical Research*, Calcutta, October, 1935, p. 560) A. J. N. Russell and K. C. K. E. Raja observe that the acreage in India under foodcrops per head of population is 0.79. Then they quote the results of "recent studies made in the United States of America" on the strength of which they maintain that the amount of land required *per capita* per year in order to produce (1) a restricted diet for emergency use is 1.2 acres and (2) a liberal diet is 2.1 acres. It is to be observed that the acreage available discussed in the first statement has reference to India while the acreage required for different kinds of food refers to the U. S. A. There is no logical and necessary connection between these two orders of facts, supposing for the moment that each of these facts is unquestionable. But the authors have made it a point to conclude without a word of explanation that "judged by these figures it is clear that India is not producing sufficient food for its present population." In reality the two classes of facts have no bearing on each other, and one is not entitled to draw any conclusion.

John Megaw's two unpublished memoranda of 1932, *Inquiry into Certain Public Health Aspects of Village Life in India*, and *Further Notes on the Formation of a Public Health Board*, have been drawn upon by Russell and Raja. "The dispensary doctors," we are told, "regard 39 per cent. of the people as being well nourished, 41 per cent. poorly nourished and 20 per cent. very badly nourished." It is concluded that "malnutrition is widespread among the inhabitants of rural India." This position is perhaps acceptable. But at the same time, in view of the fact that the authors are interested in food and population policy for India it should be proper to point out that in practically every country a certain percentage of population may be

demonstrated to be undernourished according to the customary standard prevailing there. The demonstration has indeed come from the investigations of the calorie experts published by the League of Nations (*Workers' Nutrition and Social Policy*, 1936, pp. 76-79).

On the strength of evidences in regard to malnutrition Russell and Raja conclude (p. 563) that "India is already over-populated." There is no harm in drawing this conclusion provided they are prepared also to do the same in regard to all those regions of the world where malnutrition can be demonstrated to exist by the physiologists and calorie-doctors.

There is another point that deserves careful attention. In case malnutrition or absence of adequate nutrition be taken to be equivalent to or an index of over-population at the present moment, it will be necessary to hold that India was perhaps over-populated even at the start and of course in 1590, with 100 millions.⁵ Indeed, the entire world-history will also have to be treated as nothing but the annals of over-population in all ages and climes. The reason is obvious. Even without being a socialist or communist one can easily see that malnutrition of some sort or other, i.e., poverty, low-standard of living, etc. has been a socio-economic reality of very large numbers of men and women in every nook and corner of the world from the days of the *Rig-Veda* and the Hesiodic *Works and Days* down to our own times. If the study of population is to be carried on along these lines the demographer will be led to the theory of universal and eternal over-population.

This is a profoundly pessimistic view of history. But a position like this is quite reasonable. It is however utterly worthless for practical purposes. In the interest of rational population-planning one should pay due heed to the doses of malnutrition and poverty prevailing at the present moment and the dangers of increasing poverty and malnutrition in the future. But the chief consideration should be bestowed on the slow but solid indices to actual improvements effected in recent years or likely to be consummated in the near future. We can therefore accept Megaw's proposition to the effect that "there is some difference of opinion as to whether the conditions of life have improved or deteriorated during the past fifty years, but even if some slight improvement may have taken place, the existing

⁵ W. H. Moreland : *India at the Death of Akbar* (London, 1920), p. 22.

state of affairs is still so profoundly unsatisfactory that it demands investigation and redress." (p. 563.)

INDICES OF INDIAN PROSPERITY

In case the existence of poverty, low standard of living, deficiency in calories, modest expectation of life and so forth be treated as indices of over-population, as done by the present author in the paper in Italian for the International Congress of Population at Rome (1931), India can be perhaps demonstrated to be over-populated in every epoch of her history since the Mahenjodaro times. But owing to the absence of dependable figures for previous epochs it may inspire certain classes of economists or sociologists to postulate the golden ages of bygone days in national prosperity and collective efficiency. In the perspective of those imaginary blisses they may find it easy likewise to wail over the alleged increasing poverty, malnutrition, over-population and what not in recent years.

To prove that India is poor today is undoubtedly very easy. But it does not imply that India has become poorer than in 1850, 1800, 1700 or so forth. Similarly, to demonstrate that Indian dietaries are deficient in calories to the extent of 500, 1000, 1500 or more calories according to some hypothetically ideal standard of the present moment is not a difficult job as it is not difficult even in the richest countries. In England,⁶ for instance, the results of several inquiries showed that in certain instances deficiency in calories was to the tune of 1110, 1320, 1401, 1505, 1732 and 1795.

The existence of deficiency in the present dietary cannot entitle one to the belief that there was no deficiency or less deficiency 50, 100, 150 or 200 years ago. What should be valuable, however, is to be convinced that there has actually taken place a relative increase in poverty or in deficiency of calories in the course of generations or decades. That remains yet to be proven in order to justify a menace of over-population in India.

A *point d'appui* is the statement of Rammohun Roy⁷ before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1831. In an extensive report on the economic condition and standard of living of the

⁶ *Workers' Nutrition and Social Policy* (Geneva, 1936), p. 193.

⁷ *The English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy* (Panini Office, Allahabad, 1906), pp. 297-98.

different classes of people in India, he observed that "rice, a few vegetables, salt, hot spices and fish" or "rice and salt only" constituted the common food. The statistical foundations of Rammohun Roy's statement are unknown. But in case the Rammohun standard be acceptable as describing somewhat the conditions of the people in the earlier years of the nineteenth century, it is questionable if the conditions in the corresponding period of the twentieth century have worsened.

More or less dependable figures relating to different branches of agriculture, manufacture and commerce are available for the last thirty or even fifty years. These economic indices point almost as a rule to figures rising from point to point.

For instance, in regard to the consumption of wheat in India *per capita* per year we have the following figures :

Year.	Wheat in Bushels.	Wheat flour (in Kilogram).
1910-1914	0.77	14.7
1923-1927	0.80	15.2
1928-1932	0.78	14.9
1932-1935	0.80	15.2

From 1910 to 1935 it is possible to notice an increase. It is however very slight. One ought to say that per head of population the wheat ration has just maintained its level during this quarter of a century.

Another item of universal importance like wheat may be mentioned. This is cotton cloth.

From 1905 to 1910 the net imports, *swadeshi* mill production and the output of the handlooms together amounted to the following yards *per capita* of the total population ⁹ :

1905-06	...	13.60
1906-07	...	13.09
1907-08	...	13.94
1908-09	...	12.26
1909-10	...	12.61
Total of five years	...	65.44

⁸ Workers' Nutrition and Social Policy (Geneva, 1936), p. 226.

⁹ Review of the Trade of India, 1934-35, p. 81.

The yardage of cotton piecegoods *per capita* per year was then 13·9.

For a recent quinquennium the corresponding figures were as follows ¹⁰ :

1932-33	...	16·70
1933-34	...	14·17
1934-35	...	15·60
1935-36	...	16·57
1936-37	...	15·54
Total of five years	...	78·58

The yardage *per capita* per year was then 15·71. The standard of living of the people may then be taken to have risen in this line from the 1905 to the 1937 period although, again, in slight proportions.

In 1921 the total Savings Bank deposits amounted to Rs. 228,621,716. They rose to Rs. 746,767,083.¹¹ The expansion is considerable proportionally much more than the growth of population during the same period. This increment in capital should be interpreted, however, more as an improvement in the saving or banking habits of the people than as an increment in the amount of national wealth.

The problem of raising the calorie-level or the standard of living and efficiency is not identical with the question of fixing the hypothetical ideal or the scientific physiological or socio-economic minimum. The more important consideration in this regard is the ascertainment of the level or the standard obtaining at the present moment or the level and the standard to which the class, group, race or country has been traditionally used for long periods, for generations, nay, for centuries. And so far as patriotism, economic statesmanship or practical social service is concerned, the methodology should consist not in harping on the "ideal" or the scientific minimum although the discussion by itself is quite desirable in theory, but in attempting to raise the present traditional level just a few degrees upwards. For instance, in case the working class in India in certain occupations and certain regions be used to the effective wage rate of 4 annas per day, it would be neither patriotism nor science to think of raising it to 12 annas in five or ten years (currency conditions remaining the same), as the National Planning Committee is alleged to be contemplating. No

¹⁰ R. T. I., 1936-37, p. 43.

¹¹ Colonial Savings Banks (Glasgow, 1938), p. 58.

super-Herculean efforts could accomplish such a miracle. An increment to the extent of 10, 15 or 20 per cent. would belong to practical statesmanship under normal conditions. Similarly in regard to calories. In case the agriculturists, workingmen, intellectuals and others be used for generations to the 1500, 1600, or 1800 calorie-level, it would be reasonable to think not of the hypothetical 2800 or 2400 niveau in the course of five, ten or fifteen years but perhaps to the 1600, 1700 or 1900. It is on this basis that the available calories from all Indian food resources—provided it be possible to make a more or less correct estimate—should have to be rationed for the 400 millions if it is at all necessary to undertake such programmes in order to satisfy the scientific curiosity. Under such conditions the food situation in India *vis-à-vis* her teeming millions might appear to be more or less reassuring.

PROGRESS OF INDUSTRIALIZATION IN INDIA

According to *Census Report* for 1931, Vol. I. Part I. (Delhi, 1933, p. 290) "industry occupies 10% India's workers as compared to 11% in 1921." It has become the custom, therefore, among Indian economists to point to this fact as evidence of decay in Indian industry or retardation in the industrial movement. This, however, is a fallacious position. But the fallacy has none the less attacked non-Indian scholars as well. For instance, it is apparent in *World Population* (Oxford, 1936, p. 274) that Carr-Saunders has been misled. He has taken the comparative figures at their face value and observes: "The proportion of the population so engaged (in industry) declined from 10·7 per cent. in 1921 to 9·8 per cent. in 1931." The fallacy has arisen in this case as in others from overlooking the explanations offered by the Government statisticians responsible for the collection of the Indian figures in 1921 and 1931.

It was pointed out in my paper on the "Economics of Employment *vis-à-vis* Demographic Reconstruction" at the Second Indian Population Conference, Bombay, 1938, that the figures for 1931 were not comparable with those for 1921. In the first place, in 1931 new categories were introduced, such as "working dependant" and "non-working dependant." Secondly, there was a growing tendency not to report women as gainfully employed. In the third place, the number of children reported as dependant, *i. e.*, non-earning and workless was on the increase. And last but not least, persons listed in one occupa-

tion in 1921 were transferred to another occupation in 1931. The result is that altogether a large number of discrepancies arose which were due exclusively to the purely technical or formal changes in the statistical method. Increase or decrease in the categories of occupation was thus not necessarily and invariably to be accounted for by the increase or decrease of the persons employed in the occupations.¹²

In the *Census Report* for 1931, Vol. I. *India*, Part I (Delhi, 1933, p. 281) there is a comparison between 1921 and 1931 in regard to the proportion of persons gainfully employed in industry, transport and trade. Per 10,000 gainfully employed the figures for these three items are as follows:

Occupation.	1921	1931	Difference of 1931 from 1921
Industry	1,075	997	-78
Transport	134	153	+21
Trade	550	515	-35

It is evident that there is a decline of 78 in industry and of 35 in trade but an increase of 21 in transport. Altogether the decline per 10,000 is to be measured by 92.

But the *Census Report* has made it clear that this decrease is "apparent rather than real" as in several other items of the 1931 calculations. In the case of these three occupations the decrease of 92 is "largely met by the increase of 99 in Class XI. The insufficiently described occupations in that class are, at any rate in the great majority of cases, general terms connected with industry and trade such as 'shopkeeper', 'trade', 'contractor' or 'coolie' which cannot be allotted to any particular category."

In regard to the increase in transport the *Census Report* observes as follows: "Communications have everywhere increased, roads are better, and motor traffic has become more ubiquitous during the decade. Indeed, if there is any cause for doubt it is whether the increase has not really been greater than that indicated by the figures." Finally, "there is a general tendency towards increase in what may be described as modernized occupations."

The economist does not therefore have to conclude that industrialization has been moving backwards. In so far as the occupational

¹² *Census of India, 1931, Vol. I. India, Part I, Report* (Delhi, 1933), pp. 278-274, 281, 289.

structure of India based on industrial activities is an index to modernization in economy and improvement in the standard of living, the demographer ought to feel reassured that the progress of industrialization is a fact of contemporary Indian economy. During the decade 1921-1931, India did not become more agricultural and less industrial.

Industrialization or the industrial structure succeeded in maintaining its relative level of 1921. And since in 1931 the old level was just maintained for a much larger number of population, the increase in the volume of industrialism or the number of persons gainfully employed in industry is to be interpreted as progress in industrialization although on a modest plane.

GIRISHCHANDRA BOSE

A PORTRAIT IN MINIATURE

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ONE of the greatest of Indians, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, once had occasion to remark, "What Bengal thinks to-day, the rest of India will think to-morrow." And he held no brief for Bengal; he was merely stating a simple truth. For, in those days, Bengal did lead the rest of India; and the men who led Bengal were great pioneers in all branches of a nation's activities. Unfortunately, most of them are no longer living; the connection of modern Bengal with that glorious past is getting thinner and thinner. And, with the passing away of Girishchandra Bose, veteran Educationist and pioneer Botanist, the link with the past came very near snapping.

In the year 1853, there was born, in the hamlet of Berugram, of Babu Janakiprasad Bose and his wife Khetramoni, a son whom they named Girishchandra. Janakiprasad was a country gentleman of the old type, yet well-educated and liberal enough in his ideas. Berugram was a sleepy little village in Burdwan district. Fortunately for Bengal, Girishchandra shook off its sleepiness and shifted to Hughli town, where his uncle, Babu Rajvallabh Bose, was a *peshkar*. With this genial uncle and a loving aunt, Girishchandra found a kindly home, and was put to school with his two cousins. They were all much of an age, and had much in common. One of the cousins died while still at school, but the other, Jogendrachandra, lived to start the well-known Bengali weekly paper, the *Bangabasi*, in after years.

Having passed the Entrance Examination in 1870, Girishchandra left the Hughli School to enter the college, in which he remained for six years. He took up the Science course and passed all the examinations with credit. The Hughli College meant much to him and to the last he retained a deep affection for it. At the time of its centenary celebrations held in 1935, he made a princely donation in response to the Principal's request, showing thereby the kindly feelings he still cherished for his old college.

In the B.A. Examination of 1876, Girishchandra scored the highest marks in Botany. Immediately after this, the Director of

Public Instruction offered the young scholar a Lectureship in Science at Ravenshaw College, Cuttack. Girishchandra seized the offer eagerly ; it was the starting point of his memorable career.

Early in 1877, he settled down to his job, continuing in it for the next five years. It was about this time that he married at the desire of his parents. Well-born, carefully nurtured and highly accomplished, his wife, Nirodmohini, possessed a charming, lively and gentle disposition. For more than sixty years she was his companion ; the large family which grew up under her loving and fostering care never felt the want of anything, never had a chance to know what trouble or worry was.

After five years of his new duties, years of happy married life, and not unfruitful in other ways, Girishchandra obtained his M.A. degree—and was offered a State Scholarship for Agricultural studies in England. He was anxious to accept it ; but many of his relatives seemed equally keen that he should not. But having obtained the consent of his parents, one cold, grey December morning in 1881, he quietly caught the boat for England.

He joined the Agricultural College at Cirencester, attaining conspicuous success in his work there. He was made a life-member of the leading Agricultural Societies : he was admitted to the Fellowship of various learned bodies. His stay in England was fruitful in other respects too. It enabled him, for the first time, to take stock of the relative positions of East and West. In Western civilization he found much that was admirable ; he also saw much that was disagreeable. For one thing, he discovered that the inherent superiority of the White Man was an exploded myth. It was true that the West was better educated and organised, more prosperous and healthy, than the East. But all this could be put down to historical and climatic differences—differences which it was by no means impossible to bridge over. And the best way of raising the East to the level of Western civilization was by the spread of mass education. He had noted the tremendous progress made by the English people during the nineteenth century ; and, turning over the matter in his mind, he ascribed it all to the education of the masses. It seemed to point to a moral for India. Let a comprehensive programme of popular education be launched in India, and one would find the ignorance and poverty of centuries disappearing, slowly but surely. India, once the home of a unique culture and of untold wealth, would resume her rightful place

as a leading nation of the world. And he resolved that, on his return to India, he would do his bit in bringing education within reach of his countrymen. That decision guided him throughout his public life.

In May, 1884, Girishchandra said good-bye to England and, after a tour of the Continent—a pilgrimage of education to him—returned to Calcutta. And now the question arose, what was he going to do ? He had been sent to study Agriculture, but, curiously enough, there seemed to be no opening for him in that line. Should he explore other avenues of Government service ? As if in answer to this query, the Government offered him the post of a Deputy Magistrate—quite a decent job in those days. Should he accept it ? His sturdy independence of character prompted him to refuse it. On the other hand, he perceived, it would be immediately useful in keeping the wolf from the door ; and it seemed to open up the vista of a life of ease, of affluence, and, possibly, of distinction. Just then, memories of his resolve in England flashed back to his mind. He had promised his quota of work in the cause of national education, and how could a Deputy Magistrate put through work of such kind ?

So Government service was ruled out, and Girishchandra decided to take the first steps in carrying out his resolve. He would start a school where he could formulate his own principles of popular education. And it would be education for the uplift of the poor, not for the amusement of the rich.

It was with these laudable ideas that the Bangabasi School was founded in 1885. It had a modest beginning, being housed in an unpretentious building in Bowbazar. It was to prepare boys for the University Entrance Examination after a course of six years. To carry through his scheme, he gathered round him a coterie of distinguished and devoted helpers. There was Mr. Bhupalchandra Bose, a college chum of his in England, who afterwards put in a long period of service in the Agricultural Department of Assam ; another friend, Mr. Byomkesh Chakravarty, Barrister and sometime Minister of Bengal, would drop in, whenever free from his professional labours, to help in the work of teaching ; and Satya Prasanna (afterwards Lord) Sinha, too, often came to take the Law classes. With such helpers, and under the inspiration of novel ideas, the school went on gathering fresh strength. The first batch of students came out of the Entrance Examination with flying colours ; and Girishchandra felt encouraged to add a College Department. Accordingly, the College,

which now holds 2,000 odd students, was started with a modest dozen on its rolls, all going up for the F.A. Examination.

The Institution having had a promising start, Girishchandra settled down to enjoy the amenities of family life. He was essentially a family man. For all his devotion to public welfare, and inspite of his various educational activities, it was the family which ever remained his first care. He was never known to neglect family matters for the sake of public business, however important. The family which he founded is still a fine example of a Hindu joint family. The same year which saw the foundation of Bangabasi School also witnessed the birth of his eldest son; and three more sons, and six daughters, were to follow. In this large and growing family circle his hours of relaxation were pleasantly passed. His house stood with its door ever open to welcome friends and relatives; and a large number of these would come to test the Boses' hospitality, which soon became proverbial. His England-returned friends would swear by it: they never had occasion to swear at it. Every Sunday evening, particularly, there would be a pleasant gathering of friends at the Boses' residence. There, if one happened to look in, he would find the host, his features already beginning to assume their ascetic cast, fussing over his guests; Satya Prasanna Sinha, passing on the latest gossip from the Bar; Byomkesh Chakravarty, already a student of politics, pointing out the defects of the latest Reforms; or, if one were lucky, one would come upon Dwijendra Lal Roy entertaining the company with one of his choice songs, probably composed that very day. Delicious dishes, carefully prepared by Mrs. Bose—she grew famous for her recipes—and served up with her own hands, would be forthcoming, to be washed down with cups of steaming tea or glasses of cooling syrup. Stronger drinks never passed his door. If it was the fashion among his England-returned friends to swear by Bacchus, Girish Chandra never subscribed to the vogue.

In his dress and style of living, too, he did not fall into line with the foreign-educated crowd. Strongly nationalist in sentiment, he stuck to his *dhoti* and *chaddar* on all occasions; and he preferred the *khatia* and *takia* and Indian mats to carpets and Chesterfield suites. The story is told of a visitor who once called on Girish Chandra and made ready to send in his card. He found a man in a *dhoti* lolling on a *khatia*, puffing at his *hookah*. Taking him to be some sort of a *durwan*, the visitor asked if the Sahib was in. "Can't say about any Sahibs, but I happen to be Girish Babu," replied the supposed

durwan, and immediately started up in alarm ; for the visitor looked as if he was going to fall in a fit.

Meanwhile Bangabasi College had been growing step by step ; M.A. and Law classes had lately been appended. So, in 1903, when funds at last allowed, a four-storied building was erected in Scott Lane and the College shifted to it ; and there Bangabasi College stands to-day. In that gaunt and lofty building, Girish Chandra's life-work stretched out over an extremely long period. He was the soul of Bangabasi College ; and Bangabasi College was his life-blood. The complex government of the College he carried on, almost to the last day of his life, with the despotic zeal of a born administrator. He taught, he lectured, he advised professors, he supervised clerks, he drew up the time-tables, he checked the accounts ; even the College clocks he would insist on regulating with his own hands. He paced the lobbies and corridors on each floor with an unfaltering precision. The spare and stately form, the austere head with the curving nose and glittering eyes, the lips drawn back and compressed—such was the vision which drove teachers and taught to be immediately engrossed in their work. When the new University regulations came into force, a Governing Body was set up to run the College, of which Lord Sinha was long the President. But, in practice, it did more of advising and deliberating than of actual governing. When Girish Chandra had once decided on a matter, that decision stood ; no Governing Body could have the nerve to challenge the decision of that towering personality.

As the years brought increasing experience, his activities stretched out from the College to its parent body, the Calcutta University itself. The Fellowship came as a matter of course to such a brilliant educationist ; and, gradually, he became an active member of the councils and boards of the University. The Senate, the Syndicate, the various Faculties, the Post-Graduate Councils, the Board of Accounts, all felt the impress of his guiding hand. Throughout the course of these activities, he preserved his stern independence of judgment ; he would not kowtow to any individual, or join any particular clique.

One of his special interests at the University was to promote the study of Botany in Bengal. Botany, during his early years, was a neglected subject, of interest to medical students only. It is due to Girish Chandra's untiring efforts that every big college in Bengal now includes Botany in its curriculum ; and the number of Botany students

is now counted by the hundred. He was the first to introduce Botany and Biology into a college, and his efforts at the University were successfully directed towards including it in all the courses of higher studies. His *Manual of Indian Botany* was written to supply the long-felt want of a popular text-book on the subject. The rising school of Botanists in Bengal gratefully looks up to him as its founder and inspirer.

Nor was it only in College and University affairs that Girish Chandra's energy and experience found scope. He gradually came to play an important part in public affairs, upon questions of public health, Bengali literature, insurance funds, and, of course, education. There could be no educational scheme but he must have a finger in the pie. He was, naturally, closely connected with the All-Bengal Teachers' Association, over whose deliberations he often presided. Health associations, insurance companies, educational institutions, scientific societies, all seemed keen on getting him to sit on their controlling bodies, all were anxious for his disinterested advice, which, as they well knew, could be had for the asking. His pen, too, had not been idle all these years. Shortly after his return from England, he had started two Agricultural monthlies—one in English, and the other in Bengali—both of which had a fair reception. And so, works on Agriculture, Hygiene, Elementary Science, English Grammar, etc., flowed in an unending stream from his pen. He also published, in Bengali, reminiscences of his life and travels in Europe; and they furnish very interesting reading. In particular, he set out to bring out primers in Bengali, elucidating the elementary principles of science. He held that scientific and vocational education is best imparted in the vernacular. Now-a-days we are hearing a lot about Bengali being made the medium of secondary education. It would be interesting to remember that the idea is no very recent one. As early as the nineties of the last century, Principal Bose was all for it; but the craze being all for English then, the idea petered out unobserved. Only, in his own College, he gave effect to it, so far as it was possible.

In all these activities, Girish Chandra remained the soul of honour and integrity. People would trust him with their all; public bodies were known to stake everything on his decisions; and they never had occasion to regret their confidence. Beneath a stern and rather forbidding exterior, he concealed a soft and generous nature. The poorer students found him an everlasting source of help and

advice. Whenever there were books to be bought, or bills to be paid, or arrears to be wiped out, or University fees to be paid in, they would be found tripping along to the Principal's house, hope rising in their hearts; and if the cases were found deserving, hope was not dashed down. Regularity of habits, also, Girish Chandra maintained to the last of his days. He was regular in his daily routine and precise in his hours of work, his meals, his exercise, his repose. One habit, in particular, he always stuck to. Every evening, unless it was actually raining, he would be driven to an hour's outing on the Maidan. During his last fatal illness, he told one of the attending doctors that, if they only allowed him his evening stroll, all would be well with him again. And the Doctor could only agree: such a patient, he well knew, should always be carefully humoured.

As the busy years glided by, a multitude of new domestic interests cropped up round him. With the marriage of his children, the family circle went on widening; grandchildren and great-grandchildren began to appear. He took a particular interest in these kiddies, to whom he showed an indulgence which their parents had seldom enjoyed. He tasted to the full both the joys and pangs of family affection. And, as old age furtively approached, it laid a gentle hold upon Girish Chandra. The grey hair whitened; the ascetic face grew more austere; the spare frame turned thinner. But the activities of this extraordinary figure showed no signs of slackening. Meetings, lectures, articles, letters, auditing—such things continued to occupy his time. It was only after he had passed on to the wrong side of seventy-five that a dangerous illness in 1929 compelled him, against his will, to give up some of his routine work. The University began to miss his helping hand, the public saw him on fewer occasions, and his lectures at the College had to stop. But his other activities went on as before. In 1934 he retired from the Principalship of the College and his youngest son stepped into his shoes. But as Rector of Bangabasi College, he continued to direct with absolute efficiency the complex government of his beloved College to the last month of his earthly existence. At eighty-five years of age, the thin, emaciated, but proudly erect figure could still be seen doing the daily round of corridors and lecture-halls; and four flights of stairs could hold no terrors for him. The teachers and the taught were inspired with a singular confidence: so long as that venerable figure passed and repassed, they felt, all would be well.

Ultimately, as was fitting, it was his zeal for College affairs which brought about the inevitable end. And, even when death came, it had to approach cautiously, struggling step by step with that bold and tenacious spirit. Towards the end of last November, a little boil made its appearance on the nape of his neck. It was very painful, but otherwise it caused little anxiety. And he *would* insist on attending a meeting of the Governing Body. He came in from the meeting feeling very ill; from next morning he had to take his bed; and, in course of three or four days, the simple boil had developed into a malignant carbuncle. The gravity of the case was realised; and the doctors left no stone unturned to burst the carbuncle. In the end it did burst; but the long struggle had left its mark: the vitality was sapped. The doctors began to shake their heads; but still the vein of iron held firm. At last, New Year's Day—the day on which, by an irony of fate, Bangabasi School was to begin a new phase of its existence in a modern building—saw the beginning of the end. A little after mid-day, the heart and pulse were felt to be definitely failing; and only then did the last, lingering, despairing optimism of those around him break down. They realised that it was now a question of hours; and, as the gloom of a winter's night settled like a pall over the house, the question of hours was reduced to one of mere minutes. The last scene will never be forgotten by those that witnessed it. The venerable educationist, his distracted lady clasping his hand, lay gasping on the bed. Round the bedside, clustered in a circle, stood or kneeled the daughters, the grand-daughters and the daughters-in-law, gallantly checking the swelling tears to chant the sacred *Hari-nama* in broken chorus. On the floor, with heads bent and lips moving in silent prayer, sat the sons and grandsons, listening to the family priests reading out the relevant chapters from the Gita. Outside, on the verandahs and passages, and filtering out to the stairs and the courtyard below, stood huddled groups of relatives, friends, colleagues and menials, gathered from all over Calcutta to pay their last respects to the departing educationist. The end was not long in coming. Soon after the clock had struck nine, there was a last convulsive shudder, a final gasp, and, amid the heart-rending wails of the stricken family, the soul of Girish Chandra passed out on its last journey.

MELPOMENE IN ENGLAND : A STUDY OF GILBERT MURRAY'S *ANDROMACHE*

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WHILE appreciating the translation of Mateo Aleman's *Spanish Rogue* Ben Jonson says:—

“ Such books, deserve translators of like coate
As was the genius wherewith they were wrote.”

Prof. Gilbert Murray who has given us the truest and at the same time the most poetic translations of the Greek tragedies may be said to have something in him which enables the 20th century scholar to identify himself with the ancient dramatists. Indeed, the inspiration wherewith he has rendered the tragic dramas of the Greeks seems to suggest almost an original intuition. The beauty of his translations is born out of a keen sense of imaginative fellowship with the original writers which again is begotten by the immensity of his appreciation and the depth of his scholarship. It is not unnatural for such a man, then, to venture beyond mere translation, and his own play *Andromache* is one of the least academic of all such plays dealing with Greek subjects. The classicism of Prof. Gilbert Murray never degenerates into mere pedantry. He is the most scholarly of all poets and the most poetic of all scholars.

“ Written in Acts, ” says Mr. Rutland in his book on Swinburne, “ and with no chorus, it does not claim to be what is generally understood by drama on the classic model.” But a serious perusal of the play would make it obvious that no discussion on the English tragedies on Attic lines can be complete without a consideration of this unique tragedy. It is just because the tragedy is not outwardly Greek in structure and is more modern than ancient in spirit that it deserves notice. The play comes from the pen of one who is supposed to know more about the form and spirit of the Greek tragedy than the average English imitators. Secondly, the author himself in his prefatory letter addressed to Mr. William Archer claims for it “ a nearer approach to my conception of the real Greece,

the Greece of history, and even, dare I say it, of anthropology." Thirdly, and what is most important, a study of this play would involve a comparative study of the French classical drama and the English imitations of Greek tragedy, which study again would help us to form our opinion on the problem of literary imitations.

Written in 1900, the play was, possibly in the same year, produced by the Stage Society. The play is indeed an interesting production, and as the author himself says in his preface, was liked by Tolstoy. "It was the right sort of thing and so few books now were," wrote the Russian author. Mr. Murray, however, suspects that it is perhaps the "doctrinal rather the artistic merits of the play that had won the great master's approval."

Before attempting critical analysis, let us look into the scheme and the subject matter of the play. The entire action takes place in Phthia, in the first Act on the coast, in the second in the hall of Pyrrhus' castle and in the third again on the coast. The unity of time is strictly observed in that the action begins with the landing of Orestes in Phthia a little before the dawn and ends with the murder of Pyrrhus at night. Orestes leaves Pylades and his men behind him and reaches the altar of Thetis where he meets the Priest and Alcimedon to none of whom does he reveal his identity. From the Priest he learns everything about the house of Pyrrhus, about Andromache and Hermione. In the mean time he offers his golden chain to Thetis at which the Priest is greatly surprised. Next follows a quarrel between Orestes and Alcimedon almost resulting in a duel which, however, is ultimately averted. The return of Pyrrhus and Molossus from hunting constitutes another interesting episode which shows the character of Andromache, her love of peace and utter dislike for bloodshed. Andromache begs Pyrrhus to ask Molossus to make atonement for his killing a herdboy. But Pyrrhus is adamant. He says that it would be a cowardice to condescend to expiate for deeds which are essentially heroic. But he does not apparently disregard her entreaties and at length concedes so much as to allow atonement, if their son would agree, perhaps knowing well that Molossus will never give his consent. In the second Act we see Andromache and Molossus speaking with each other about the hunt. The mother advises her son to be merciful and kind and the son begs his mother not to compel him to atone. After the entrance of Orestes and Alcimedon begins a dialogue about the establishment of peace and the importance of

suffering. But talk on peace is followed by a rather violent episode when Orestes, in course of a song, tilts at the shameful behaviour of Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus is enraged and threatens to kill him. Orestes reveals his identity and is ultimately saved by Hermione who swears that he is not really Orestes. The third Act shows the murder of Pyrrhus by the followers of Orestes. And the play ends when Hermione stabs Andromache, and Orestes, Molossus and Alcimedon become lovers of peace.

From the above analysis it is evident that though the play is not definitely modelled on the Greek lines, the construction is full of classical elements and has more claim to be called classic than the so-called classic dramas of France. In his letter to Mr. Archer, Prof. Murray says that what he aims at is to write "a simple historical play, with as little convention as possible." It is true that the play has apparently no convention, at least no Greek convention. It has no prologue, no chorus and is devoid of what is most conventional—*Deus ex machina*. But a close study of the play will reveal that although it is devoid of these three important conventions, the play, so far as structure is concerned, is more Greek than the plays of Alexandre Hardy, Corneille and Racine. Prof. Gilbert Murray, although he is a great lover of Greek tragedy, has never been blind to the merits of other literatures. He is not one of those classicists who would hold that tragedy died with the disappearance of the Ancient Greek civilisation and that even Shakespeare could not revive it. "I do not for a moment mean," he says in his essay on "What English Poetry may still learn from Greek" (1911), "to hold up Greek literature as a model for all others to follow. Every great literature has something to teach the others. If even, in some different life, it were my privilege to address an audience of ancient Greeks, there is nothing I should like better than to suggest to them some qualities which Greek literature might learn from English." But Prof. Murray would never deny that Greek tragedy has certain intrinsic virtue of its own; what he objects to is our confusing its accidental elements with the essential. The extreme liberalism of the sentences I have quoted above may be partly due to the fact that they were uttered before a meeting of the English Association. In his "Euripides and his Age" he writes, "Books that are still read with delight after two thousand years are certainly, in some sense, models to imitate." These views, when read superficially, would seem to be rather contradictory. But on closer

analysis it would be found that Prof. Murray is not really inconsistent. Does he not warn us against confusing the essential with the accidental elements of Greek tragedy? To him it is not the convention itself but the purpose which that convention serves is what should attract our notice in a Greek tragedy. For example he never lays any undue stress on the unities but always directs our notice to what he calls "unity of effect and unity of atmosphere." After we had considered these points it would be clear why Prof. Murray in his "Andromache" is not strictly classical and why, though he is not so, there are still almost all the elements of a classical structure. Instead of a prologue we have that artistically contrived dialogue between Orestes and Pylades, and that between Orestes and the Priest which give us all the necessary information for the understanding of the play. It may be argued that any English tragedy, even the most romantic of the Elizabethan tragedies, gives information through dialogue. This criticism, I think, is idle. The Romantic tragedy concerns itself with the whole course of events stretching over a long period of time, whereas Greek tragedy selects the crisis, that small period of tension when the accumulated actions tend to bring about the catastrophe. There is that marked difference between dramatic principle and Prof. Murray is strictly classical in that sense.

As regards chorus, its absence is compensated for by the general poetic tone of the play; one of the functions of the chorus is to lend tragedy its musical note and "Andromache" does not lack in songfulness. The songs which Orestes sing in the hall of Pyrrhus are beautiful:—

Lord of Man's hope, whom no man worshippeth;
Heart of his fears, and burthen of his breath;
Queller of hate and love, hear; O Most strong,
Most wrathful and unrighteous, hear, O Death!

or again:—

O Light and shadow of all things that be;
O Beauty, wild with wreckage like the sea,
Say who shall win thee, thou without a name?
O Helen, Helen, who shall die for thee?

Of these two passages Mr. Rutland says that they are hardly Greek. About the Greekness of the spirit of the play we shall speak later. Here we are concerned with the musical grandeur of Greek tragedy, and

certainly these songs have a great musical value. Again the universal note of the choric utterances are substituted for by the speeches of the heroine herself. Her passionate talks on peace has something definitely choric in them :—

“ You and I have had more grief than others. We have seen beyond the glory of battle, beyond the joy of the conquerer and the shame of the conquered ”

Or

“ Make peace swiftly before you die my son, lest there be no peace for ever and ever.”

Of the spirit of such sayings it may be said that they are more modern than ancient. But that they have a great choric effect there is hardly any doubt. Does not the second passage I have quoted resemble, at least when we read it, as something relating the immediate action the following passage put into the mouths of the chorus in Euripides' play of the same name ?—

.....for distress, to all mankind
Though strangers must seem piteous : but on thee,
O Menelaus, 'tis incumbent now
To reconcile thy daughter, and his captive,
That she may for her sorrow be released.

It is true that Andromache speaks of a greater peace on earth and the chorus in Euripides only of the household peace. But there is scarcely any dissimilarity in essential function. And again is not Andromache all the more universal for that ? The Priest's saying that “ affliction comes to the good as to the evil ” reminds us of the chorus of Sophocles.

Again :—

“ A wise man chooses peace and not war or
Shedder of blood escapes not the dread watchers ”

and other sayings have a definitely choric effect. It is true that even the romantic tragedy is often full of such casual aphorisms. Elizabethan drama specially is full of wise saws and modern instances. But what is distinctly Greek is not casual sententiousness but that perfect blending of poetry and wisdom which issues out of the moral or religious basis of the plays. The question of religion brings us to another

aspect of the play which is definitely Greek. Greek tragedy as Prof. Murray himself says in his essay on "Greek and English Tragedy" was "a religious ritual and English tragedy is primarily an entertainment." Into the propriety of this distinction we here need not probe. But it can never be gainsaid that Greek tragedy arising, as it did, from worship, was, even when it developed into maturity, full of invocations of gods and goddesses. I think that the prayers of Priest, Alcimedon, Orestes and Hermione to Thetis would remind any reader of the choric invocation of gods and goddesses in "Libation Bearers":—

"Hail Thetis ! Accept this wine and honey I bring thee at first touch of dawn. Keep thy priest in wealth and honour." (Priest.)

Or

"Hail Thetis ! I have given thee and offering of many oxen's price and many more will I give if thou hinder me not of my desires." (Orestes.)

The un-Greek elements in the structure of "Andromache" are the division of the play into Acts and the presence of more than three actors at a time. Before discussing these two points let us make it clear to us that "Andromache" holds a peculiar position amongst the English tragedies on Attic lines in that it is not directly based on the model of the extant Greek plays. From what we have said already it is evident, that Prof. Murray's "Andromache" is based on those unwritten Greek tragedies which would have come into existence if the dramatic art of the ancient Greeks were allowed a longer course of development. In "Andromache" we notice a gradual surrender of crude convention to an increasing sense of a real art. The tragic dramas of the Greeks as of most countries developed out of a gradual supremacy of the dramatic over the lyric. Prof. Murray in his "Andromache" does not deny to himself any of the stage contrivances which a 20th century dramatist is privileged to take the benefit of. As the actors on the Greek stage used to wear masks, the tragic dramas of the Greeks required to be full of poetic speeches to compensate for the histrionic feats of the modern actors. Prof. Murray's stage direction such as "Orestes in meditation" or "Hermoine brooding" reminds us more of Shaw and Galsworthy than of the ancient Greeks. But Prof. Murray perhaps would say that "these are not the essential attributes of Attic tragedy but only accidental features which it is better to get over than to retain; I have followed whatever is essential in the practice of the Greek masters, and it is not the convention but the actual purpose which

that convention was made to serve is what really matters." Of the division into Acts it may be said that it is not in any sense an essential departure. A dramatist with the elaborate stage equipment of the modern age can well afford to change his scene, and it should be noticed that the action in the first and the third act takes place in the same place, the castle of Pyrrhus in the second act being not far away from the altar, where the first scene is laid. "I have tried to abolish," says Strindberg in his preface to "Miss Julia," "the division into acts. And I have done so because I have come to fear that our decreasing capacity for illusion might be unfavourably affected by intermissions during which the spectator would have time to reflect and to get away from the suggestive influence of the author hypnotist." One thinks that such fear is more natural for a dramatist of ancient Greece to whom poetry was the only means of creating illusion than to a modern writer who can count upon a stage with elaborate equipment.

About the presence of more than three actors at a time it can be said that it is not a serious transgression inasmuch as the convention of not having more than three actors in the stage did not serve any great artistic purpose of the Greek tragedians.

Perhaps the most serious departure from the Greek practice in Murray's "Andromache" is that he shows violence on the stage. The murder of Pyrrhus and Andromache is shown on the stage just as Becket in Mr. T. S. Elliot's "Murder in the Cathedral" is killed on the stage. But in the "Electra" of Euripides the murder of Clytemnestra, it may be safely said, almost takes place on the stage.

From what I have said above it is evident that Prof. Murray in writing "Andromache" has adopted the real principle of Greek construction without imposing upon himself the arduous and at the same time unprofitable task of following his master to the letter. He who acts in the spirit of his master need not be afraid of breaking his laws. It is the precision, concentration of interest and the unity of atmosphere which, to Prof. Murray, are the essential qualities of a Greek tragedy, and the structure which Prof. Murray has chosen for his drama well meets these demands. Although Prof. Gilbert Murray seems to be a disciple of French classic dramatists, and specially of Racine with whose "Andromache" Murray's play has a few features in common, we should not miss this great difference between them

that while the classicism of Racine or Corneille is derived from the Latin dramatist Seneca, Prof. Murray goes direct to the Greek masters.

Mr. Murray's "Andromache," according to Mr. Rutland, belongs to a "category of its own, a very modern one." "Though it is laid in ancient Greece," says the critic, "with the familiar heroic names for its characters, they are presented to us not as the Greek poets presented them, but as the modern anthropologist imagines them to have been." The remark, though very sound, should be critically examined. It is true that "Andromache" is more modern than ancient; but the play is surely not without Greek elements. Andromache is perhaps not a Greek woman, at least not the kind of woman we get in the extant plays of the Greeks. She is a different woman from the Andromache of Euripides. Euripides' Andromache, though a good woman very unlike Clytemnestra, is full of pride and vigour and shows an indomitable will to live with her son and is always ready with her argument to prove her innocence and honesty. But the Andromache of Prof. Murray is rather mysterious character. She is a voice, a voice from heaven preaching the doctrine of peace:—

"The living have never heard me; and the dead cannot hear; but broken and dying men know the words I speak."

The play of Prof. Murray is a problem play—not as Shaw's drama but as the dramas of Euripides. Aeschylus' and Sophocles' tragedies dealt with the great moral and religious problems. But Prof. Murray's play which is more Euripidean than Sophoclean or Aeschylean is more a peace pamphlet than a religious tract. Written in 1900 when Europe was confronted with the problems of war and peace, Andromache reflects Prof. Murray's pacifist outlook. Andromache is not revengeful. When Pyrrhus is dead, she says, "If thou hast found thy sleep, O cling to it! Never wake nor stir to follow those who murdered thee." And when Pyrrhus asks Molossus to avenge, she fervently requests him not to lay any such task on him. In his "Euripides and his Age" Prof. Murray says that "Euripides was all through his life occupied with the study of revenge." It was a time as Thucydides tells us when "men tried to surpass all the record of previous times in the ingenuity of their enterprises and the enormity of these revenges." If this be true and if it is the intention of Prof. Murray to attain historical accuracy, it is evident that Andromache is not truly Greek and is full of Christian thought. But Prof. Murray would say, and would

say very rightly, that Euripides also concerned himself with problems of peace. "Suppliant Woman," in his opinion, is a peace play and his other later plays also end with a note of peace. "In his plays after 415," says he in the same book, "the emphasis has rather changed; you must expect to be wronged and revenge will do good to nobody. Seek peace and forgive one another." And the appeal of Prof. Murray's play is mainly a pacific appeal.

Of the characters in the play Mr. Rutland says, "In one respect they are centuries older than Sophocles; and in one they are of our own day." Indeed, in the play we find superstition existing side by side with rationality. Orestes is superstitiously afraid of the Eumenides. But Andromache seems to be quite a modern woman. She asks Molossus to make atonement for his sin so that Napaeans might not burn the villages in the plain and make death and famine. Aschylus would have suggested some supernatural force blighting the corns of the field. But this does not take away much from the Greekness of the play. The modern note of the play has not been incompatible with its definitely Hellenistic bend. Prof. Murray is conscious of the fact that a Greek tragedy can hardly be written again. "It may or may not be possible," he says in his essay "What English Poetry may still learn from the Greek," for men to arrive again at the oneness; it may be that it depends on the actual quality of the daily life we live, and that to the Greeks of the great age, not for long, but for a few glorious generations the daily stuff of life was really a thing of splendour. But he would not for that reason give up hope. He would do his utmost and would ask others to do their utmost to revive something of that glory which was Greek tragedy. "If so, our task in the matter of poetry," continues he, "is wider and perhaps harder than we thought but it is a task to which voices on every side are calling us." And Prof. Murray's play is an attempt to give us in English language a kind of tragedy which, though it has certain modern elements in it, is after all a very close approximation to the gorgeous tragedy of the Greeks.

Prof. Murray in his preface to the play does not say anything about his imitating the Greek tragedies. What he aims at is historical accuracy, to paint Ancient Greek life in its truest colour. He speaks of his fascination for the extraordinary variety of plot that the Greek dramatists found in the historical tradition, the force, the fire,

the depth and richness of character-play. But for that he never professes to attempt any direct imitation of the Greek dramatists. He conceives his plot independent of any actual dramatists. He conceives his plot independent of any actual dramatic precedent. It is not the dramatists of Periclean age but the dramatic possibilities of that age Prof. Murray intends to exploit. His play is an interpretation of the age and not an imitation of its dramatists. And if his drama is not strictly modelled on the Greek tragedy, it has many similarities with it both in structure and in spirit. It may be that Prof. Murray has his own conception about the Greeks, which is very different from that of the ancient Greeks. It is true that Greek drama was a reflection of Greek life, as the drama of any country is a reflection of its life. But we must not forget that the ancient drama of any country cannot be wholly realistic. Surely it is full of the moral and religious ideas of the people, their hopes and aspirations. But as the dramatists had to concern themselves with the mythological figures, their dramas could not possibly be the mirrors of the daily life of the people. Prof. Murray says that in ancient Greece the "daily stuff of life was really a thing of splendour." It may be true that those ancient men and women living at the dawn of the world felt more awe and wonder than we do in our age. But it would be a mistake to think that the grandeur and magnificence of the action of a Greek tragedy is a realistic representation of the ancient Greek life. Prof. Murray's play, as I have already said, is more a domestic tragedy than a heroic tragedy. The whole play is struck on a homely note. "Andromache," in some sense is a domestic tragedy. But Euripides who began to write perfect problem plays might also venture to write a tragedy of daily life and in fact his plays, at least some of them, are full of psychological realism. Like the plays of Euripides, "Andromache," though a realistic play, does not lack in that sense of ideal grandeur which holds us in Greek tragedy. "Had there been any great successors," says Mr. Allardyce Nicoll in his "British Drama," "to the three outstanding Greek dramatists, tragedy must have inevitably taken on other forms. The chorus would have disappeared and a more modern type of drama would have been ordered." And if Prof. Murray's play does not very closely resemble any of the extant Greek tragedies, it has something in it, both in form and in spirit, which makes us think that the Greeks were not incapable of writing such a drama.

CHARTER ACT OF 1793 AND THE OUTLINES OF BRITISH COMMERCIAL POLICY IN INDIA DURING THE NEXT TWENTY YEARS

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TILL nearly the end of the eighteenth century, the trade between England and India continued to be a monopoly in the hands of the East India Company. But although, legally speaking, no British subject was entitled to a share of that trade, an exception was made in favour of the commanders and officers of ships employed in the Company's service. "By an indulgence of ancient practice," these commanders and officers of ships were permitted by the Company to occupy a certain portion of the tonnage for the purpose of exporting and importing cargoes on their own account.¹ The amount of their private trade at the Company's sales in London during the period of eight years ending with 1792-1793 was £6,069,889 including the value of the merchandise imported from China, and £4,069,889 deducting the value of the China goods.² This amount of course included the duties charged on those goods.

The Company's servants in India also were from time to time allotted a space in the Company's ships for the purpose of exporting merchandize to England. This practice grew up partly from the necessity of providing a means by which these servants might remit their fortunes to England otherwise than by the purchase of bills of exchange upon the Company in London, and partly because the Company's surplus revenues were not always sufficient to provide the whole investment ordered by the Court of Directors.³ Thus the very

¹ Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, Vol. II, p. 126.

At a meeting of the Court of Directors, held on the 8th October, 1784, it was resolved that the captains and officers of ships sailing from India would be allowed to bring eight thousand pieces of piece-goods only, on paying the customs plus five p.c. duty and two p.c. for the warehouse-room, etc., to the Company, that five thousand pieces only might consist of white muslins and calicos, stitched or plain, and that all exceedings of the above descriptions would be charged twenty p.c. in addition. *Vide* Seton-Karr, *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*, Vol. I, pp. 82-88.

² Milburn, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

³ In 1782 the investments from Bengal were almost entirely furnished by individuals, the Company's resources having been otherwise exhausted. This state of things occurred not infrequently. *Vide* Hamilton, *Trade Relations between England and India*, p. 147.

small amount of private trade which existed during the period preceding the Charter Act of 1793, was confined to the Company's servants' and the bulk of British resident individuals in India had no share in that trade.

The monopolistic character of the trade between England and India, however suitable to a previous time, was found incompatible with the spirit of the age when more liberal ideas of commerce were steadily gaining ground in England.⁴ Moreover, it led to serious consequences alike for the interests of the Company and of the British nation. The vast wealth that accumulated in the hands of British individuals in India and the rapid increase in the number of such individuals, "soon overflowed the usual mode of remittance through the Company" as a result of which the fortunes acquired by those individuals began to be transmitted through foreign channels.⁵ The British resident merchants in India became secret parties in the trade carried on to the continent of Europe. Various prohibitory decrees were passed against this practice but they failed to be of any effect.⁶

The volume of foreign European trade increased rapidly towards the eighties of the eighteenth century, and after the Peace of Versailles in 1763 several other nations, which had no settlements in India, began to send their merchant-vessels to this country, particularly to the Port of Calcutta.⁷ The East India Company were compelled to admit them into the British settlements because otherwise they might proceed to those of the French, Dutch, Danish or Portuguese.⁸ One immediate effect of this increase in the foreigners' share of the Indian trade was the overstocking of the market so much so that in the year 1789 European goods might be purchased in India at half their original cost.⁹

There were thus at this time two branches of commerce in India, a minor portion constituting the Company's own trade, and a major

⁴ The economic evils of trade restrictions were very forcibly set forth by Adam Smith in England and the Physiocratic school of economists in France, towards the beginning of the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Vide Armitage-Smith, *The Free-Trade Movement and its Results*, pp. 28 and 81.

⁵ Milburn, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

⁶ *Ibid*, Seton-Karr, *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*, Vol. II, p. 58.

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 138. The most important of these nations were the Americans. Their first ship appeared in Calcutta in 1784 and thereafter all American ships, bound for the Far East, used to call at the Port of Calcutta. The British Government far from attempting to check this trade issued orders in 1788 that America should be treated as "the most-favoured nation." (C. N. Parkinson, *Trade in the Eastern Seas*, pp. 358-59.)

⁸ Milburn, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

⁹ *Ibid*, 126.

part, called the surplus trade, which lay in the hands of foreign nations and of British subjects residing in India under the Company's license, a very large portion of which surplus trade entered into the ports of continental Europe and America.¹⁰ In renewing the Company's Charter, therefore, Parliament felt that care should be taken "that the commerce of Great Britain to the East Indies be maintained in its full vigour, neither curbed in spirit nor diverted into a foreign channel but exciting the industry of our Artisans, and Manufacturers, the confidence of our Merchants, and a liberal spirit of general commerce."¹¹

The Charter Act of 1793, while renewing the Company's privileges for another term of twenty years, enacted "that during the continuance of the said exclusive trade in the said Company..... it shall and may be lawful for any of His Majesty's subjects in any part of His Majesty's European dominions to export on their own proper risk and account, in the ships of the said Company or in any ships freighted by them from the port of London," any goods, wares or merchandizes to any part of the East Indies usually visited by the Company's ships. subject to certain restrictions, enumerated in the Act, and "that it shall and may be lawful to and for any of His Majesty's subjects in the civil service of the said Company in India or being by leave or license of the said Company or under their protection as merchants resident in India respectively, to consign and put on board the ships of the said Company or in ships freighted by them bound to Great Britain, any goods, wares or merchandise, save and except..... otherwise specially provided."¹²

The act further provided that the Company should annually provide and appropriate three thousand tons of shipping at least for the specific purposes of carrying to and bringing from the East Indies such goods as might be lawfully exported by individuals and that they should provide an additional quantity of tonnage "for the carriage of the said private trade, as the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India shall, upon any representation made to them from time to time order and direct."¹³

¹⁰ Dallas, *A Letter to Sir William Pulteney on the subject of the Trade between India and Europe*, pp. 15-16.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Sandeman, *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*, Vol. IV, pp. 37-40. The Act of 1793 made no change in the *status quo* in respect of the China trade. The Company retained their monopoly in this respect till 1833.

¹³ *Ibid.*

As regards freight, the act laid down that the Company should charge at the rate of five pounds per ton outwards and fifteen pounds per ton homewards for all goods imported or exported in private trade and that "in times of war or preparations for war, between Great Britain or any other European power or state..... as long as such war or other circumstances shall continue, the said Company shall be entitled to charge and recover for the carriage of the said private trade additional rates of freight....."¹⁴

Section 93 of the Act required written notice on the part of any person intending to export goods to Great Britain, to be given to the Chief Secretary of the Presidency in India; and Section 103 provided that all such goods should be duly registered in the Company's books, failing which, these would be considered as having been illicitly shipped and as such liable to seizure and forfeiture¹⁵

The Charter Act of 1793 recognized three classes of trade: first, the long-existing trade of the Company "consisting of the export of bullion and merchandize and the import of commodities"; secondly, the private trade of the commanders and officers of the Company's ships; and lastly, the so-called privilege trade of individuals who were for the first time admitted to a participation of the trading privileges of the Company. This last class of trade, for which the Company were from now on bound to provide three thousand tons of shipping, furnished a legal channel for the trade which the fortunes of British subjects in India had hitherto carried from India to the different parts of the continent of Europe.¹⁶

The main commercial purposes to be accomplished by the Act were to encourage the export of British manufacturers to India "to the utmost extent of the demands of the country," to promote the importation of raw materials from India for the benefit of the British manufacturers, to check the growth of foreign clandestine trade by affording to British resident individuals the means of remitting their

¹⁴ *Ibid.* In 1809-10, the Company charged the following rates of freight from individuals exporting or importing goods on their account:—

				Outwards		Homewards	
Regular ships	...	...	£ 10-10-0	...	...	£ 32-0-0	
Extra ships	...	...	£ 9-0-0	...	...	£ 27-0-0	

—Sandeman, *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*, Vol. IV, p. 97.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 37-40.

¹⁶ Milburn, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

fortunes directly to the mother country, to promote the prosperity of India by opening new avenues of trade, and to improve the trade revenue and navigation of the United Kingdom "by making the Port of London the grand Emporium of the commerce of India."¹⁷

An examination of certain statistics relating to the sale amount of Indian goods in London would show that during the years immediately following the Charter Act, the private trade of the commanders and officers of the Company's ships experienced but little fluctuations while there were considerable importations by individuals in privilege.¹⁸ On an average of six years subsequent to the Act of 1793, five thousand tons of privilege goods were annually exported to Great Britain from the Presidency of Bengal.¹⁹ In other words the amount of goods exported by privilege trade from Bengal alone exceeded, by two thousand tons, the amount of the tonnage legally allotted for the whole of India. It is worth noticing that a considerable amount of these five thousand tons of shipping were furnished by ships built in India.²⁰

Nevertheless, although the trade between England and India increased in consequence of the facilities afforded by the Charter Act, the main objects of the legislature remained practically unfulfilled on account of the conditions and restrictions imposed in the Act. In 1800 Lord Wellesley wrote, "..... the wise policy which dictated the clauses of the Act of Parliament passed in 1793, with respect to the trade of private merchants between India and England,

¹⁷ Dallas, *A Letter to Sir William Pulteney*, p. 17.

¹⁸ The following is an account of the sale amount of Indian goods imported into Great Britain by the commanders and officers of ships and the private traders in privilege. (Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, Vol. II, p. 128.)

Commanders and Officers.	Private traders in privilege.
1794—£441,929	.. £181,710
1795—£373,868	... £469,879
1796—£458,541	... £409,787
1797—£279,812	... £678,749
1798—£298,160	... £646,747
1799—£448,068	... £881,662

¹⁹ Letter from Wellesley to Court, 30th September, 1800. (Owen, *A Selection from the Wellesley Despatches*, pp. 701-18).

²⁰ The necessity of using India-built shipping arose when in 1795 seven of the largest India-men were taken into the British Navy and when the first importation of rice from India was ordered. Twenty-seven India-built ships were taken up by the Indian governments and sent to England not only with rice but also with other goods; vide C. N. Parkinson, *Trade in the Eastern Seas*, p. 362; vide also Wellesley's letter to Court, 30th September, 1800, where he says that the port of Calcutta at that time contained more than 10,000 tons of shipping built in India for the conveyance of cargoes to England.

has been to a great extent frustrated by the insufficiency of the tonnage furnished from England, and by the unavoidable expense and inconvenience attending the terms and manner of its provisions."²¹ It was but natural that the increasing demand for additional tonnage by the private trader could not be fully supplied owing to the war-time scarcity of British shipping. But the high rates of freight charged by the Company made it difficult for him to utilize even the available quantity of tonnage."²² "He can neither be secure," Wellesley rightly remarked, "of the requisite quantity of tonnage, nor of the time of despatching his goods from India, nor of the ship on which they may be laden nor of the mode in which they may be distributed, and his trade is burdened with an expensive rate of freight, which deprives him of all reasonable expectation of profit."²³

Being repeatedly sounded on the matter, the Court of Directors issued their orders of the 25th May, 1798, which sought to protect the merchants, not being proprietors of ships, against any undue enhancement of the rates of freight by the proprietors of ships and to prevent persons who combined the capacities of merchants and proprietors of ships from securing any greater advantages in the matter of trade than those who did not combine both the capacities.²⁴ But these orders pleased neither the merchants for whose benefits they were intended nor the owners of ships.²⁵

How to remedy the evils arising from excessive freight and insufficient tonnage, became one of the pressing problems that confronted Wellesley on his arrival in India. In 1798, in consequence of an almost total failure of the tonnage to be supplied by the Company for the private trade of individuals, and of the representations made by the free merchants of Calcutta to that effect, the Governor-General felt convinced that a remedy must be provided. Accordingly, by a regulation of the 5th October of that year, he allowed, at his own responsibility, the free merchants of Calcutta and others to export directly to Great

²¹ Letter to Court, 30th September, 1800; *vide* also letter from Dundas to Wellesley, 18th March, 1799. (Owen *A Selection from Wellesley Despatches*, pp. 696-701).

²² The Company charged high rates of freight from private merchants because they themselves had to pay high rates for their tonnage and increased war-time rates of insurance; *vide* C. N. Parkinson, *Trade in the Eastern Seas*, p. 361.

²³ Letter to Court, 30th September, 1800; *vide* also Wellesley's "Memorandum on Bengal." (Owen, *A Selection from the Wellington Despatches*, pp. 491-95).

²⁴ Letter to Court, 30th September, 1800.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

Britain, in India-built ships, "as much of the surplus trade of Bengal as their capital could embrace, with the privilege of bringing back on these vessels cargoes, the growth and produce of Great Britain, under certain stipulations protective of the Company's monopoly."²⁶ These vessels were subject to all those restrictions to which the Company's own vessels were liable.²⁷

A precise explanation of the motives which induced Wellesley to adopt this plan is contained in his letter to the Court of Directors, dated the 30th September, 1800. "The employment of ships built in India," he wrote, "between this port and that of London is no longer merely a question of expediency or of liberal commercial policy; the deficiency of the tonnage expected from Europe reduces me to the absolute necessity of providing a large proportion of Indian tonnage for the service of the present season in order to secure the conveyance of the heavy articles of your investment and to fulfil your legal obligations."²⁸ He was convinced that the interests, both of the Company and of India, demanded that encouragement be given to the development of private trade, and he believed that the plan which he had adopted in October, 1798, was best calculated to promote those interests by permanently establishing a systematic intercourse between India and England.

But the object of the Governor-General was not merely to promote the interests of the Company and of India. He was fully sensible of the economic losses arising to Great Britain from the preponderance of the foreigners' share in the overseas trade of this country. "A large proportion of this valuable trade," he observed, "is already in the possession of foreign nations and unless means be adopted for depriving those nations of the undue share which they have obtained in that trade, the most serious consequences are to be apprehended to the combined interests of the English East India Company and of the British nation."²⁹ He clearly saw that the Company's sales in England would certainly be affected by the quantity of Indian goods passing into the markets of Europe through the channel of the foreign trade

²⁶ *Ibid*; Dallas, *A Letter to Sir William Pulteney*, pp. 27-28.

²⁷ *Ibid*

²⁸ Letter to Court, 30th September, 1800. In pursuance of this policy, the Governor-General in Council empowered the Board of Trade in Calcutta to hire ships on behalf of the Company and re-let them to the proprietors of ships on the terms of the advertisement published in October, 1798; *vide* Board of Trade (Commercial) Proceedings, 2nd December, 1800; *vide* also W. H. Hutton, *Wellesley (Rulers of India)*, p. 153.

²⁹ Letter to Court, 30th September, 1800.

and that the profits of the private merchants would be proportionately diminished.³⁰

Besides these economic considerations, there was a political motive too which influenced the policy of the Governor-General. An imperialist to the core, Wellesley was fully alive to the possible danger arising from the increase of foreign influence in India at a time when the French armies under Napoleon were carrying everything before them on the continents of Europe and Africa. And his plan of the 5th October, 1798, was one of the several measures which he adopted to avert that danger. "..... the same mistaken policy," he wrote, "has invited from Europe and America adventurers of every description, and by the number and activity of these foreign agents, has menaced the foundations of your commercial and political interests throughout every part of Asia and even within your own dominions."³¹ "In proportion to the increased resort of foreign ships to our ports in India," he further observed, "foreign intrigue will find a more ready channel of admission."³² It was precisely this foreign intrigue and foreign influence which the Governor-General was ever anxious to counteract.

The effects of this policy were undoubtedly beneficial to the interests of the private trader. He could obtain a considerable reduction in the rate of freight and was able to settle his engagements with the ship-owner before the purchase of goods.³³ He could moreover purchase such goods as might be profitably invested under the existing rates of freight and "regulate every consignment and draft according to the quantity of the tonnage engaged, to the period of despatching the goods from India, and to that of their expected arrival in India."³⁴ The proprietors of ships also were benefited because they were enabled to load their ships in an advantageous and expeditious manner and to despatch them at the favourable periods of the year.³⁵

Upon the foreign trade, the plan of Wellesley produced the desired immediate effects. It gave a serious blow not only to the clandestine but also to the *bona-fide* legal trade of foreigners "by compelling most of their vessels to leave Calcutta in ballast"³⁶ On the other hand the commercial intercourse between England and India was enlarged. In the year 1799-1800 twenty India-built ships exported from London

³⁰ *Ibid.*,³¹ *Ibid.*³² *Ibid.*³³ *Ibid.*³⁴ *Ibid.*³⁵ *Ibid.*³⁶ Dallas, *A Letter to Sir William Pulteney*, p. 29,

goods to the value of £613,247 and wines from Madeira to the value of £116,505.³⁷ The exports from India also swelled to a considerable extent, especially the raw materials which were so much wanted by the British manufacturer. In 1799-1800, twelve Indian ships carried no less than 27,641 bales of cotton to England from Bombay and Bengal.³⁸ It is worthy of note that the raw cotton exported from Bengal was a new export created by the enterprize of the British resident merchants in India.³⁹

The increase of private trade at this period was, however, due to several other factors besides the admission of India-built shipping. In 1799 Parliament passed the Warehousing Act by which several goods, named in the Act, were allowed to be warehoused, for the purpose of exportation at some future time, on payment of certain small duties.⁴⁰ This Act was passed, as the Court of Directors put it in one of their letters to the Bengal Government, with the object of "rendering this country (Great Britain) as much as possible the Grand Emporium of Indian Commerce."⁴¹ As a direct consequence of the Act, the importations of Indian goods into London reached their maximum during the years 1800-1803. On the other hand, the rapid increase of the European civil and military population all over India tended to create an additional demand for British commodities and thus brought about an increased exportation of British manufactured goods to this country.⁴³

It should be noted that the Court of Directors looked upon the growth of this private trade with disfavour because in it they saw another important stage in that process of development by which the East India Company were ultimately to give up their trading activities. The speediness and regularity with which the India-built merchant

³⁷ *Ibid.* From about this time the Madeira wine continued to be a valuable export to India, being in great demand with the European population. It formed an important subject of the Court of Directors' correspondence with the Governor-General in Council.

³⁸ *Ibid.* Wellesley's policy indirectly fostered ship-building in India. In course of a few years after 1798, a number of ships were constructed in addition to those that had been already built up. [Board of Trade (Commercial) Proceedings, 9th May, 1801]. But the industry did not last long. For the causes of the ultimate failure of India-built shipping to maintain its position, vide C. N. Parkinson, *Trade in the Eastern Seas*, pp. 363-65.

³⁹ Dallas, *A Letter to Sir William Pulteney*, p. 29.

⁴⁰ *Debates at the East India House during the Negotiations for a Renewal of the East India Company's Charter (1813)*, Vol. I, p. 246; Milburn, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

⁴¹ Extract from a Commercial General letter to Bengal, 7th May, 1800.

⁴² The sale amount of private goods imported from India including the importations of the commanders and officers of ships reached the maximum of £3,042,633 in 1803 after which it experienced a continual falling off for some years; vide Milburn, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

⁴³ *Debates at the East India House*, pp. 247-48.

vessels performed their voyages alarmed the Court and they asserted that the plan of Wellesley was "calculated in its ultimate effect to involve the Company in ruin and convulse the interests of the nation at large."⁴⁴

Little reflection is needed, however, to show that neither Parliament nor Lord Wellesley sought to promote the cause of private trade at the expense of the Company's interests. While anxious to check the growth of foreign trade and foreign influence in India, Wellesley was equally eager to maintain the ancient rights of the Company and was wholly opposed to the idea of opening the East India trade altogether. "It would be equally unjust and impolitic," he wrote, "to extend any facility to the trade of the British merchants in India by sacrificing or hazarding the Company's rights and privileges, by injuring its commercial interests, by admitting an indiscriminate and unrestrained commercial intercourse between England and India or by departing from any of the fundamental principles of policy, which now govern the British establishments in India."⁴⁵

The period from 1793 to 1813, which saw a partial opening of the East India commerce, saw also the imposition of high tariff duties upon East India produce. The increased expenditure of war created a demand for fresh revenue, and from 1797 a continual series of import duties had to be passed by the British Parliament. In that year the consolidated duties of 1787 were enlarged by an addition of ten per cent. and next year a small convoy duty was imposed on all imports to defray the expenses of protecting the merchant vessels at sea.⁴⁶ The duty on plain muslins and calicos, flowered and stitched, rose, by successive impositions from 18 per cent. *ad valorem* before 1797 to more than 44 per cent. in 1813, while the duty on plain white calicos and dimities which had been about 40 per cent *ad valorem* before 1797 rose to more than 85 per cent. in 1813.⁴⁷ The duty charged on other articles need not be considered here. It is worthwhile to note that high tariff, together with the increase of private trade during the period, was sufficient to affect the principal manufactures of thi

⁴⁴ Dallas, *A Letter to Sir William Pulteney*, p. 40. The London shipbuilders also remonstrated against the practice of employing India built ships and demanded its prohibition. (Thornton, *History of the British Empire in India*, Vol. III, p. 253.)

⁴⁵ Letter to Court, 30th September, 1800.

⁴⁶ Hamilton, *Trade Relations between England and India*, p. 164.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 164, 255-56.

country. These duties were no doubt slightly lowered in 1814. But that did not improve matters, because by that time the trade of India had been completely thrown open, and the Indian markets had begun to be flooded with the machine-made products of Manchester.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ In 1814 the duty on plain muslins and muslins or calicos, flowered or stitched, was reduced to £37-10-0 per cent. and that on plain white calicos was fixed at £67-10-0 per cent, *vide* Hamilton. *op. cit*, pp 255-56. For an account of the importation of British cotton manufactures into Bengal after 1813, *vide* my article "Cotton Industry in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa during the Early Nineteenth Century," in the *Journal of Indian History*, August, 1939, pp. 195-214.

THE PEOPLE AND CULTURE OF THE PHILIPPINES

DR. KALIDAS NAG, M.A. (CAL.), D.LITT. (PARIS)

THE Philippine Islands were discovered by the famous Portuguese navigator Magellan who rounded the whole of South America, passed (28th November, 1520) through the Strait named after him and after three months of most trying voyage across the Pacific reached Micronesia. He landed in the Philippines on the 16th of March, 1521, and tried to conquer the Islands by diplomatic alliances with the rival factions till he was killed while fighting a native chief of Mactan (near Cebu). Sixty years after, in 1581, the Spanish general Legaspi managed to reconquer the Islands which came to bear the name of the Spanish king and, for over three centuries, the Spanish language and culture dominated over the indigenous Malayan language and culture of the islands. In 1898, with the termination of war between Spain and U.S.A., the Filipinos came to be American subjects and English language began to replace Spanish.

Amidst all these political and cultural vicissitudes we must try to remember that the Filipinos are Asiatics and that their history is intimately connected with that of the mainland of Asia with which the Philippines were connected by land (like England with the Continent) towards the end of the Old Stone Age, some 25,000 years ago (*vide* Keesing: "Who are the Filipinos?"—*Mid-Pacific Magazine*, January-March, 1936). Prof. Felix M. Keesing through many of his valuable contributions has thrown light on the dark problem of the Filipino origins. The earliest migrants were the Negritos, a black pigmy race which probably came across the land bridge which, later on, was engulfed by the sea and the Philippines became a floating triangle of more than 7,000 islands which came to be visited by a second race, the Indonesians. They were a tall brown-skinned people, experts in navigation, who in their canoes visited the islands towards the end of the New Stone Age (about 5000 B.C.). Some of them came from Indonesia (or modern Dutch Indies), and some from Indo-China. A few centuries before the Christian era the third race, the

Malayans, came by the way of Borneo from Java and Sumatra where, as we know, pure Hindu culture came to dominate, about the beginning of the Christian era. With Hindu culture gradually came the Sanskrit languages which still form the basis of the Tagalog, the *lingua franca* of the Philippines. The Chinese and the Arabs also came in due time adding new elements to the composite culture of the Filipino people. With the conquest of the Spaniards, the vast majority of the Filipinos were converted to Christianity and to some Occidental manners and customs ; but more than a million resisted conversion and about half of them live in the southern zone known as the Moros who are Muhammadans.

A valuable paper by Mr. Alber W. Herre of the Stanford University, U.S.A., gives us important clues with regard to the " Sources of Philippine Culture " (*Mid-Pacific Magazine*, January-March, 1936). Mr. Herre opens his survey with the movement of the dwarfish Negritos or Aetas, who were food gatherers of the most primitive type who reached the Philippines by land bridge. The next were of the Indonesians, an early Caucasian brown folk who came in their canoes. They passed through Indonesia and the Sulu Archipelago to Mindanao and through Palawan and the Visaya group of islands to Luzon, and even beyond to Formosa and South Japan. These Indonesians belonged to the Neolithic Age (*circa* 10000-5000 B.C.) and brought with them rice, banana, cocoanut and other food plants. They were expert fishermen and builders of canoes (*barangays*) and knew a kind of rude clay-pottery. They were the pioneers in farming (caingan) and in raising upland rice.

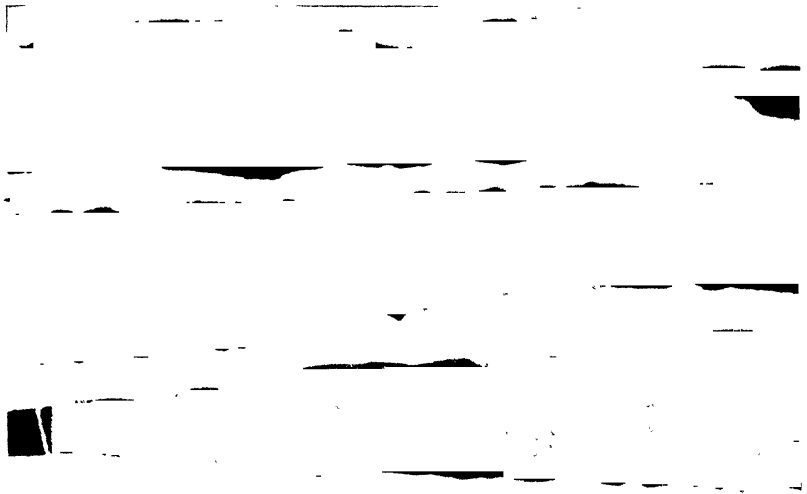
Then Mr. Herre draws our attention to the discovery of archaeological sites which mostly belong to the Early Iron age but which, according to him, are partly derived from the Chalcolithic culture of India. Human settlements have been discovered on the hills of Novalich, to the north-east of Manila and also along the north coast of Laguna de Bay. The tools and weapons of these people were made out of the obsidian cliff on the north side of the lake. A similar settlement and a quarry have been found to the west of the town of Lipa in Batangas province. Thousands of artifacts have been discovered and are being carefully preserved by Prof. H. Otley Beyer who kindly showed them to me while I was lecturing in Manila as a guest professor of the University of the Philippines. Prof. Bayer is a firm believer in the cultural relations of India and the Philippines

from the pre-historic days and Mr. Herre, following him, also made the following significant observations:—

“From these we know that they (the Indonesians) derived their primary culture from India, Mother of Nations. From the Novaliches burial urns are obtained green glass bangles exactly like those figured in the Reports of the Indian Archaeological Survey and made at least 5,000 years ago. Even in those far off days there was an interchange of commodities (glass and stone jewellery, beads, ear-plugs, ornaments, etc.) from tribe to tribe and island to island. Somehow the art of writing was also brought from India, and was known to most of the Philippine tribes until it was wantonly destroyed by the Spanish priests. Now the ancient writing survives only among the Pagan Mangyans of Mindoro and the Bataks of Palawan.”

In the first millennium B.C. fresh waves of migrants pushed back the Negritos as well as the Indonesians and many tribes like the Igorrotes moved into the hills as did the Ifugao who developed a marvellous system of rice terraces to grow lowland rice in the high mountains. This third group of invaders were a mixed race, the Mongoloid Malayas who brought with them the cultivation of lowland rice, bamboo, mango, chicken and carabao or buffalo.

Towards the beginning of the Christian era, Chinese traders and pirates began to appear and through them came iron, glazed-pottery, porcelain, huge and beautiful jars, lovely beads, silk and delicate cloth. This Chinese penetration was interrupted by the conquest of entire Malayasia by the great Malay empire of Sumatra (or the Indo-Malay empire of Sri-Vijaya) which held the Philippines for about 150 years and which was replaced by the Indo-Javanese Madjapahit empire on which Mr. Herre makes the following remarks: “The rulers of this powerful state were of Hindu blood who brought an advanced civilization to the Malayas. Brunei, Borneo became a great colony and distributing centre of Indo-Javanese culture among the remote islands to the north and the east. The Philippines became a dependency of Brunei. The Javanese obtained gold in the Agusan valley of Mindanao and mined in Masbate and Southern Mindoro. Their cultural influence was very strong in the Visayas. But with the downfall of the Madjapahit empire, the Philippines were conquered by a Chinese General when there was a tremendous increase in Chinese influence. With the death of this General the Overseas Chinese empire fell apart and Muhammadan



Pre-historic Iron-age Weapons.

problems more than anybody else, gave us important landmarks of this pre-historic culture in some articles published in the *Philippine Magazine* (October, 1928 ; October, 1935). In the early Palæolithic Age when the primitive pygmies reached the islands, the Philippines were connected with Asia, at least with the larger Malaysian islands to the south. Then came from Borneo the Proto-Malay (Indonesian) people in the Mesolithic Age with stone arrows-heads and tools flaked from obsidian, flint, chert, etc., and a great number of these artifacts have been discovered in the lower foot-hills of Rizal and Bulakan provinces.

Between 6000 and 1000 B.C. the Neolithic people came in two distinct waves: the early Neolithic people (4000-3000 B.C.) used a type of stone-axe with a round or oval cross-section and they practised dry agriculture and their remains have been found in the river valleys of the hilly parts of Rizal and Bulakan. The late Neolithic people (2000-1000 B.C.) manufactured rectangular or trapezoidal stone-axes and practised a more extensive and sedentary agriculture ; turning of the soil and fertilization enabled them to use the land continuously and to build fairly big villages spreading over south-western Luzon. The best examples of their culture have been found in Batangas and most probably this late Neolithic people came directly to Luzon from Indo-China, then of bronze age culture. Thus three bronze celts have been found in Batangas, associated with typical stone implements and the shape of those stone-tools " suggests a derivation from earlier metal forms," according to Prof. Beyer.

Some of these tools were used for the manufacture and decoration of bark-cloth which has such a long and interesting history among the Polynesian and other Pacific races, right up to New Zealand. Another interesting thing which connects New Zealand with Indo-China through the Philippines was the " jade-cult " ; tools, amulets, beads and other ornaments of true jade or of a variety of green stone have been found and these artifacts and some' small images suggest that these New Stone Age people from Indo-China had well-developed religious beliefs of their own.

A little before the beginning of the Christian era, the Iron Age people entered the Philippines both from the South and the North. Those who came from northern Indo-China into Luzon brought with them the rice-terrace culture, irrigation and many other arts. Those who came from the South brought the use of

betel-nut, metal-working, weaving, glass-making and pottery. When they settled in the Novaliches district of Rizal Province these early Iron Age people not only mined and smelted their own iron ore but also worked other metals, gold and copper. Earrings, bracelets, amulets, etc., were manufactured from gold. Their pottery of many shapes and sizes were excellent; the potteries are wheel-turned not hand-moulded with red tint and decorations incised or scratched. In shapes and forms they resemble the later polished or slip-covered potteries, with moulded designs, appearing in the latter transitional period. The decoration of certain pieces shows a close kinship with that found in the Iron Age graves of Japan and Korea which are also of southern origin. The most interesting art, however, was the working of artificial glass: a green variety coloured with iron and a blue glass coloured by some copper derivatives. During this age iron was still scarce and used by the wealthier people and the common people used stone-tools. These people knew the art of irrigation and intensive cultivation. Their jewellery consisted of green and blue glass bracelets, with rounded or bevelled edges and beads of such semi-precious stones as agate, carnelian, amethyst, rock-crystal and sapphire. With regard to these finds from the Iron Age site of the Novalich river valley, dating approximately from the first millennium B.C., Prof. Beyer observed ("A Pre-historic Iron Age in the Philippines"—*Philippine Magazine*, October, 1928):

"When we learnt that all this material was not Chinese we looked around for its nearest relatives elsewhere and found them in the Indian Peninsula. . . . All of the Iron Age material is very much like that found in Southern India, Eastern Java, Northern Borneo and in parts of the Malay Peninsula. . . . While the pre-historic glass beads and bracelets found in India are of some fifteen different colours, only two colours of beads are found here, green and blue. . . . All this supports my view that the motherland of this culture was India. With the coming of the Chinese, the people began to buy their jewellery from them and forgot the art of making glass, just as our native weaving industry is dying out to-day because of the importation of cheap foreign textiles."

At the end of the Iron Age several new races of people came whose remains are being discovered in the old village sites and burial grounds in Rizal province and in the central Visayan Islands. Some of them practised cremation as in India while others introduced

this script has everywhere given way to the Arabic or Roman script. The last and declining phase of Hindu influence, entering from the South, could be traced as far as the Visayan Islands; for Magellan found the chiefs of Cebu with the Hindu title of Raja. The great Pagan gods were grouped into families in the Hindu manner. The chief deity of the Tagalog was Bathala derived from Sanskrit *Bhattāra* or Javanese *Batara guru*. The Sambol folk name their god *Akasi*, the Visayans have as god *Sivapa*. Corresponding to Hindu *Pasupati* we find *Aboq*, god of the hunters and the Creator is styled *Pamulak Manobo*. Along with the gods came the cult of *Anito* or *Soul*, the carved wooden figure of the Spirit together with prayers and sacrifices, mantras, explanatory myths and fables, mostly of Hindu origins. The Tinggian people preserve down to this day fragments of romances, of battle, love and magic of hidden birth, intrigues and adventures, "patterned on Hindu example." Prof. Beyer is of opinion that both the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* stories were partially adapted but such exalted literary pieces could not be assimilated so fully by the Filipinos as by the more gifted Javanese. We find also the Hindu belief in a monster *Rāhu* causing the eclipse; the Magindanao Moro people named the five divisions of the day as *Maheswara*, *Kala*, *Sri*, *Berma*, and *Bisnu* and Hindu astronomical names are still preserved among the Moslem population.

All the lowland Filipino dialects contain a stock of Sanskrit words. From the coast these words have spread to the interior districts specially in the South. In the north Sanskrit was imported, in recent centuries, by the intrusive Ilokano people. Sanskrit words are about twice as great in Tagalog as in the Visayan and the Mindanao dialects. This can be explained by the probable direct relations of the Tagalog zone with Indo-China and Malay-Peninsula. Sanskritic elements also penetrated Mindanao and Visayan Isles *via* Borneo and thus a comparative study between the Northern and the Southern Sanskritic elements may reveal more important evidences.

The most remarkable monograph on this subject was published, in the last quarter of the 19th century, by the great Filipino doctor-patriot Don T. H. Pardo de Tavera. He was a voluntary exile from his mother country then under the despotic Spanish regime and, being in Paris, he possibly came in personal contact with great French Sanskritists like Barth, Senart, and others. Thus he might have been induced to compile a list of those words in Tagalog which

appeared to him to have been derived from Sanskrit. His list was completed in 1884 when he was informed by Prof. F. Blumentritt that a similar list had already been compiled and published by the renowned Dutch Sanskritist H. Kern.* Dr. Tavera published his monograph in Spanish: *El Sanscrito en la Lingua Tagalog* (Paris—Imprimerie de la Faculté de Medicine, 1887). In 1889 he published his second comparative study with regard to the Numerals in Tagalog: *Consideraciones sobre el origen del Nombre de los Numeros en Tagalog*. Special importance, therefore, should be attached to the opinions expressed by Tavera who pointed out that the words that were taken into Tagalog signified “intellectual acts, moral conceptions, emotions, superstitions, names of deities, of planets, of numerals, of botany, of war, of titles and dignities, of the instruments of industry, etc.” Hence he urged that the Hindus must have been present in the Philippines and that religion and literature, industry and agriculture were at one time in the hands of the Hindus.

Tavera, who thus came to be the pioneer in this line of study, was also probably responsible for rousing the interest in these subjects in his junior contemporary Dr. Jose Rizal (born 19th June, 1861 and executed 30th December, 1896), the great patriot-martyr adored by the Filipino people. Rizal also came to be interested in the study of anthropology, of myths and legends and frequently uses the word *Indios* as a synonym for the indigenous people. It is of special interest to us to know that Rizal's uncle Don Jose Alberto was brought to a Calcutta missionary school, spending eleven years in Calcutta, thanks to the kindness of an English Naval Officer who visited the Philippines in 1820. Returning to the Philippines an ardent champion of English literature, Don Jose Alberto welcomed in 1871-72 Sir John Bowring (who was Governor of Hongkong concluding treaty with Siam in 1854), a famous translator of foreign poetry into English. Rizal as a boy had the good fortune of meeting Sir John as a guest of the family and aspired to be a polyglot like him, and when he was barely nine or ten Rizal got a prize of two *pesos* (Rs. 3) by compising

* I. Sauskritsche woorden in het Tagala (1880).

II. Sauskritsche woorden in het Basya (1881).

III. Over de taal der Philippinsche Negito's (1882).

IV. Eene bijdrage tot de kennis van't Oude Philippinsche letterschrift (1885).

Prof. Kern published all the above papers in the famous Dutch *Jornal Bijdragen tot de Taal-land-en Volkenkunde van Ned. Indie*. In his last paper dated 1885, Prof. Kern refers to Tavera's Spanish article “Contribucion para el estudio de los antiguos alfabetos Filipinos” (published from Lausanne) and also to the article of Mon. Jacquet on “Consideration sur les Alphabets des Philippines” already published in the *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*.

a verse-playlet in Tagalog. His last poem composed in the cell before his execution on the order of the cruel Spanish regime lives in the heart of every man and woman of the Philippines.

Thus from the recent history of the emancipation of the Philippines to the earliest Stone Age culture, we find so many points of comparison and contact between the Filipino and the Indian people. Thanks to the courtesy and kindness of President Bocobo and Prof. H. Otley Beyer of the University of Philippines I came to have access to materials on this subject which otherwise would have remained unnoticed. I draw the attention of the public in this connection, to the latest and authoritative *resumé* on the subject contributed by Prof. Beyer to the *Encyclopædia of the Philippines* which is in course of publication since 1936. Between 1926-30, the archæological survey of the Rizal province alone has yielded about 50,000 stone artifacts. Between 1931 and 1936 the exploration work was extended to the Butanga province in the South and to Bulakan in the North. Most of the finds are, as in India, of the late Neolithic or Chalcolithic culture; only the Philippine folk "had not progressed to the stone building, city-dwelling and writing stage" as we find in the Indus valley. Before these late Neolithic agriculturists (4000-1000 B.C.) the Philippines were probably inhabited by nomadic Negrito hunters and food-gatherers or even by an earlier Australoid race that left flint tools and flake obsidian (volcanic glass) of *circa* 8000 B.C. During the first two millennia B.C. late Neolithic culture prevailed. This has been fairly demonstrated by the exploration of Governor F. G. Roth and Prof. Beyer who came to the following important conclusions:

During the first millennium B.C. a new race came to the Philippines who used cut-out or stepped butt tools showing that they knew the process of drilling and sawing. They were beaters of bark-cloth like the Hawaiians and, like the Maoris, cherished jade-tools and ornaments. Then we find a "transitional form" of tools entering with bronze articles from the mainland probably of the late Chou or early Han period and their co-types have been found near Hongkong by D. J. Finn. Thus while the Mesolithic or early Neolithic cultures entered the islands from the South (Indonesia) the late Neolithic culture came from Indo-China or South China. The Filipino "stepped" adzes came to be the prototype of all Polynesian adzes for we find them in Indonesia whence they migrated eastwards to all the Pacific islands from New Zealand to Hawaii. The New

Zealand forms resemble closely those of Batanga and South Philippines. The Hawaiian adzes, however, show some local modifications.

Chronological indications must necessarily be of a provisional character. But there is little doubt today in the assumption that the Indonesian ancestors of the modern Polynesians must have passed through the Philippines which "stand at the cross-roads of two great highways of Stone Age migrations, one running North and South from the Dutch East Indies to Japan, and the other, East and West, from Indo-China to Polynesia."

Archæological research in the Philippines is still in its infancy and we hope that under the enlightened patronage of President Quezon more and more important treasures would be discovered and scientifically displayed in the projected National Museum of the Philippines. But, even with the modest data at our disposal, we may say that the Filipino civilisation is one of the most valuable links connecting the history of cultural migrations from the Indian Ocean on the one hand to the vast Pacific on the other.

AN APPROACH TO MODERN ORIYA LITERATURE

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THE influence of Western thought and literature on Modern India has been a prominent factor in the development of the Indian mind at the present era. It has considerably affected all the avenues of life, —art and literature, economic conditions and moral sense, political aspirations and religious outlook, and it is to be noticed in those who are in the vanguard of India's progress. This permeation of the current of Indian thought by Western ideas is more or less an admitted fact ; any one who has carefully watched the growth and development of the Indian mind has been struck by the interesting nature of such study, though it must be said at the same time that very few have come forward to work out the results of the influence in any particular direction. The vernacular literatures, when examined, will show marks of this influence ; but the workers have been very few in number.

It is true that as early as 1885, Barada Charan Mitra had contributed a paper to the *Calcutta Review* on the *Influence of English Literature on Bengali* ; and that P. N. Basu dealt in a general sort of way with this question in his *Hindu Civilisation under British Rule*. Dr. Sayyad Abdul Latif, a Professor in the Osmania University, Hyderabad, Deccan, wrote a book on the *Influence of English on Urdu Literature*, which had been the subject of his thesis for the Ph.D. Degree of the London University. The Calcutta University has already published two works treating of the Western influence in its operation on Bengali Literature in general and Bengali Novel in particular. Dr. Jayantakumar Dasgupta, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (London), has likewise contributed to the discussion in articles published in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* (London) and the *Calcutta Review*. Professor H. M. Dasgupta, M.A. of D. A. V. College, Jullundur, Punjab, has published a volume on English Romantic Poetry and its influence on Bengali literature. But the subject has not yet been

treated with the earnestness which it demands, with the fulness which it deserves and with the comprehension which it may justify. Here we have a unique spectacle of an alien people influencing millions of our fellow-beings at a distance of thousands of miles and across land and sea, desert and hill, inheritors of different civilisations ; though we may try to link them together by speaking of the essential unity of the human race, or tracing them to the same Indo-Aryan stock of people, the divergences are certainly no less remarkable than the points of agreement.

An approach to modern Oriya Literature is bound to take cognizance of the extent of this Western influence in the literature. Orissa is a curious museum of Indian civilisation ; here have met varieties of human experience, of cultural traits, of peculiarities in custom and practice, and, what is more to the point, the geography of the country has helped to preserve the different stages of the varying cultures more or less intact. The pertinent scope of our enquiry is how far this province, which has been subjected to various influences in the past* and which may have influenced distant regions in the Far East in no insignificant manner, has been able to assimilate Western influence, so far as such assimilation may be traced in literature.

A survey of Modern Oriya literature should then deal, firstly, with the English conquest of Orissa and the spread of Western culture in the province ; secondly, with the results of this interplay of the two cultures in the different forms of literature—prose, poetry and drama : and thirdly, wind up the whole discussion with (i) a summary of the results of our investigation and (ii) an attempt to forecast the future progress of the literature, to present to view the broad lines in which it may be expected to develop.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The cultural influence of the West in India was preceded by the material. Before Europe, or for that matter England, could impress its thoughts and ideas on the Oriental mind to any purpose, it had got

* "In my opinion the people of Kalinga, who have been proved to be the pioneer colonists of India, Indonesia and Oceania, are probably the very same people whom the modern barbarians of the Pacific and Indian Oceans regard with awe and wonder as people from the sky who civilized them and taught them the rudiments of culture."—R. D. Banerji's *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, Ch. VII (concluding sentence). I am afraid this is more or less a speculative statement.

the vast millions of the Indian people well nigh under subjection. India might have had contacts with Greece and Italy and other countries of Europe, even prior to the invasion of India by Alexander ; but those contacts were more or less superficial, and related merely to matters of trade, they did not go deeper than the skin and the effect did not last long, though the mutual intercourse must have been conducive at least to a good basis for self-knowledge. The landing of Vasco da Gama on the western coast is more relevant for our present purpose, as this discovery of a route to the country of the fabled wealth, India, made it possible for enterprising Westerners to come over from Europe without the intervention of the Arabs and the Persians, the Venetians and the Geonese, and established a direct line of communication between India and the western countries of Europe, specially those bordering on the Atlantic. Portuguese success in this work of exploration is worthy of being called an achievement ; it served as a prelude to the formation of companies of merchants in England, France, Holland and Denmark, and these companies were more or less helped in their working up the opportunities accorded to them by this knowledge through the agencies of their respective Governments.

The Portuguese traders entered Orissa in 1514 and formed a settlement first of all at Pipili on the Subarnarekha, for which they had obtained the necessary permission from the ruling chief, Pratap-rudra Deo. This Pipili it is not possible to trace now and must not be confused with the prosperous and prevailingly Christian settlement of Pipili near Gop in the District of Puri and situated *en route* to Konarak.

The English East India Company's first settlements in India were Surat and Massulipattam, and the finer cloths woven by Orissa were sent to the latter place by the sea-coast. It may be recalled that in the *Artha-shastra* of Kautilya its economic importance for production of cotton-fabric of a special kind is stressed, whence the Tamil word *Kilingam* in the sense of cotton cloth.*

The commodities sent by the Company to its factories attracted a good deal of notice and Captain Cartwright, with eight merchants and

* Prof. S. K. Aiyangar, *Orissa*, J.B.O.R.S., Vol. VIII. Part I.

In passing it may be remarked on the authority of an old note on the subject republished in the *Bangabasi* of the year 1342 B.S., Shraavan, that the "Santipur Cloth," so well-known even in Modern Bengal, for its beautiful borders and texture, owes much to a pioneer of Santipur, Nadia (Bengal), who learnt the art from his friends in Orissa. There are many weaver families from Bengal settled in the district round Jaipur, Cuttack.

many valuable offerings, sailed in the *Swan* to Harishpur, a trading centre at the mouth of the Patua. The Fort of St. George had not yet been formally and finally secured, and it was early in 1633 that the party, after a free fight between the Portuguese and the newcomers in which the English were helped by the Raja of Harishpur, went up the river as far as Fort Bārabāti, the seat of the court of Mukunda Deo, the last of the Orissan kings in the real sense of the term.

The leader of the party had to pay homage and observe due ceremony by kissing the feet * of the ruling Moghul, Viceroy Aga Mahommad Zaman, a native of Persia, who, pleased with the valuable presents in gold, silver and spices offered by the Englishmen, granted them permission for trade which they had requested, though the Portuguese were busy poisoning the minds of the local Governors. The result of the negotiations was that Hariharpur in Cuttack, now known as Jagatsinghpur, 25 miles away from the town, and two other trading centres in the District of Balasore were given to the English merchants when in 1642 the port of Balasore had been closed by the silting of the river. The newcomers evidently had an easy time of it at first, as they put up fresh centres at Puri, at Pipili on the Subarnarekha † and at Hijli in Midnapore. France, Holland and Denmark followed these enterprises by setting up their own *kuthis* at Balasore, but the companies from Holland and Denmark soon left off, and their sites were ultimately taken over by the English in 1825 and 1846 respectively, while the French retained their portion. The site of the French *kuthi* is to be seen at Balasore even at the present day. It extends over 38 acres in area; and there are ruins of some pillars circumscribing about 1 acre in extent. During the last Census operations in 1931, the houses in French Balasore were counted, not without some objection from the local residents; but they were tactfully handled and the enumeration showed the population of French Balasore to consist of about 200 souls. The land situated on both sides the Bura Balang had been previously leased out to a Bengali *izārādār* resident in British Balasore, but it is understood that the British Government is

* A. Wight, *Early English Adventurers in the East* (Andrew Melrose & Ltd., London, 1914), p. 275.

† Birdwood, *Report on the Old Records of the India Office*, p. 91.

The E. I. Co. had a factory at Pipili in Orissa, during 1624-42, and started another at Hooghly in 1640 for better trade with Bengal. [Jute manufacture was begun in Orissa in 1864, and next year the Khandmahals were annexed from the State of Baud. See O'Malley, pp. 328 ff.; also, *The Conquest and Settlement of Orissa*, pp. 315-28.]

now the *izārādār* or lessee. The ruins are eloquent reminiscences of the potential power of the French in the country two hundred years ago.

The Portuguese put up a strenuous opposition against English influence in Orissa and Portuguese pirates frequently waylaid English merchandise on the Orissan coast. An armed boat from Holland came and bombarded the ports on the coast and ravaged them. Birdwood (p. 190) quotes a list of Dutch settlements and agencies submitted to the States General, on 22nd October, 1664—a factory was maintained in Orissa for rice and other provisions supplied to Ceylon. Over and above these troubles, malaria exacted its toll. All these factors combined to make the English leave their other trading settlements and concentrate on Balasore. The fine cloths of Balasore were very much in demand, and the industry was a paying one, even though the sale price was heavily taxed, at so much as 32 p.c.*

Anyway, the *kuthi* at Balasore was being improved, as I have already said. Up to 1685 the English bore patiently all sorts of damage and opposition, but from that year they resolved to protest by arms. 1685-90 was a period during which English trade did not flourish. Traders fled to Bengal during the regime of Shayesta Khan and came to Hijli in 1687 and back to Balasore in 1688. When war broke out in Bengal between the Moghuls and the English, the Subadar of Balasore attacked the local trading settlement. There were fierce reprisals for some time from both the sides, blind fury resulting in a temporary evacuation of Balasore by the English. In 1690 Aurangzeb granted them a new *firman* and the English returned.

During the next fifty years the affairs in Orissa enjoyed comparative quiet, but the destiny of the country was being forged in Bengal and as a result of the battle of Plassey, 1757, the English merchants of the East India Company obtained a firm and definite control over the administration of the provinces. This control was, however, indirect at first and Mir Jafar and his nephew and son-in-law Mir Kasim Ali Khan ruled the provinces nominally; but in 1764 Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were annexed to the Company's rule and next year, in 1765, the *Dewani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was formally presented to Lord Clive by the titular Moghul Emperor, Shah Alam II.

“When the decline of the Moghul empire began the Bengal province found it difficult to maintain its hold on it (Kalinga), and the

* Birdwood, *Report on the Old Records of the India Office*, p. 59, refers to a volume dated 1676, which contains a very interesting letter on the Balasore piece-goods.

Mahrattas under the Bhonslas of Nagpur were able to take easy possession of it. It was then recovered from the Mahrattas after the overthrow of the State of Nagpur, and since then underwent the vicissitudes that Bengal itself did, till in the last few years it became an integral part of the province of Bihar and Orissa.”— Prof. S. K. Aiyangar, *Orissa*, J.B.O.R.S., Vol. VIII, Pt. I.

The rise of the Bhonslas in Berar dates from the beginning of the 18th century. In course of time they extended the dominion of the Mahrattas eastward to Nagpur and Orissa. In the first Mahratta war Wellesley defeated the Scindia and the Bhonsla, the latter having run away “at the first shot.” The campaign ended with the Bhonsla ceding to the British Cuttack in the east and Berar in the west; he was to be known henceforth as the Raja of Na .pore. Lord Wellesley made over Berar to the Nizam of Hyderabad as a free gift, but kept Cuttack as a British possession according to the terms of Treaty of Deogaum with Raghojee Bhonsla.

British rule in Orissa begins, thus, really in the early years of the nineteenth century, on treaty negotiations having been concluded between the English and the Mahrattas. “Cuttack, Balasore and the ports thereof” came within the power of the Company in accordance with the terms of that treaty. On the 8th September, 1803, the English army left Ganjam for Orissa by the coast, reached Manikpatana on the 15th which at once and without fight yielded itself to their power, and arrived at Puri on the 18th where they met with no opposition from the *sevak*s of the temple to whom, it is said, they explained things “in a friendly manner.” The British army then left Puri on the 20th September and reached Cuttack on the 10th October. The Mahratta soldiers there ran away and the citizens fled to Tangi. Balasore had been previously occupied on the 21st September, by a detachment sent out from Midnapore. Thus the whole of Orissa was subjugated without, practically, a single blow being struck against the newcomers. From that time till now the country has been free from any militarist patriotism, save and except for two small risings in and about Khurda, which were soon quelled. The British lost no time in organising the country by holding “settlement” operations, decreasing the number of landlords and adopting various other ways to explore the financial possibilities of the country as regards its revenue. The country has enjoyed British rule since 1803, the year of its first conquest

That Orissa or, as is some times mentioned in the Despatches, "the province of Cuttack," was a desired object for possession in the eyes of the British Government appears from letters addressed from time to time by the Governor-General.

"From the Rajah of Berar I should wish to acquire the whole province of Cuttack, so as to unite the Northern Sircars by a continued line of sea-coast with Bengal. This cession, including Balasore, etc., to be made either absolutely, or upon payment of a moderate rent, or as a security for a subsidiary force to be introduced into the dominions of the Rajah of Berar. The district of Gunz nundelo has been an object to the Nizam. This object is to be pursued, according to circumstances, in the event of war with the Raja of Berar. Without securing one or other of these advantages, you will not make peace with the Rajah of Berar, after he shall have compelled you to resort to hostilities against him, unless, in your discretion, you should deem peace with the Rajah of Berar advisable on different terms."—Governor-General's Letter to the Commander-in-Chief, dated the 27th June, 1803, quoted on p. 165 (Enclosure E), *Mahratta War in 1803*, Vol. I, Printed by order of the House of Commons, 5th and 22nd June, 1804. The full title of the book is "Bengal, also, Fort St. George and Bombay Papers, presented to the House of Commons, pursuant to their orders of the 7th of May last, from the East India Company, relative to the Mahratta War in 1803."

Again, the Governor-General in Council wrote to the Secret Committee on the 25th September, 1803, as follows: "From the accounts which have been received, with regard to the troops of the Rajah of Berar in the province of Cuttack, there is no reason to suppose that these troops are either numerous or formidable; nor is it probable that they can receive any considerable reinforcements from Berar, while Major-General Wellesley's operations engage the attention of the Rajah for the defence of his person and of his capital. At all events, it may be expected that the introduction of any additional force into the province of Cuttack will be effectually prevented, by the previous occupation of the passes leading into that province either by the British troops, or by the Chieftains occupying the territory on the frontiers of Cuttack, whom we may be enabled to conciliate to the interests of the British Government.

"The Governor-General in Council entertains as a hope, that the officers of the Rajah of Berar may be induced to surrender the

possessions of that province to the British power without contest, and the Governor-General has adopted measures calculated to produce that desirable event. Under any probable circumstances, however, the Governor-General in Council confidently anticipates the complete and speedy success of the expedition against the province of Cuttack."—*Ibid*, p. 191.

CHANNELS OF THE NEW INFLUENCE

With the administrative control of the country in the hands of the British, Western influences show themselves in different walks of life. The College of Fort William was opened in 1800, but in Calcutta naturally Oriya did not come in for attention at first. Mohan Prasad Thakur is credited with having written a vocabulary of the language as late as about 1807. It must be said that the administrative change brought about corresponding changes of outlook in all walks of life, which again were harbingers of corresponding changes in literature. When the East India Company took up the work of administering the country, they were at first unwilling to shoulder the responsibilities of educating the people, and it was only after long and repeated remonstrances and demands from various quarters, that the Government of India at last made arrangements for the Universities of Calcutta and other Presidency towns and started feeder institutions throughout British territory in India. In such schools and colleges we may notice educative agencies busy instilling into the minds of the respective students of tender years, when their imagination is plastic and nature mobile, thoughts and ideas and forms in use in a rich, foreign literature. There they learnt with admiration and emulation (however vain and absurd it might be) the noble lines of Shakespeare and Byron, the thought-packed sentences of Bacon and Emerson, the generous sentiments of Burke and Mill. The imagination of the students was stirred, their aesthetic sense was nourished, their critical powers were liberalised by this healthy and beneficial contact with a storehouse of ideas and images, fresh and energetic. In this way the educational institutions of the country have been functioning as so many agencies for the circulation of Western influence in science and literature.

There have been other agencies for the diffusion of the new culture which deserve to be noted. The nineteenth century has witnessed

various public movements—religious, social and political. These movements have affected, in common with the other provinces of India, the general public of Orissa who, though they have availed themselves of English education to the desired extent, have been unable to escape the contagion of enthusiasm which is primarily the source of such movements. The Christian missions come in here for special mention. Carey and Thomas on their way to Bengal stopped at Balasore Roads.* The Christian missionaries who came over from England first landed on the Orissan coast on the 12th February, 1822. The name of the first missionary was Rev. Mr. Campbone. Rev. Mr. Lacey came two years later. They had come some time previously to Serampore, and with the advice of the Serampore brethren, came over to Orissa to make it the scene of the Society's operations. Assam was still unsettled, Punjab was far off, but Orissa was just close to Bengal and an improved edition of the New Testament was already taken in hand. The Marquis of Hastings, who was then the Governor-General, was applied to for permission and he readily granted it, so the missionaries proceeded to Cuttack. They had come to Orissa plentifully supplied with a considerable quantity of tracts and copies of the Scriptures for distribution—the number running up to about a thousand gospels and epistles, and five hundred tracts from Mr. Pearce. From June, 1822 to December, 1823, as many as 15 Native Schools were established, three of which were at some distance from Cuttack. These schools contained on their rolls the names of 305 boys and 63 girls. †

A school was started at Puri under Government auspices about 1835; and though the first batch of students showed very little promise, the improvement has been considerable.

The early missionaries first set up an Oriya printing press in 1836 and prepared Oriya types. They brought with them a new faith which claimed converts from those who worshipped Jagannath according to hereditary practice and in all sincerity. They attacked the caste system and brought with them new ideas of worship of God as well as new methods of church organisation. It may be surmised that the influence of these missions was at first neither very deep nor

* Carey's letter quoted in *Serampore Letters* (1800-1816) by L. and M. Williams (Fleming H. Revell Co., New York, 1892), p. 35.

† See *Orissa: Its Geography etc.* by Andrew Sterling, to which is added a history of the General Baptist Mission established in this province, by James Peggs (London, 1846), Chapter III, p. 195 ff.

very extensive but all the same they attracted the notice of the intelligentsia and influenced their lives and thoughts. For one thing, they had much to do with Brahma organisations which overflowed to Orissa from Bengal, and we find later on that among the methods of modern Oriya literature there are certain elements which had been confirmed or strengthened by the support they drew from the Brahma faith. It is difficult to omit the name of Madhusudan Rao in this connection.

But, as I have said already, it is necessary to dwell on the Western religious organisation with more detail. The contribution of Christian missionaries constitutes a definite landmark in the spread of Western influence in Orissa in matters affecting literature and other aspects of social life. In a letter written by Carey to John Williams we are told that one missionary was soon to be sent on to Orissa and that fair progress had been made in translating the Bible.* As a matter of fact, the Pentateuch was translated into Oriya in 1814; the second volume of the Holy Bible containing the Historical Books had been translated in 1811. The title page of these two books is given below:—

The | Holy Bible | containing the Old and New Testaments | Translated from the originals | into the Orissa Language || By the Serampore Missionaries | Vol. II | Containing the Historical Books || Serampore: || Printed at the Mission Press || 1811.†

The Oriya counterpart is stated in the following page as follows:—

Isvarar samasta vākya
visheshare
manuṣhyar trāṇa o kāryya sādhanārthare se
yāhā prakāsha
kariaschanti
arthāt
dharmapustak.

* "A Brother is going in a few days to carry the word of life to Orissa. . . . In the Orissa language, the New Testament, one volume of the Old Testament, viz. Job, Canticles is printed, and to about the XL Chap. of Isaiah of the next volume."—Letter dated 7th December, 1809, quoted in *Serampore Letters* (Fleming H. Revell Co., New York, 1892). Again, "We are just going to send Brother John Peter, a member of the Church at Calcutta, into Orissa, as a missionary."—Letter by J. Rowe, dated 19th Dec., 1809, quoted in the same book.

† Found in the Serampore College Library.

tāhār prathamabhaga yahīre cārivarga

mesahar vyavasthā

Isrāelar vivaraṇa

gītādi.

bhaviṣhyadvākya.

Tāhār dvitiya varga arthāt Isrāelar

vivaraṇa ehi.

evarī bhāṣhār tarjamā hoilā.

Srīrāmpuraṭhāre chapā helā

San 1811 Sāla.

This is followed by a *nirghāṇṭa* or index and a hint on pronunciation of names or, as it is called in the text, *nāmoccāraṇar varṇavichar*, which follows the method given in the Bengali translation of the Prophetical Books, published from Serampore in 1805. It is interesting to observe that the typography at this stage is not quite correct, e.g., in the matter of *-rja* and *Shree* above, and the note of interrogation is rendered thus—॥:—

Yeṭhāre jijnāsā seṭhāre ॥ emata cinha.

Where there is a query, this sign is to be used.

The first volume of the Holy Bible was translated three years later, in 1814. It consisted of renderings of the Pentateuch. The note of interrogation has been omitted in the prefixed *nāmoccāraṇar varṇavichar*. A transcript of the first paragraph will easily show how the translator was guided in all ways by the arrangement of the original.

Next we come across *Uriya Poetical Books* translated by Rev. J. Carey himself from Hebrew and published in the same year. The title page in the vernacular is given below:—

Isvarar samasta vākya

visheshare yāhā

manushyar trāṇa o kāryya shodhanārthe prakāsha

kariachanti.

se

dharmapustak.

Tāhār prathamabhag yahīre cārivarga.

moshār vyavasthā

Israler vivaraṇa

gītādi.

bhavishyadvākya
Tāhār trityavarga gītadi
ehi.
ebribhāshāre tarjjamā
hoilā.
Srīrāmapuraṭhāre chapā hoilā.

The *namoccāraṇar varṇavicāra* includes the mark of interrogation, curiously enough.

The New Testament was translated from original Greek into Oriya and published in 1822. We have given above the name of the first missionary as Rev. Mr. Campbone who landed on the Orissan coast on February 12, 1822. He was in fact the first European missionary. The Serampore group had before this sent out an Indian brother, as may be inferred from the following account.*

“ Our brother Krishnoo-das, whose memory is precious among us, took the Oorissa New Testament, went into that country, learned the language, and laboured there with brother Petor, till arrested in his career by that sickness which at length conducted him to his Father's house above.”

The book which contains this account gives the present and the past tense forms of the verb *to be* in Orissa language, as well as a transcript of the Lord's Prayer, which is reproduced here :—

“ He ambhāmanunkur swurgustha pita, toombhur nam pubitra manuya heoo, toombhur rajya prukash heoo, jemuta swurgure temuta prithibeere toombhur ishta kriya kura jao. Aji ambhumanunkur nitya bhuksha ambhumanunkao diya, pooni jemuta ambhemane ambhumanunkur rindhareemanunkoo kshuma kuri seec muti ambhūmanunkur rin kshuma kur, ambhumanunkoo pureekshare ghenā jao na, pooni ambhumanunkoo apuduroo ruksha kur, kipana suda surbukshunune rajya o shukti o gourab toombhur. Amen.”

This record of literary work at Serampore contains several memoirs; the seventh memoir has a note that a second edition of the New Testament in Oriya for 4,000 copies is half through the press. It is difficult to reconcile an evident discrepancy in date here, specially because we come across the news that the New Testament in Oriya (2nd Edition) was sent to the press in 1803 and finished in 1811.

* *Literary Work at Serampore, 1815-16.*

The first edition of the Old Testament was, however, completed by 1819 and finally released from the press by that year.

Carey, Ward and the two Marshmans drew up the 8th memoir and there is an interesting comparison* in the matter of vernacular tracts prepared by Christian Missionaries.

That brings us to the subject of Christian tracts in Oriya, and the various missions which worked in Orissa. Years before the General Baptists of England started a mission at Cuttack in 1822, as noted before, the Serampore Missionaries had been serving Orissa with vernacular Christian literature, tracts and translations.† The first Oriya tract which the earliest convert received was printed at Serampore, 1818, and bore the caption "On the Folly of Jagannath's Worship." The second tract, "On the Stopping of Jagannath's Car at Serampore," was written by Ward. An Indian translated in verse from Bengali "The Immortal History of Christ" A handbill containing Scripture extracts was also printed at Serampore. There were "probably several other publications" by the Serampore group, but we do not know any further details as yet. There was an Oriya pundit at Serampore, who helped to rewrite the tracts and translations.

The great bulk of tracts is, however, due to the General Baptist Mission. A number of them were in verse. The most popular was "The Jewel Mine of Salvation," its first edition was translated by Messrs. Lacey and Sutton, about 1827, from the *Gospel Messenger* by Ram Basu. The *Catalogue of the Christian Vernacular Literature of India* records 17 books printed and published by the General Baptist Mission, and of them the following may be mentioned:—

Baxter's Call (Abridged). 76 pp. 12mo. Dr. Sutton. 1839.

Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress. 337 pp. Pt I. 12mo. Dr. Sutton.
Cal. 1838.

Bunyan's Holy War. 362 pp. 12mo. Rev. C. Lacey. 1851.

Phulmani and Karuna. 206 pp. 12mo. Rev. I. Stubbins. 1857.

Watt's Divine and Moral Songs. 38 pp. 12mo. Dr. Sutton.
2 editions 1862-68.

Cal. 1837.

* *Literary Work at Serampore, 1815-30*, p. 40.

† See *Catalogue of the Christian Vernacular Literature of India* by Murdoch (Cobb Foster, Madras, 1870).

The third agency was the Calcutta Tract and Book Society, but what it did was more or less to get up portions of editions obtained from Cuttack.

We do not consider here in any detail the work done by the missionaries in the cause of education. An interesting sidelight is thrown by Adam's report by the information that the only collections of houses that deserved to be called towns were Cuttack, Balasore and "Jugunnath," with a population of approximately 40,000, 10,000 and 30,000.

Let us now turn to political movements. Orissa, which had been so long tagged on to Bengal, could not be expected to have developed its political life on independent lines but had to follow in the track through which the larger provinces moved. Indian politics had been throughout influenced by Western ideas of the sovereignty of the state and the rights of the people. Marks of this influence can be detected in the larger ideas which have predominated in the various stages of the growth of popular consciousness for political power. Petitioning for constitutional advance, boycotting foreign goods, imitating the aims and aspirations of Young Italy, Young Ireland, Young Russia, passive resistance and civil disobedience--all these are more or less capable of being definitely related to Western ideas. These political thoughts coloured the imagination, and stimulated the ideas, of thousands of men and women who never had to study in schools and colleges and who were utter strangers to Western literature and science.

CULTURAL ASSOCIATIONS

In the old days, when the British had not assumed control of the country, literary men and, as a matter of fact, all other artists depended on state patronage; it was the Raja, the chief, who distributed favours, granted plots of rent-free land, bestowed pensions and emoluments on those persons who could show their gift by improvising poems either in eulogy of the king and the line from which he was descended, or describing the beauties of nature in terms of glowing rhetoric. When the control of the country was transferred from these chiefs to the British, with it passed away their patronage also. Collective action began to supersede individual influence, and associations were formed for cultivating the old or modern school of poetry as well as for receiving and distributing the new influences.

This was by no means a new or strange phenomenon. In the history of Bengali literature we come across a number of such associations, distributory in their nature and collective in their idea, trying to function as so many centres of the new culture, or the old culture in a new form. The Academic Association of Derozio, the Vernacular Literature Society, the Society for the Distribution of Useful Knowledge, are eloquent names which the historian of the 19th century Bengali literature will remember with pride for their important contributions to the new literature that was in the making. The books published by such societies are now rarities; the papers read at their sittings live mostly in names and occasionally as essays in the (almost equally) obsolete journals; but in their days they were important signs of the times and also exerted a wide power in the country.

Let us now turn to parallel associations in Orissa after the establishment of British rule. Orissa came under British rule almost half a century later than Bengal; the associations formed were also after the fifties; the difference in time is thus pretty much the same. Accounts of such collective activities are to be hunted up from old newspapers, etc. We learn from them that about 1869 there was one Utkalollasini Sabha dear to the heart of orthodox Brahmins. There was another society, called the Cuttack Society, which brought out the *Utkala Hitaishini* in 1869 and attempted to take up the Printing Works. This society had its branches at Puri and Khurda.* There was also a Cuttack Young Men's Literary Association, started by Bhagabatichandra Chatterjea as the Honorary Secretary; in the *Utkala Putra*, 1874, there is a notice signed by Umeshchandra Sarker, the Honorary Secretary of the association, announcing a meeting to be held at Cuttack High School in which Babu Dwarkanath Chakravarti, Superintendent, Cuttack Normal School, and author of *Shikshā-Vidhān* in Oriya, would deliver a highly interesting lecture. Babu Rajkrishna Mookerjea, M.A., B.L., delivered a lecture in English on Hindu mythology at the Association on the 31st July, 1870, and the lecture was printed and published by the Cuttack Y. M. C. A. In the number of the *Utkala Dīpikā* issued on the 10th August, 1867, we find an account of a preliminary meeting held to organise Utkalabhashoddipani Sabha on the 28th July, 1867. From it we learn that Rangalal Banerjee, Jagannohan Ray, Pyarimohan

* The *Utkala Darpana*, 9th August, 1870.

Banerjee, Pundit Artatran Tarkapanchanan, Kapileshwar Vidya-bhushan, Banamali Sinha, Gobindachandra Mahapatra, Gaurishankar Ray were among those that were present. The following resolutions were adopted :—

That a list will be prepared of all existing books written in Oriya language, giving out the names of the books, their authors and their contents, with all available accounts of the authors themselves. A sub-committee to be formed to prepare this list, consisting of Pandit Artatran Tarkapanchanan, Kapileshwar Singh, Banamali Singh, Govinda Mahapatra and Gaurishankar Ray.

That the following gentlemen be entrusted with the work of preparing a selection for the Matriculation Examination from the books noted against their names, the different passages to be finally approved by the society :—

Babu Rangalal Banerji and Pundit Prabhakar

Vidyaratna—*Vaidehisha Vilasa*

Babu Pyarimohan Acharyya and Pundit Artatran

Tarkapanchanan—*Subhadra Parinay*

Babu Chandrashekhar Banerji and Pandit

Kapileshwar Singh—*Rasakallola*

Babu Banamali Singh—*Krishna Singha's Mahabharat*

Babu Gobindachandra Mahapatra—*Bhasha Bhagabat*

Resolved also that arrangements may be made for collecting subscriptions to defray the expenses of the Society.

That a letter be addressed to the Govt. on the Society's aims and objects and requesting to be invested with authority to adjudicate on books fit for Orissan schools.

That Pandit Prabhakar Vidyaratna be nominated a member of the Society.

This Society had Gaurishankar Ray for its Secretary.

Rangalal Banerji, the distinguished Bengali Poet, presided at one* of the preliminary meetings held to organise the Society, and delivered a highly interesting lecture on the occasion.

It may be interesting to note here that when the Cuttack Printing Co. set about publishing Kavyas, and while the above Society (*Utkalabhāshoddipani Sabhā*) proposed to select passages from the Mahabharata as in Krishna Singh's version, a company had been formed, the Puran Prakashika Company, which took up the publication of Sarala Dasa's *Mahabharata*.†

* The *Utkala Dipikā*, dated May 19, 1867.

† See *Alochana*, about 1900.

From a correspondent in the *Utkala Dīpikā* we learn that a company was started at Balasore, with the object of gradually publishing all the best old works written in Oriya language ; the name of the concern was D. P. Das & Co., while to organise its work, a society had been started named " Utkala-Bhasha-Unnati-Bidhayinee-Sabha."* This D. P. Das was Daityari Prasad Das, a Balasore lawyer, who was an enthusiast in the cause of Oriya literature.

From a newspaper account† we learn also of a society named Cuttack School Book Company, modelled on Calcutta School Book Society. The initiative was taken by Babu Kalipada Banerjee and the inaugural meeting was held in his rooms. It was proposed that the Society should have some capital of its own, about thirteen hundred rupees, to be divided into 130 shares, of which, we are told, 70 were subscribed for on the spot, and applications were invited for the rest. We hear from the *Dīpikā* also of a Cuttack society which had branches at Puri and Khurdah.‡

This is merely a sketch or an indication to show how cultural associations or collective efforts were formed and how they replaced the now effete state patronage. It is true that most of these organisations were futile and could show nothing in point of achievement, but they gave expression to the desire which existed among the intelligentsia to resuscitate the old treasure as well as to march hand in hand with the modern languages of India. It is necessary to collect more materials on this plan and set out a fully furnished history of cultural associations formed in the 19th century Orissa ; the work would be of great interest to a consideration of Western influence for which such organisations acted as so many channels.

It is necessary to refer here to a distressing event in the annals of Orissa which chilled the genial current of her soul and stilled much of her animation which might normally have developed into national well being in the varied departments of life. It was a wide-spread famine in Orissa in the seventh decade of the nineteenth century, or to place it more definitely, in 1867. The monsoon had totally failed in 1865, but Sir Cecil Beadon did not like " to interfere with economic laws " ! We are told that a quarter of the inhabitants died and some

* Dated November 3, 1866.

† *Utkala Dīpikā*, January 26, 1867.

‡ *Ibid*, August 9, 1870.

English historians have remarked * : “ Seldom can official complacency and doctrinaire economics have combined to produce such a holocaust.” It lay heavy as a blight over the nation, and exacted an immense sacrifice in men, women and children. From the *Utkala Darpana*, 1867, we learn that Calcutta people liberally contributed to the relief fund created for the purpose ; thus, Raja Kamalkrishna, Rai Bahadur Rajendra Mullick and Hiralal Seal each contributed Rs. 1,000 and Raja Prasannakumar Tagore and Durgacharan Law gave away Rs. 500 each. The Chief of Dhenkanal, Bhagirathi Mahendra Bahadur, was awarded the distinction of Maharaja for his philanthropic measures in this connection.

There was a Royal Commission appointed to enquire into the causes of the famine and the comment of the Secretary of State for India on the Report submitted by the Commission is well worth reproducing here : “ This catastrophe must always remain a monument of our failure, a humiliation to the people of this country, and to those of our Indian officials of whom we had been perhaps a little too proud.” In course of the debate which ensued, Lord Cranbourne bitterly reproached himself for the apathy with which the situation had been viewed and handled : “ But the great evil, and it was a hard thing to say, was that the English officials in India, with many very honourable exceptions, did not regard the lives of the coloured inhabitants with the same feeling of intense sympathy which they would show to those of their own race and colour (Hear, hear). If that were the case, it was not their fault alone. Some blame must be laid upon the society in which they had been brought up and upon the public opinion in which they had been trained, and it became them to remember that from that place, more than from any other in the kingdom, proceeded that influence which formed the public opinion of the age, and more especially that kind of public opinion which governed the actions of officials. And if we would have our officials in distant parts of the empire, and especially in India, regard the lives of their fellow-subjects at home, it was we who must give the tone and set the example (Hear, hear). That must arise from the zeal and jealousy with which we watched their conduct and the fate of our Indian fellow-subjects. And until we showed them our thorough earnestness in this matter, . . . until we were careful to correct all abuses and display our own sense that they are as thoroughly our

* *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India*, by Edward Thompson and G. T. Garrett (1984).

follow-subjects as those in any other part of the empire, we could not divest ourselves of all blame if we should find that officials in India did treat with something of coldness and indifference such frightful calamities as that which had so recently happened in that country (Loud cheers).*

The excuse for quoting the speech of the noble lord at so much length is to show that the famine retarded all sorts of healthy activity in Orissa ; literature must have suffered largely from the general stagnation of life ; and the spread of Western influence could not be so speedy as might otherwise be expected, on account of the terrible sufferings which the Local Government viewed with apathy and thus added fuel to fire.

It is necessary to emphasise here the late working of the Western influence, late in comparison specially with the sister province of Bengal. That province had been the first to receive Western influence and as the seat of the Government of all India, it was but natural that new changes would be brought down first to Calcutta whence they would be transmitted to all parts of India, the different districts receiving such innovations and modifying them according to their respective situations, tastes and capacities. Orissa was comparatively inaccessible ; work there meant being cut off from the outside world ; communication was difficult, educational institutions were few in number, and such as they were, they had no hold on the popular mind. In point of time we thus get to the early days of the pioneers of modern Oriya literature who, towards the middle of the last century, received impressions from Western ways of life and thought and transmitted these impressions to the literature through the creative agency of their mind. The autobiography of Fakirmohan Senapati has a great historical importance from this point of view, as, alone among Oriya biographical literature, it contains descriptions of the transitional stage of the country when such Western influence as we now see at work began to act and to break up the time-honoured constitution of Orissan society and literature.

Though the development due to Western influence was thus admittedly late, yet we should take note of attempts, by publications of various sorts, to make it possible for the literature to receive such

* House of Commons Debate, 2nd August, 1867.—From the *Indian Mirror*, September 1, 1867.

influences. The College of Fort William, established by His Excellency the Marquis of Wellesley for properly equipping the servants of the East India Company, brought out one dictionary, or properly speaking vocabulary, for the use of its students. The title-page ran as follows:—

To

The Rev. W. Carey, D. D.

Professor of the Bengali, Sungskrit,
and Marhatta Languages, in the College of Fort William,

This work

is most respectfully dedicated

by his most Obedient Humble Servant,

Mohunpersaud Takoor.

Calcutta, July, 1, 1811.

A few remarks about the contents of the book deserve to be made here. It received considerable patronage at the time of its publication, the Hon'ble the Governor-General having subscribed one hundred copies for the East India Company. Among other subscribers the names of Hyderam Bandopadhyya, Lt. T. Roebuck and H. Sargent may be mentioned. The vocabulary had 32 divisions under different heads:—God, spirits, universe, the sex and age of man, kindered and affinity, parts of the body, accidents of the body and soul, natural senses and their objects, of diseases, of remedies in general, materia medica, quadrupeds, birds, fishes, insects, useful trees and plants, metals and stone, apparel, food, house and furnitures (sic), husbandry, trade and commerce, trades and professions, court of justice, school, kingdom, virtues and vices, adjectives of men, arts and sciences, ecclesiastical matters, verbs and adverbs. The words were arranged in three columns as follows: the word in Oriya script was first put in, it was followed by its romanized form for the purpose of pronounciation, and then came the English synonym.

Earlier, perhaps, in the century John Leyden attempted a Grammar of Oriya and Bengali with a comparative vocabulary. The first part consisted of the Bengali Grammar, with notes on different items as sandhi, śabdārūp, strīṭva, kriyārūp, samāsa, etc.; the second consisted of the Oriya Grammar written in Oriya characters and on the lines of the first part; the third was a comparative vocabulary

of Sanskrit, Bengali, Prakrit, and Oriya words systematically arranged. Except for the Sanskrit words, the Oriya characters are used for words of Indian origin. One stumbles upon this work in a list of manuscripts where the information is given that this particular manuscript (it seems to have been never published) was acquired in 1824.*

The second attempt was made by Rev. Ames Sutton and Bhubanananda Nyayalankar in 1843, under the name of *Utkala Bhāshārthābhīdhān*. Next year was published another dictionary, *Sādhū-Bhāshārthābhīdhān*. Its title page runs thus: A vocabulary of current Sanskrit terms, with Oriya definitions.

It was thus an anonymous publication. The next dictionary was *Shabdānidhi*, of the Das-Patnaik's series, published in two parts, the first dealing with the letters, both dated 1883. It was compiled by Chaturbhuj Pattanayak, B.A., and published by Bhagaban Chandra Das at his own expense. From the obligations recorded by the editors, it appears that there were no other dictionaries published in the interval between 1844 and 1883. Help was taken from *Vāchaspatyābhīdhān*, *Shabdastoma-Mahānidhi*, *Shabdakalpadruma*, *Amarakosha*, *Shabdakalpalatikā*, *Shabdāsāra*, *Pocket Dictionary*, *Prakritivāda*, *Shabdārtha-Prakāshikā*, *Gītābhīdhāna*, and the two Oriya Dictionaries just mentioned. This new publication was also cheap in comparison, having been priced at about Rs. 2, while Sutton's cost Rs. 6 and Muller's Rs. 15. Apart from the compilation of dictionaries, there were other books showing the new influence at work. The Calcutta School Book Society brought out a number of texts for children: *Nītikathā* or Fables appeared in three parts—the first contained stories; the second, 14 heads like *Lobhara Kathā*, *Dhanākānkhi Bālakara Kathā*; the third, 45 fables like a frog and a bull, a wolf and a fox, a lion and a mouse, with 'morals' or *tātparyas*. These ran through several editions, the fourth edition of Part III is dated 1866. This seems to have been more popular, as the fifth edition of Part I is dated 1891, and the fourth edition of Part II is dated 1877. The *Nītibodh*, a selection from Chambers's Moral Class Book, translated by W. C. Lacey from the Bengali of Sri Raj Krishna Banerjee for the use of Government

* See *Catalogue of the Bengali and Assamese manuscript in the Library of the India Office* By the Late James Fulla Blumhardt, M.A., Oxford University Press, 1924. Compiled for the use of the Government Schools in Orissa, Cuttack: Printed at the Oriya Mission Press, 1844.

Schools, was published in 1884 by the Calcutta School Book Society. As a matter of fact, a list of the Oriya publication of the School Book Society attached to the book *Nitibodh* contained the names of 22 books of all sorts, arithmetic, essentials of geography, sketches of history, elements of science, etc., etc. Most of the attempts to write text books in later times continued to be crude; *Oriya Geography* or *Bhugol Vidyā, Vishay, Pruthivi o tūhār desha o nivāsi-mānanka samkhepa-vruttānta*, compiled by Rev. J. Phillips, which ran through a second edition in 1855 at the Orissa Mission Press deserves a passing notice.

Considering the times in which it was written, *Darshana Chandra* printed in 1868 by Gowri Ch. Mahanti was more than ordinarily ambitious in design. It was written in Oriya verse and contained an abstract of the different systems of Sanskrit Philosophy. One simply wonders what demand this book tried to meet. Anyway, it presupposes the existence of a high level of general culture in the country, available in the vernacular.

There was a grammar of the Oriya language composed and published in 1867, as we find from an advertisement in the *Indian Daily News*: "Handbook of the Oriyah Language, by T. J. Maltby, M.C.S., for the use of District officers and others. Cloth-bound, 215 pp.; to be used as a text-book, and priced at Rs. 4 cash."

IS THERE A "GENERAL WILL" ?

CHUNILAL MITRA, M.A.

[Introduction in Democracy—criticism, general and Ibsen; Kant's will—criticism, general and Bradley; Bradley's general will; Laski; Sidgwick; Hobbes and Locke; Rousseau; Bosanquet's will—objection by Hobhouse; Hobhouse's own; Hegel and Schopenhauer; Marx; Feuerbach; Nietzsche; supreme will in the Gita.

Retrospect: Inference; own view; will in the Gita; old controversy between monarchy and democracy; conflict of wills; will of surviving value.—General upshot.]

EVER since the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln's doctrine of "Government of the people for the people and by the people," democracy has undergone severe criticism by both the contending parties. The opponents of democracy would say that it is "the Government of the poorest, the most ignorant, the most incapable, who are necessarily the most numerous." (Tacky.) For it rests upon the false theory that every man is equal to every other man so far as capacity to participate in Government is concerned. In a democracy the Government being responsible to all the people is practically responsible to none. And as a matter of fact, "Democracy insures neither better government nor greater liberty." (Maine.) And as it is the rule by the majority, perhaps men like Ibsen would come forward and denounce it as a worst wrong. For the strongest man upon earth, according to him, is he who stands most alone. To use Ibsen's language: "The majority is never right. Never, I say! That is one of the social lies, a free thinking man is bound to rise against. Who makes up the majority in any given country? Is it the wise men or the fools? I think we must agree that the fools are in a terrible overwhelming majority all the wide world over. You may shout me down, but you cannot gainsay me. ("An Enemy of the People.") In a more emphatic voice Ibsen tells us: "The majority has might, but right it has not. I and the few individuals are right. The minority is always right." His text is just this—that the masses, the majority, the confounded compact majority, is poisoning our spiritual life of its source, and making a plague-spot of the ground beneath our feet. Men like Freeman would go to the extreme and in an unerring and unequivocal language would tell us that the ideal form of Government is no Government at all, the existence of Government in any shape is a sign of man's imperfection. But this is going too far,

On the other hand, the exponents of democracy tell us that not to speak of material well-being, it has spiritual aspect also. "It is the progress of all through all under the leading of the best and wisest." (Mazzini.) What we think is that the Willsonian democratic principle is a concretisation of the Lincolnian maxim—"you can fool all the people for some time or some of the people for all time, but you cannot fool all the people for all time." However, it is not the place nor the time to criticise democracy, nor to say dogmatically which will survive. For, no Government has any survival value, but transitional. Every age is an age of transition, or to use Radhakrishnan's phrase, it is at once a continuity and a crisis. Our object is to point out that the controversy on democracy depends on an ulterior and more genuine a controversy. It is no longer a question of democracy or no-democracy but general will or no-general will. Is there any general will at all? If so, can it be represented by any organization—ethical, political or social? So, we land on a more general question on the will general.

Kant tells us that the moral will is general. It is the Good Will. "Act so that the maxim of thy will can always at the same time hold good as a principle of universal legislation." "The autonomy of the will is the sole principle of all moral laws, and of all duties which conform to them; on the other hand, heteronomy of the elective will not only cannot be the basis of any obligation, but is, on the contrary, opposed to the principle thereof, and to the morality of the will." His good will is the free-will, the universal will, the Autonomous will or the Formal will. This will is autonomous; Abbot in Kant's "Metaphysics of Morals" tells us that "Autonomy of the will is the supreme principle of morality; its heteronomy is the source of all spurious principle of morality; and the concept of freedom is the key that explains this autonomy." In other words, "It is autonomous because it is free, free because it is universal, universal because it is not particular, not particular because it is formal and formal excludes all contents." It is by being not this or that that it succeeds in having nothing which is not common to any this or that, i.e., in being not this or that in particular it is this or that in general. This is Kant's general will. And ever since it has got currency, it has undergone severe criticism. Some would say that Kant's formulation of the will involves contingency, formalism and asceticism. The *sumum bonum* it speaks of is self-sacrifice instead of self-realisation. Jacobi would say that it is

the will that wills *nothing*. But no criticism is so harsh and severe as that of Bradley. To speak of a few charges: Kant's good will, says Bradley, in itself is an empty consort. It tells us *that* will is good but not *what* will is good. For the unrelative particular it substitutes the abstract universal. It offers self-realisation as the moral end, but the self which is to be realised is conceived as the negation of reality. "We are thus asked to realise what can never be real." It demands the realisation of a contradiction—a realisation of a bare form without a content. The mere universal is no action. The bare formal, universal will must be concretised into a particular act. But then, to particularise the universal, the universal Will ceases to be universal. And the Kantian Ethics demands of us to realise such a universal, formal, pure will. "But," says Bradley, "doing 'good' in the abstract, and rectifying 'wrong' in the abstract is doing no good nor is it rectifying any wrong but indulging in pure hypocrisy." Again he says that Kant's duty for duty's sake involves a fallacy of tautology. Without entering into further discussion we can say that Bradley's criticism is sound to some extent but not to the extreme furthest extent to which it has gone. And Kant is not to be so summarily rejected. In the realisation of Kant's general will the individual will is also realised and happiness is insured. Happiness follows as a hind-wheel—as an inseparable adjunct to the realisation of virtue. Kant's ethical legacy to us is simply this: Do unto others as you expect them to do unto you. It amounts to the injunction of the New Testament: Love thy neighbour as thyself. This speaks for social solidarity. And it is a better criterion than any other theory of morals.

Bradley believes in the general will but in a sense different from Kant. His general will is not the international will and far less the cosmopolitan. It is not the abstract will of Kant but the imperial national will of the state. But side by side he makes provision for the individual will—your will and my will—his will and her will. But his is a no more improved position than Kant's. On the other hand, his admission of the double will has made his position doubly bad. It is worse than Kant's. It is satisfactory enough, and we understand him well when he says that "Duty is not duty unless, in every case, it is consciously done for the sake of duty," or that, "In Duty there must be my affirmation of myself"—my individual Will. "I cannot make an ultimate end of anything but myself, cannot make myself a means to something else." This much is sound enough. But

how does he reconcile this position of his with the passages elsewhere—the doctrines propounded in other places? For instance, Bradley tells us that in the realisation of the will of the state the individual will is also realised. And he makes this general will supreme to which individual will is to be subordinated. As a matter of fact, he has drawn a few concentric circles, so to speak—beginning from the individual, family, community and greater community to the state—and he conceives that realisation of the will of the greatest circle means and involves the realisation of that of the smallest circle within it. But we differ from him in maintaining that the individual, smaller and minor circles being distinct in size may be (and are) distinct in richness also which might not find fruition in the fruition of greater and greater circles. Indeed, if this surrender to the greater organisation means also self-realisation and realisation of my will and your will, we refuse ourselves to be realised in such a fashion. We can very well say that if the realisation of the Kantian will is a realisation of a contradiction, realisation of the Bradlean will is a realisation of a falsity. And if one is bad, the other worse.

In answering Bradley we should quote the authority of Laski. Prof. Laski in his "Grammar of Politics" observes: "The will of the state is a particular aspect of the whole. It is an urgent aspect, in the same sense that the skeleton is a vital aspect of the body. But it is not one with the will of the society (and far less of the individual) any more than the life of the body is in its supporting skeleton." The will of the state is only my will in so far as I freely lend my judgment to its enforcement. I make my own obligations from scrutiny of its demands, or they are not in any real sense obligations at all. I am a part of the state, but I am not one with it. "If an individual is a member of the herd, he is also outside it." He is more explicit when he says that surrender to a will in which my *own* discovers no apparent identity is the frustration of personality and not its fulfilment. The will of the state, says Laski, is the will which is adopted out of the conflict of a myriad wills which contend with each other for the mastery of social forces. And the will of the state is subject to the scrutiny of all who come within the ambit of its decisions.

As regards Sidgwick, he is nowhere explicit whether he is an exponent, a believer of general will or the individual. As a matter of fact, his whole ethics is a blending of Butler and Clarke, Mill and Kant. And so far he makes utilitarianism the key of his morals, it

seems to us that he is more leaning towards individual will than to the General.

A better and more concise treatment of the subject is made both by Hobbes and Locke. But they differ widely. Hobbes insists that sovereignty must be in a will and this will must be real and must be taken as representing or standing for the will of the community. He places the unity of a political society in a will, and, in his sense a real and an actual will, but not in a general will. Locke feels that actual Government is a trust and that the ultimate supreme power remains in the community as a whole. But then the will of the people is not expressed by Locke as a real or actual will. "For Hobbes then political unity lies in a will which is actual but not general, while for Locke it lies in a will which is general, but not actual." If the two are pressed to extremes, the former annihilates "self" and the latter annihilates "Government."

Sovereignty for Rousseau consists in the exercise of the general will and it is in this characteristic of political society that he finds the justification for the use of force upon individuals. His moral is the natural otherwise moral person is a fiction. Rousseau's will is at once actual and general; on the one hand it is an absolute and determinate adjustment and recognition of rights; on the other hand, it embodies in its recognition all individual claims which represent true individuality. Here Rousseau differs both from Locke and Hobbes. He has made sufficient provisions for both the individual and the social will. His "general will is the will of whole society *as such*, or the wills of the individuals *in so far as they aim at the common good*." It is expressed in law in so far as law is what it *ought to be*. According to him, in obeying the law we are obeying ourselves and are actually attaining our freedom. In this sense he holds that the general will is right and is indestructible. The relation of the general will to the community is plainly apprehended by Rousseau much in the spirit of the doctrine that man always aims at something which he takes to be good, and so the general will is as much implied in the life of a society as in the individual. The two are not only analogous but to a greater extent identical.

Bosanquet assumes that the real will is in fact identical with the general will. And by real will he means what one wills from moment to moment. This real or actual will is always incomplete and contradictory and inharmonious. He holds that our real will may be

something which we never really will because we do not know it and could not recognise it if it were set before us. According to him the self is free when it is master of its passions, or, in his words, "when the real will is the master of the false will."

Hobhouse objects to the assumption of Bosanquet and his whole treatise "Metaphysical Theory of the State" is primarily and fundamentally an answer to Bosanquet's position. In the opinion of Hobhouse there is no part in us which is more real than any other part. He emphasises the practical danger of the application of force on the individual by the general will of the society which Bosanquet dismisses as of secondary importance. The former holds that the will of the society may be radically opposed to my own will. If freedom depended upon the identity of will, there would not be much of it in a complex world. He is essentially of opinion that political freedom does not consist in likemindedness, but in the toleration of differences—in acceptance of differences as contributing to richer life than uniformity. We are free not because the social will is our own but because we have as much scope for expression as any one man can have. "More than this is the beginning of tyranny, less is the beginning of slavery." For the Hegelians the will of the state is the Real will. But Hobhouse goes against the Hegelians and consequently against Bosanquet. According to Hobhouse, Hegel approaches the subject by somewhat unfortunate an analogy. The will is free, for Hegel, in the same sense as matter is heavy. He speaks of self-determination in terms of subjection. And "this is the fallacy," says Hobhouse, "that runs through all Hegel's theory of law and the State." Thus Hobhouse criticises the position of Hegel. But in justice to Hegel's conception we should say that it cannot be so summarily cancelled as Hobhouse has done. Hegel believes in the general will so far that he believes in the Objective Spirit which comprehends his Ethics, his philosophy of Right, of the State and of History. History is the realisation of this general will, the Objective spirit first and the Absolute spirit next. It is a progressive realization of the Absolute, and Philosophy is an interpretation of history.

Marx believes in the social will or a class-consciousness. It is neither general in the wider extent nor individual; nor is it in any way Absolute or divine. He differs from Hegel on the one hand, and Kant on the other. He rules out any ethics based on divine revelation. And for him Absolute ethical idealism is utopian and more dangerous

than any philosophy of social atomism. "Social ties exist," says Marx, "before ethical commands." Kant's categorical imperative he would declare as vapid whim if not actually dangerous. "A state," says Marx, "that made the attempt to live up to the commandments (of Christ) would go to pieces." Unity of social consciousness according to Marx is an historical and sociological fact, not a metaphysical assumption. Before there is a man there are men. Man first sees and recognises himself in other *men*. Consciousness is social before it is individual. Differing from Hegel, Marx would say that Reason *writes* history but Passion *makes* it. History can be explained rationally but it is not made by reason. If for Hegel history is a progressive realisation of freedom and of the Absolute, for Marx it is a progressive development towards the socialisation of the means of life. Without such realisation freedom is a fetish. History is not the autobiography of God. It is not the product of impersonal forces, nor does it make itself. It is rather man who makes history. The free development of all the social will, is the condition for the free development of each, of individual will. He makes the general will subordinate, and absolute will a naught.

Feuerbach is an anticipation of Marx in his denial of the supreme, Absolute will and his singular emphasis on the singular, individual will—the will of man. In his hand, it seems, even the social will of Marx is cancelled. His is the philosophy of anthropomorphism—man being the measure of all things. He observes: "We might try to imagine what things are like from a point of view which is not human. But this is illusory." "No matter what the metaphor, allegory or imagery under which I try to conceive things, *I cannot escape myself*." His position will be significant in the following passage of his own: "The question is no longer of the existence or non-existence of God, but of the existence or non-existence of man; not whether and how we can partake of the body of the Lord by eating bread, but whether we have enough bread for our own bodies; not whether we render unto God what is God's and unto Cæsar what is Cæsar's, but whether we render unto man what is man's; not whether we are Christians or Heathens, thist theists or atheists, but whether we are or become men, healthy in soul and body, free, active and full of vitality.'

We propose to class Nietzsche under the category of Feuerbach or Marx. He is an upholder, a believer and a propounder neither of the

social will nor of the will of the state, nor of the Absolute will, but of the individual creative will. His ethics is neither scriptural nor traditional nor rational in the sense of merely critical, but *creative*. He would say perhaps with Mirabeau that "moral genius must always swallow his formulas and start afresh." His most striking contributions to ethical theory are to be found in his doctrines of the "Transvaluation of Values" and "Beyond Good and Evil". He describes the Christian morality as a morality of slaves and seeks to substitute for it a "morality of lords" by a limited number of supermen who become *super* by their creative will. This higher morality is further characterised by Nietzsche as "beyond Good and Evil" in the sense that it is above law. We have in the writings of Mr. Bernard Shaw a reproduction and a representation of Nietzsche so far as the doctrines of "Superman" and "transvaluation of values" are concerned. Critics are of opinion that in any country of shame and hypocrisy and conventional morality Nietzsche's view is undoubtedly a valuable tonic. But not to speak of the myriad merits and demerits of it, we should simply say that it is an extremely one-sided view.

A retrospect to the whole thing: some believe in the individual will, some in the will general, of society or of the state, in some form or other. But our attachment is with none. We do believe neither in the individual nor in the general will. We do not think that an individual will is realised in detachment and separation from the rest; nor can it be realised in the realisation of any organisation smaller or larger. No group can represent my will or stand as proxy for my will. But, I think, representation (though not realisation) of some sort of my will might be done by a group where I can trace my own blood-relation. But even then my will might extend over theirs. And though I do not believe in a general will, I believe in a supreme, a higher will of an individual where my will finds fruition, and without being frustrated and stultified it becomes fulfilled. This higher, supreme and individual will must have in it universal aspect, which is not merely a collocation and conglomeration of the individual aspect, but more. In this sense at least individuals may seek and find their satisfaction in another single individual will, but not in a general will. This is possible only in a spiritual sense. To clear my position, I take the help of an analogy from mathematics. The common factor of 3 and 5 can be had either by H.C.F. or by L.C.M. In the former case the result is 1, which is an abstraction of 3 and 5 and where

both 3 and 5 are absent. In the latter case we have 15, where both 3 and 5 are found. The former case I call the case of the general will, which being general and common is no one's ; whereas the latter I call the individual (but universal), which represents all individuals. I posit its possibility on a spiritual ground, the description of which I find in the Bhagabadgītā which, I think, prescribes the prolegomena to all future ethics. The injunctions of Lord Krishna to Arjuna like "मामेकं शरणं ब्रज", "तत् मदर्थं", "मय्येव मन भावतुस्व मयि बुद्धि निवेशय", etc., speak of a rising up and merging of the individual will into a higher will. If it is called a surrender, a submission or a sublimation, it is a submission not by enforcement, nor by enactment, but by love and reverence—not so much by compulsion as by compunction. But then, I might be asked, and quite pertinently, does this admission of a supreme will admit also the Divine Rights of the Stuart Kings or the will of the modern Dictators who profess to represent the will of the masses ? Decidedly not. For, the divine-right claim implies passive obedience on the part of the subjects. And I, with the historians, agree that this extravagant notion of royal prerogative was largely responsible for the constant friction between King and Parliament under the Stuarts. But our position is simply this—that the single will might represent the general will when all sorts of restraints are withdrawn and no freedom, and when in the pensive, isolated, and ' cool ' moment, to use Sidgwick's phrase, the individuals should find an urge to submit to that individual will. Arjuna was given the chance, the freedom, the possible sources of scrutiny. To submit or not to submit was quite optional to him and no obligation. And he found the satisfaction of his will in sublimation to that will. Thus I end by positing the possibility of such an individual (universal, higher and supreme) will where other wills of the individuals may find a refuge in peace and glory. If it be still a case of possibility merely, I submit that in the general will of any description (will of a group or an organisation) it is still less possible.

In the last I resume the first question with which I started. The tug-of-war between monarchy and democracy is a tug-of-war between the survival of the individual will or the general. And whether one is better than the other depends on a further question whether the nature of the surviving will is better or worse. So, the Aristotelean dictum, I think, is still significant and would remain significant for all times to come: " It is not the form of government but the man

who governs that is of primary importance." What I am firmly of opinion is that, the good will is more enshrined in the one than in the many—more in the individual than in the general. But, sadly or happily, history has hardly recorded an instance where that individual good will has been allowed to survive. Becket's good will survived after his death, while others did not survive at all. Our Socrates died at the cup of hemlock and our Luther was excommunicated, before their will saw the light of the day. Columbus died in exile, abused, slandered and betrayed ; and Galileo dragged out his last days sightless in a prison cell. Descartes had to die abroad, and our Spinoza fell a victim to cruel persecution. Victor Hugo lived 20 years (if not more) in exile ; and Demosthenes, the greatest orator of all times, was assassinated. The cause of Jesus triumphed after his crucifixion. Such is the lot of the greatest members of our species. We are not certain whether their individual will was all along good in every one ; but we are sure and more sure that their will fell outside the will of the society to which they belonged. Conversely, the surviving will of the society fell beside theirs. So, I am led to think that the history of conflict (individual, social, national or international) is a history of the collision of wills. So, the question is not so much important whether there is a general will or not, but whether there is a good will or not, whether it is embodied in the individual or in the general will, and lastly, what will is going to survive in the long run and in the ravages of the ages.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Lucknow University

The Bengali students of the Lucknow University have formed a Bengali Literary Association with Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee as President, and Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee as Treasurer. Bengali ex-students of the University are entitled to become its members.

A National Militia for Karachi

A scheme for the formation of national militia, on lines suggested by Dr. B. S. Moonjee during his visit to Karachi as a member of the Army Indianisation Committee, has been prepared by non-officials including Mr. Jamshed Mehta, Mr. Hatim Alavi, ex-Mayor of Karachi, and Rao Bahadur Shivrattan Mohatto.

Primary Teachers of Bengal

The 4th Annual Session of the All-Bengal Primary Teachers' Conference will be held at Dacca under the presidency of Khan Bahadur Alfazuddin Ahmed, late Assistant Director of Public Instruction, Bengal. A strong Reception Committee has been formed. The fees for the Reception Committee Member and Delegate have been fixed at Re. 1 and As. 8 respectively. All communications are to be made to the following address :—

Md. Abdul Hakim Bikrampur, M.L.A., Secretary, Reception Committee, P.O. Munshiganj, Dacca, or Sj. Radhika Prosad Banerjee, Secretary, All-Bengal Primary Teachers Association, 61 Ballygunj Place, Calcutta.

National Planning Committee

It is understood that Mr. Anathnath Bose of the Calcutta University has been appointed a member of the Education Sub-Committee of Indian National Planning Committee.

Osmania University

Dr. Radhakumud Mukherjee has been invited by the Osmania University of the Nizam's Government to deliver a course of Extension Lectures there.

Primary Education at Darbhanga

Free and compulsory primary education for boys between 6 and 10 years of age is being enforced by the Darbhanga Municipality within its jurisdiction.

The scheme has been formally inaugurated.

Nagpur University

"Laxminarayan Day," held under the auspices of the Nagpur University, was celebrated at Nagpur recently. A procession of teachers and students of the Law, Robertson and Hitkarini colleges, assembled at the fountain in the city and marched to the Municipal Hall where a large gathering was present. Mr. M. K. Golvalker presided.

The late Rao Bahadur, D. Laxminarayan had donated Rs. 38,00,000 to the Nagpur University for technical and industrial development in the province. The sum has now amounted to Rs. 55,00,000.

Training in Flying

The Director of Civil Aviation in India has addressed a communication to the presidents of all subsidized Flying Clubs in the country, stressing that the clubs have a clear part to play in the present war.

They have been asked to go forward in imparting training in flying to the utmost of their capacity and the highest standard possible, and by providing the means, by which British subjects, Indian and European, who wish to offer their services to the Air Force, can prepare themselves for the time when their services can be absorbed.

Muslim University

A special delegation from the Aligarh Muslim University, consisting of Sir Shah Muhammad Sulaiman, Vice-Chancellor, Professor A. B. A. Haleem, Pro Vice-Chancellor, the Treasurer and the Registrar of the University, conferred on His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal, the degree of Doctor of Law, at a special function in the presence of leading officials and non-officials of the State.

In the course of the conferment, Sir Shah Muhammad referred to the close and personal interest which the Ruling House of Bhopal had taken in the University, particularly to the association of Her late Highness the Begum of Bhopal as the First Chancellor of the University and of His Highness as the second Chancellor.

Sir Shah Muhammad further referred to His Highness's connection with the institution as a student and to the institution's share in the munificent donations which His Highness had given to many educational institutions.

Replying, His Highness thanked the Vice-Chancellor, the Pro-Vice-Chancellor, the Treasurer and the Registrar for the honour which had been conferred on him. Referring to the impression prevailing in some quarters that he has ceased to take an interest in the 'Varsity's affairs, His Highness assured them that his interest in his *Alma Mater* was as deep as ever and that he would regard it as a privilege to do any service that he could for the institution.

Dacca University Representatives

The University of Dacca will be represented by the following delegates at the Madras Session of the All-India Science Congress: Dr. S. P. Roy chowdhury, Dr. S. Guha Sarker, Dr. S. R. Khastagir, Dr. N. M. Bose and Mr. H. G. Bhattacharjee.

Dr. K. R. Quanungo and Dr. D. C. Ganguly will represent the Dacca University at the next session of the All-India Historical Congress at Calcutta and Dr. Quanungo will represent the University at the Historical Records Committee.

It is further learnt that Mr. Ajitkumar Sen will represent the Dacca University at the next session of the All-India Political Science Conference at Lahore.

Philosophical Congress

It is learnt that the Indian Philosophical Congress will be held in Hyderabad (Deccan) on 19th and 20th December next.

Oriental Conference

The All-India Oriental Conference meets at Hyderabad in the third week of December next.

Political Science Conference

The Second Indian Political Science Conference will be held at Lahore on the 2nd, 3rd and 4th January, 1940.

Miscellany

COLLECTIVE AGREEMENT

According to British statute, collective agreements are not enforceable (except when made with a single employer), they are merely gentlemen's agreements, but as such they are as a rule strictly applied. During the depression in the cotton industry, however, the pressure from outside was so great that members of the organisations concerned began to break away. The employers and workers were unanimous in desiring the wage rates specified in the collective agreements to be binding for the whole industry. As a result, the Cotton Manufacturing (Wages Agreement) Act was passed in 1934, and makes provision, subject to numerous conditions, for the generalisation in the cotton weaving industry of wage rates fixed by collective agreement. The original collective agreement, which is legally not enforceable, is thus nevertheless extended and made binding on all, whether organized or not. The Act was applied with success, and its period of validity has twice been prolonged, on the last occasion until 31st December, 1939. The experience of this Act led to further similar attempts. Mention may be made of the Road Haulage Wage Act of 1938, although what was extended under that Act was not a collective agreement in the strict sense; the procedure for the standardisation of working conditions is more in the nature of that adopted by trade boards.

In contrast with the procedure in Great Britain the development of the extension of collective agreements in France began with industry as a whole. There was a change of Government in France in May, 1936, and one of the leading points on the programme of the new Government was the encouragement of collective agreements, which were then scarcely utilised at all except in a few branches, such as mining, printing, the baking industry, and maritime navigation. In the "Matignon Agreements," of 7th and 8th June, the employers signified their readiness to conclude collective agreements immediately. This led to the Act of 24th June, 1936, which permitted the extension of collective agreements in any occupation or industry other than agriculture. Certain technical details were improved by Legislative Decrees of 2nd May and 12th November, 1938 (Part III, Section 19), and the legislation is constantly applied; on the whole, it works to the satisfaction of the employers as well as of the workers and has become rooted in the customs of the country. Out of a total of 5,378 collective agreements concluded between June, 1936 and 31st March, 1939, 337 have been extended; 1,352 applications for extension were made. Of 104 applications for extension of arbitration awards, 19 were granted up to 31st March, 1939.

The French initiative brought to a head plans that had been under discussion for some considerable time in the Canton of Geneva. On 24th October, 1936, the Canton passed an Act authorising the Government to extend a collective agreement to a whole occupation or industry. The intention here was not primarily to prevent competition between workers or at their expense, but the result was to promote the general adoption of holidays with pay, the payment of wages during military service, and sickness insurance, until the Act was declared void by the Swiss Federal Court on 4th March, 1938, for purely constitutional reasons.

Yugoslavia also made provision for the extension of collective agreements by an Order of 12th February, 1937. On 11th October, 1938, Ecuador adopted a comprehensive Labour Code in which provision is made for collective agreements and their extension. Luxemburg followed on 29th December, 1938.

In Switzerland a proposal is on foot to revise the "economic clauses" of the Federal Constitution; the Federal Council recommends the adoption of a provision which would permit collective agreements to be declared generally binding. A measure of the same kind limited to home workers is also recommended. Similar general legislation is under consideration in the Canton of Neuchâtel. Venezuela enacted legislation relating to collective agreements in the Labour Act of 1936, and provision for their extension is made in the new codification proposed in 1938. Quite recently the Belgian Government prepared a comprehensive Bill intended, among other things, to give statutory recognition to collective agreements and made provision for their being declared generally binding.

In Soviet Russia collective agreements have fallen into almost complete desuetude in recent years, and the relevant legislation (Section 16 of the Labour Code of 1922, consolidated in 1936) providing for collective agreements to be extended by law, therefore, need not be discussed. In Italy, collective agreements are by force of law (Act of 3rd April, 1936 and Labour Charter of 21st April, 1927) binding on all employers and workers of the category concerned. It is questionable, however, to what extent the Italian collective agreements can be regarded as agreements. They have become more and more legal regulations and are in the strict sense collective rules and regulations rather than agreements, and their main purpose is to carry out a Government wage policy.

Portugal introduced collective agreements as part of the National Labour Code of 23rd September, 1933; Section 33 makes the agreement generally binding once it has been approved by the highest corporative authorities and the Government. Bulgaria also makes collective agreements generally binding by law in accordance with the Legislative Decree of 22nd September, 1936 (Section 7). In both countries the system of collective agreements is still in its infancy, and agreements resemble a kind of minimum wage regulation under Government influence.—L. Hamburger in the *International Labour Review* (August, 1939).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE TRUST AS A FORM OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION

Last year four of the plants belonging to the *Interessen-Gemeinschaft Farbenindustrie* (The German Dye Trust) celebrated their 75th anniversary, namely (1) Farhwerke vorm. Meister Lucius and Bruening, at Hoechst, (2) Farbenfabriken vorm. Friedr. Bayer & Co., at Leverkusen, (3) Kalle & Co., at Wiesbaden-Beibrich and (4) the Chemische Fabrik Griesheim-Elektron at Frankfurt. These four factories which were founded in 1863 are all parts of the original firms which went to form the biggest chemical concern of the day. The four companies were originally founded as a result of the revolutionary discoveries made in connection with aniline dyes. From the very beginning, based as they were on the most exact scientific research and the latest technical knowledge, they soon developed far beyond their initial scope. New fields were opened up such as the

manufacture of organic and inorganic intermediate products, therapeutic remedies, photographic articles, etc. The old plants were soon unable to meet the growing demands, so new ones were erected and their products came to be marketed all over the world. Branch factories were erected in European centres and overseas.

Jealous competition between the various German firms was instrumental in causing Professor Carl Duisberg, the founder of the big works at Leverkusen, to effect in 1904 a pooling of interests in the form of a trust (*Interessen-Gemeinschaft*, "I.G.,") embodying all German dye factories, the ultimate aim of which was the incorporation of all into one big concern which would do away with all internal competition, friction and selfish greed for profits and make common effort at coping with common problems the guiding spirit. Three firms immediately joined the Trust, namely, (3) *Farbenfabriken vorm. Friedr. Bayer* in Elberfeld, (2) *Badische Anilin-und Sodafabrik*, originally founded in Ludwigshafen in 1865, and (3) the *AG fuer Anilinfabrikation (AGFA)* formed in Berlin in 1873. The multitude of new activities and demands which the World War created for the German chemical industry, led to an extension in 1916 of the smaller IG of 1904 comprising the above-mentioned firms, to include the *Chemische Fabriken vorm. Weilerter Meer* in Erdingen on the Rhine (founded 1877) and the *Leopold Cassella & Co.* in Frankfurt which had been established as far back as 1815 as a firm importing cochineal, indigo and other natural dyes and since 1870 with a factory of its own at Mainkur. Carl Duisberg proceeded to effect an even closer consolidation, with the result that in 1925 through the fusion at first of 6 firms of the "I.G." and later on of others, the *I.G.-Farbenindustrie* emerged with a capital of 646 million RM (at present 720 million) with its main office at Frankfurt. The names of the individual firms were retained and registered as branch factories.

Since the reconstruction of political, social, and economic life in Germany, this powerful concern, whose interests extend beyond the boundaries of Germany through contracts and agreements concluded with other big chemical companies abroad, has been commissioned to introduce the most essential measures for the production of synthetic raw materials. Among the newer articles now taken up, or to be more exact, more intensively produced, are nitrogen, synthetic petrol, crude oil, lubricating oils, synthetic rubber, fibre wool, staple fibres, rayon, synthetic materials, light metals and tanning substances.

The founder of Leverkusen, Carl Duisberg, in erecting these works, paid full measure of tribute to the idea of "beauty in work" at a time when industrial plants were wont to be dull and dreary places without the least attempt at being attractive. He housed his people in garden colonies, fully realizing how essential for the success of such an enterprise is an inseparable association with its staff. It is eloquent of Duisberg's attitude to the Leverkusen shop, and to the people working in it, that he himself lived immediately opposite the factory as the first foreman, as it were, of the whole concern. He did not go and live in the nearby city but chose to be on the spot where he could be a part of the works and of that working community.

In 1925, when the "I.G." was founded, participation in the profits in the form of annual bonus according to the number of years of service was introduced, and in 1937, 98,429 recipients were paid out over 13.6 million RM. Aside from 21.8 million RM, subscriptions for social insurance payable under the Law, an additional 16.5 million RM were spent

on the financing of houses, subsistence farms, recreation rooms, canteens, social welfare and cultural pursuits and sport. To this must be added a further 41.2 million RM paid in pensions for ex-employees. The total funds thus spent in 1937 by the "I.G." in behalf of its employees amounted to 79.5 million RM. The community spirit forms the basis for every executive measure and arrangement in the realms of social welfare, whether this be concerned with medical inspection by factory physicians, the superintendence of health, particularly of apprentices and the younger workers, the activity of engineers to prevent accidents, in professional training or comradeship. Co-operation between the various offices connected with these pursuits forms the common foundation for the many social aspects of the factory community.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

ARTIFICIAL RUBBER IN WORLD-ECONOMY *

The uses of rubber in technical work are limited in extent, and that is why even in countries where there is no difficulty in obtaining the natural product research is bent upon evolving some superior material to take its place. The chief disadvantages of natural rubber are the following. Natural rubber is very sensitive to the action of all kinds of benzine and oil, which causes it to swell, perish and lose its resistance to friction and tearing. Again, it has very little heat-resistance so that its mechanical qualities begin to decrease even at temperatures from 89-90 degrees centigrade, while at temperatures for quite normal requirements, it perishes. Furthermore, natural rubber has a tendency to age, however carefully the mixing and finishing processes may have been carried out. Finally, the firmness of natural rubber will not stand up against friction to a sufficient extent for many forms of application. Obviously, then, in the synthesis of Buna (German artificial rubber) it was not the chemist's intention to produce a material exactly similar to natural rubber with all its advantages and disadvantages. Modern technical science is always making higher demands on new working materials; and it was, therefore, necessary to evolve a form of rubber which would be superior to the cheap natural product, above all, a form which would resist friction and be immune to the effects of benzine and oil. The German synthesis of Buna has shown how the internal structure of natural rubber may be varied so as to give the final product those qualities which are essential for specific purposes of application.

Rubber is a substance composed of molecules of hydrocarbon in which thousands of molecules of isopren are united in long chains. Knowledge of this structure showed the chemist how to obtain the Buna synthesis, in which a simpler relative of isopren, known as butadiene, was chosen instead of isopren for the smallest building-stones. In the butadiene chain, a number of other suitable molecules are inserted, and in this way the chemist is able to vary the characteristics of Buna and deliberately direct the synthesis so as to give it the requisite qualities. For example, one kind of Buna may be particularly resistant to the action of benzine and oil, another to friction and pressure, or to heat and age; while alternatively, all these qualities may be combined to a far higher degree than in the natural product. Buna has qualities of toughness

* B. K. Sarker : "Cotton's Synthetic Rivals" (*Calcutta Review*, August, 1939).

and resistance to an extent which the natural rubber does not possess. That is why it competes favourably with rubber and is so well adapted to many new and different fields of application. Buna thus fills a gap in the series of elastic materials. The four varieties of Buna which have already appeared on the market, all possess certain characteristics which make them particularly suitable in special fields of application. Their names are Buna 85, Buna 115, Buna S (tyre rubber) and Perbunan (or Buna N).

International business opinion has increasingly voiced its recognition of the advantages of Buna. The Genoese Senator, Engineer Tofani, member of the Corporation for the establishment of economic autarchy in Italy, expressed his opinion at a meeting of the Italian Senate to discuss a decree for the manufacture of synthetic rubber in Italy. He attributed an enormous degree of resistance—and, therefore, a longer period of wear—to the synthetic rubber motor-tyres in comparison with those made of natural rubber. And after referring to aluminium, artificial silk and synthetic dyes, he summed up by saying that “the wonders of chemistry have succeeded in banishing a great number of natural products from the markets.” As a direct result of the decree concerning the production of artificial rubber in Italy, two societies for the study and manufacture respectively of synthetic rubber were established in Milan in August, 1937, under the auspices of the *Società Italiana Pirelli*. Professor Girodano is Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Study Society, while Senator A. Pirelli, the well-known motor-tyre manufacturer, is President of the Society for the Production of Synthetic Rubber.

The fact that the United States of America are attempting to catch up with Germany in the production of synthetic rubber is in itself a form of recognition. Up to now, they have succeeded in producing two different kinds, both of which like Buna are vulcanisable and evince rubber-like characteristics. These are Thiokol-rubber, produced by the Thiokol Corporation, Yardville, N.J., and Neoprene-rubber, manufactured by the E. I. du Pont de Nemours Company. The latter, however, has the disadvantage that it cannot be regenerated. But the production of artificial rubber would never have been organized in the States, if experiments with Buna had not already proved its superior qualities, especially for the chemical and petroleum industries. Since America leads the world in both the motor-tyre and oil industries, considerations of quality must have been the reason for this decision.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that in the Dutch East Indies, one of the greatest rubber-producing countries in the world, a rubber factory in Surabaya has conducted experiments with Buna—in view of its resistance to the action of oil and lack of swelling tendencies. By means of these experiments, which were all successful, it was proved that packing-rings or washers made of natural rubber, when immersed in benzine, are apt to change in diameter while the Buna rings remain unchanged under the same condition.

Not so long ago, at a meeting in London, rubber experts belonging to the Research Association of British Rubber Manufacturers came to the same conclusions. On this occasion, there was some detailed discussion about the synthesis and qualities of synthetic rubber, in the course of which particulars were given concerning the behaviour of synthetic rubber as compared with that of the natural product. Opinion was unanimous that to-day, in consequence of the indisputably superior qualities of synthetic rubber, the natural product would have a hard struggle to maintain its leading place.

This was also admitted by the Governor of the United Malay States on the occasion of the opening of a new rubber research institute at Kuala Lumpur. It is very significant, indeed, that just in those parts of the world which will suffer most from the triumphant progress of Buna, so much anxiety is being manifested. England has now undertaken the manufacture of synthetic rubber on a large scale. After four years of laboratory work, the Imperial Chemical Industries have produced a rubber-like material which is composed of coal, limestone and salt. Since England has a vast amount of capital invested in rubber plantations, this move can only be explained by Buna's high qualities of resistance to the action of acids, bases, petroleum, oil, greases, rays and heat.

At the International Exhibition of Paris, 1937, Buna was one of the nine exhibits of the *I.G. Farben-Industrie* which were awarded the *Grand Prix*, the highest distinction of the Exhibition. Motorists can now obtain in ever-increasing numbers a tyre which is far superior in every way to that made of natural rubber. Thousands of Buna tyres have already traversed millions of miles, on mountain roads and, racing tracks as well as on both good and bad ordinary roads. Furthermore, Buna cannot be surpassed in its silent shock-absorbing qualities for machines and engines of all kinds, for pulleys, hot pipes, oil pipes, rollers, pressure-plates and for the increasing demands of the chemical and oil industries as well as for special types of clothing, footwear, packing and insulating materials. In any case, the foreign demand for special kinds of rubber is a proof that successful synthesis both endows and enriches world-trade and economy.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

FEEBLEMINDEDNESS AND STERILIZATION *

A paper on "Studies on the Historical and Local Development of Eugenic Sterilization in the United States" was presented by Prof. Harry H. Laughlin of Eugenics Research Association, New York, at the International Congress of Population (Berlin) in 1935.

These researches are purely objective and historical, they make no advocacy of specific policy. This present paper brings the legal, legislative and statistical records of eugenical sterilisation in the United States down to January 1, 1935.

The State, that is, one of the forty-eight States of the Federal Union, has the sovereign right, as the highest courts have amply held, to order the sexual sterilization of any potential parent within the State, provided this individual in personal qualities or in family-stock heredity falls below the human-stock standard set by the State for the hereditary endowment—physical, mental or spiritual—of its future citizens.

Sterilization as a modern agency for the prevention of reproduction by definite strains of degenerate human stocks began in the United States with the Indiana Statute of 1907.

In the field of sterilization, since the Indiana statute of 1907, thirty-one of the forty-eight individual States have enacted statutes of some sort, authorizing or requiring the eugenical sterilization of certain individuals who are members of some definite natural class of inadequates defined by law. Of these thirty-one States, twenty-eight now have either their original law

* From a talk at the Bengali Institute of Sociology on October 1, 1939.

or laws substantially revised and improved since the enactment of their first statutes.

The latest first-hand survey of the enforcement of the eugenical sterilization statutes for the several States show that 21,539 operations have been performed under these statutes up to January 1, 1935.

Some of the State Criteria for legal eugenical sterilization are indicated below :—

State.	Type of Patient.
Alabama	" Feeble-minded "
Arizona	" Inmates of Hospital for Insane "
Delaware	" Mentally defectives, insane, feeble-minded or epileptic persons "
Indiana	" Hereditary insane, feeble-minded or epileptic "
Maine	" Feeble-minded "
Michigan	" Mentally defectives, insane "
Minnesota	" Feeble-minded, insane "
Mississippi	" Persons with hereditary form of insanity, feeble-mindedness, idiocy, epilepsy "
Montana	" Feeble-minded, insane, epileptic "
Nebraska	" Insane and feeble-minded "
New Hampshire	" Feeble-mindedness or certain forms of other mental diseases "
North Carolina	" Mentally defective persons "
South Carolina	" Hereditary form of insanity, idiocy, imbecility, feeble-mindedness or epilepsy "
South Dakota	" Feeble-minded "
Vermont	" Prevent procreation of idiots, imbeciles, feeble-minded or insane persons "
Virginia	" Hereditary insanity, idiocy, imbecility, feeble-mindedness or epilepsy "
West Virginia	" Insanity, imbecility, epilepsy, idiocy "
Wisconsin	" Insane, feeble-minded, epileptic and criminal persons "

The eugenical sterilization laws which have been upheld by the courts make no reference whatever to race, religion or punishment. Thus legalized sexual sterilisation, as developed by the several States in the United States, is purely a biological or eugenical institution. It recognizes the principle of heredity as a major factor in the certain types of hereditary degeneracy ; it seeks to protect the quality of the future population of the State by removing certain individuals from the stock of parenthood of the next generation.

The matter of race and religion have not entered into the American statutes, and the penal element has been eliminated. The whole basis now, regardless of sex, race or religion, is the hereditary degeneracy of the particular family-stock.

Attention may be called likewise to the following statement in *Contemporary Social Problems* by Professor H. A. Phelps (New York, 1939, p. 346):—

“Eugenic sterilization is the prevention of procreation as distinguished from therapeutic sterilization, which is employed to improve the physical or mental condition of the person. The majority of state laws are eugenic, one-half are eugenic and therapeutic, while three states—California, Nebraska and Washington—authorise sterilization as a punishment for certain crimes. California has the record for the most extensive application of its sterilisation law.”

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

An Introduction to Indian Philosophy—By S. C. Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D. and D. M. Datta, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the Calcutta University. Price Rs. 3-8. Pp. xviii & 464.

It is by no means an easy task to write an Introduction to Indian Philosophy which has undergone a vast and varied development during the last three millenniums, especially one primarily intended for beginners. I cannot but congratulate and envy the authors for their admirable performance with an unsurpassable lucidity of expression and a wonderful mastery over the subject. The preliminary difficulty in writing such a book lies in deciding once for all what of the various features of a system to retain and what to omit, what are the essential points and what are the non-essential. The authors have, I should say, exercised a sufficient amount of judiciousness in determining the scope of the work as a whole and of its individual chapters. Another great difficulty in accomplishing a task of this kind arises from the necessity of approaching the subject in a dispassionate scientific spirit, feeling at the same time a genuine broad-minded sympathy with the different problems of human life and thought, as discussed in the different systems. Here also the critic will have nothing to complain.

The work is divided into three parts represented by a general introduction, a brief sketch of the systems, and a detailed consideration of the subject, system by system. In the general introduction the authors have briefly discussed the basic features of Indian philosophy and the common characters of the Indian systems. The systems dealt with individually in different chapters comprise the Cārvāka, the Jaina, the Bauddha, the Nyāya, the Vaiśeṣika, the Sāṅkhya, the Yoga, the Pūrva- or Karma-Mimāṃsā, and the Uttara-Mimāṃsā or Vedānta.

In dealing with the individual systems the authors have followed the logical scheme of Mādhavācārya, without his sectarian bias. Upon the whole, they have tried to maintain the Jaina academical spirit in the *Saḍdarśana-samuccaya*, and displayed the critical fairness of Vācaspati Miśra. They have followed the benten track, although with a more intelligent grasp of the nature of the problems and a more enlightened vision of the entire field of Indian philosophical development. An introduction to Indian philosophy from a correct chronological, genetic or historical point of view is still a desideratum. The authors have ably argued in favour of the stronger points of Indian philosophy, and I can say that they have succeeded to some extent in making out a strong case for Indian philosophy, as against the philosophies of the West.

The authors have observed: "Indian Philosophy is marked by a striking breadth of outlook which only testifies to its unflinching devotion to the search for truth. Though there were many different schools and their views differed sometimes very widely, yet each school took care to learn the views of all the others and did not come to any conclusion before considering thoroughly what others had to say and how their points could be met. This spirit led to the formation of a method of philosophical discussion." It is difficult to see eye to eye with them in respect of this happy observation of theirs, for there are very few instances indeed where

the exponent of a system was fair either in the statement or in the interpretation of the position of the opponent. Indian philosophy has had its other defects that are mainly scientific, as Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan would have us understand. In my opinion, along with the strong points of Indian philosophy, its drawbacks should also be pointed out for a right guidance to a dispassionate study of Indian philosophy and a correct estimate of its value. But in the present state of things the authors have, perhaps, acted wisely by following the path of least resistance. I believe that the work, which is decidedly an improvement on anything attempted before in this line, will greatly serve to arouse a real enthusiasm for the study of Indian philosophy in all its depth and amplitude. There is not a better book in the field to give such a fascinating bird's-eye view of it with so much of fairness, simplicity and accuracy.

B. M. BARUA

Changing India—An anthology of writings from Raja Rammohan Ray to Jawaharlal Nehru. Edited by Raja Rao and Iqbal Singh. George Allen & Unwin. July, 1939. 5s. net.

How fast India is changing (that it is changing there is no doubt) is to be seen through the writings of Indians of eminence. And the editors have carefully selected men of eminence from different provinces and of different faiths who would bear witness to the transformation. But do we get "a comprehensive idea of the evolution of Indian thought in social, political and philosophical spheres during the first hundred years" as the editors seek to give? From the thirty-four excerpts presented to us it is difficult to say 'yes.' The prefatory note states the broad outline of the process of Western influence on India, but it is doubtful if the passages selected bear it out.

From Rammohan to Jawaharlal is a far cry, a distance not of one hundred years, but really a hundred and fifty. There have been notables in the interval whom we miss. Surendra Nath Banerjee, for example, or Ram Gopal Ghose, Sarojini Naidu or Ramesh Chandra Dutta—to refer only to Bengal. But all the stalwarts cannot be compressed into the pages of a single book, and much as we regret it, we cannot find fault with the editors on that score.

The biographical notes leave room for emendation. For example, that on Tilak omits to tell us anything about his connection with Fergusson College; Tagore's having obtained a Nobel Prize has not been mentioned at all; Radhakrishnan's link with the University of Calcutta is not mentioned at all, while his connection with Oxford has been stressed.

In spite of such minor blemishes, we offer our congratulations to the editors who have tried (and successfully) to represent India in some of its passing moods, and who offer some passages otherwise not accessible to the reader which have been penned by distinguished Indians.

P. R. SEN

Poet's Nook—By Hrishikesh Mullick. Published by M. N. Das, 41, Shashi Bhushan Dey Street, Calcutta. Price Rupee One.

Mr. Mullick's poems do not strive after any ambitious effects. They are occasional pieces and whether they deal with the Taj or some abstract

subject like Hope or Oblivion, they give evidence of a refreshing attitude of faith and idealism which one does not usually find in poetry written in recent times. Mr. Mullick has a light touch and a memory well stored with his reading in English poetry, particularly of the early nineteenth century.

One has, however, to admit that the elusive spirit of poetry is rarely captured by us if we seek expression in a language not our own. Mr. Mullick has done his best, and it may be hoped that the book will not fail to divert a reader for a few minutes when he is suffering from an attack of boredom or ennui.

S. C. S.

Some Influences that made the British Administrative System in India—By M. Ruthnaswamy. Luzac & Co.

This is a big volume with a long title. But it does not bore the reader because he gets interesting material to pore over, right from the beginning to the end of the volume, dished out to him in the easy style which made the author's "The Making of the State" such an excellent book. Mr. Ruthnaswamy was Sir William Meyer Lecturer during 1936-37 at the University of Madras. The present volume is the outcome of the lectures delivered in that capacity. It deals with the main lines and discusses the factors in the development of British administration in India. The author makes too big a claim when he says, "the field of work represented here was almost untrodden." He himself has used a great deal of printed material and several secondary works. However, our thanks are due to him for giving to the students of the British period of Indian history much useful and interesting information in one place in an eminently readable style. The book, however, has suffered from want of an index, and the addition of a bibliography would have increased its value.

A. P. D. -G.

Baji Rao II and the East India Company—By P. C. Gupta. Oxford University Press. Rs. 7.

The task of rewriting the British period of Indian History is becoming every day easier and at the same time more imperative with the publication of monographs like the present one. This is a work for which the degree of Doctor of Philosophy has been awarded to the author by the University of London and as such has stood successfully the scrutinizing gaze of competent examiners. Such works which have to be based on manuscript records supplemented by printed sources of information, original and secondary, and written under the guidance of those who are masters of the technique of research can scarcely fail to be sources of authentic information.

The author has chosen a complicated period of Maratha history for his researches. The last years of Maratha independence afford a most unpleasant picture of intrigue resulting in frequent changes of party alignments too baffling for any but the specialist in the subject. All these the author has depicted with clarity. Having utilised all available material, he has cleared up many doubtful points.

The author describes the confusion in Maratha affairs which followed the death of Madho Rao Narain and the circumstances under which Baji Rao II became Peshwa. The defeat of the Peshwa at the hands of Holkar at the battle of Poona drove him to accept the terms which were being pressed upon him by Lord Wellesley and to enter into the Treaty of Bassein

with the English. Baji Rao was re-instated as Peshwa by the English and Holkar's candidate Amrit Rao was pensioned off. As against the common assertion that Baji Rao never meant to observe the treaty into which he had entered for the sake of expediency, Dr. Gupta sees "no reason for saying that as yet he was particularly restive under British control," and points out that he possessed no authority that he could exercise in support of the English. But from the beginning of 1814 the Peshwa and the other Maratha Chiefs became restless under British control. The Peshwa began to negotiate with Ranjit Singh, Holkar, the Bhonsla and Sindia in order to build up a confederacy of Indian States against the British. The decisive event which finally led to hostilities was the murder of Gangadhar Sastri, the Gaekwar's envoy, and the complicity of Trimbakji Dangle in the crime.

Dr. Gupta does not think that Trimbakji was the principal instigator of the Sastri murder though he might have had a share in the crime, and believes that the plot originated not at Poona, but at the Gaekwar's Court. Anyway, Trimbakji was imprisoned but made a romantic escape from the Thana fort. Elphinstone was insistent that the Peshwa should yield up his favourite. Not until Poona was besieged by English troops did Baji Rao yield and issue orders for Trimbakji's arrest.

Baji Rao was forced to submit to the treaty of Poona and to declare the dissolution of the Maratha confederacy and to renounce all connexion with other Maratha powers. This was still more galling to the Peshwa who began to mature his plan for hostilities with the English. Then followed the battle of Khardki and the operations against the Bhonsla and Holkar and the final defeat of the Peshwa's army under Bapu Gokhale at Ashti. Baji Rao II surrendered to the English and was offered generous terms by Sir John Malcolm. The office of the Peshwa was abolished and Baji Rao was allowed to reside at Bithur near Cawnpore.

As against the black picture painted of Baji Rao II in the books that people usually read, it is refreshing to learn from this work that Baji Rao was "a handsome person, a good speaker and intensely religious in temperament," and that Mackintosh, comparing him with George III and Napoleon, says: "I have never been presented to three chiefs of nations, and in manner and appearance I must prefer the Mahratta."

Man is the product of environment and circumstances and Baji Rao II was no exception. In an atmosphere of intrigue it is impossible for ambitious people to keep out of dirty politics. Eighteenth century morality was not high either in England or in India, and perfidy and corruption were common in political life. Baji Rao II does not seem to have had an exceptional share of these vices.

A. P. D. -G.

Principles and Problems of Indian Legislation—By Rajani Kanta Das, M.A., M.Sc., Ph.D. Published by the University of Calcutta. 1938. pp. 281.

The work embodies a series of lectures delivered by the author as a Special Reader to the Calcutta University in 1937. Dr. Das opens these lectures with an historical survey of all that had been done in the field of labour legislation in the past so as to enable the reader to enter fully into the spirit of the legislation in recent times on the same subject, of which he gives a detailed account, discussing the principles involved.

Dr. Das's work contains a lucid exposition of all the aspects of labour legislation in India and an interesting summary of the procedure by which

it takes shape, being mainly a crystallization of public opinion and the recommendation of official bodies.

The work gives clear evidence of the author's wide range of acquaintance with official and non-official sources bearing on the subject and an insight into the problems connected with labour legislation in this country. As a manual of the important provisions regulating conditions of labour in India, the book will prove itself a valuable reference work. The section dealing with the social significance of labour legislation seems to be specially suggestive. In an appendix the author discusses the Congress labour programme. At the date these lectures were prepared, the Congress had not been long enough in office to develop any labour policy but ameliorative measures were even then being put through, the leadership in the direction being taken by Bombay which has made the greatest progress in industrialism in India.

The usefulness of the work has been increased by an index.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

The Cattle Wealth of India—By E. V. S. Maniam. Patt & Company, Publishers and Booksellers, Cawnpur. 1938 Pp. 123.

The author rightly emphasises the dependence of the vast majority of India's population on agriculture and the necessity of adopting measures for the economic relief of the peasantry as the surest means of securing the country's welfare. The problem with which he is specially concerned in the present work is, however, cattle breeding and dairy farming which are vitally connected with the improvement of agricultural conditions in India. The cattle in this country which are the most numerous in the world, although poor in quality, represent the principal item of the peasant's capital.

The scheme of village reconstruction and the improvement of the peasant's economic condition which Mr. Maniam offers in the book under review, consists in the adoption of a scientific system of cattle breeding and dairy farming. This, it is suggested, can be done by means of co-operative organisations along lines of those to be found in Denmark between which country and India the author notices important points of similarity. "Denmark," he tells us, "was exactly like India a few years back. The people were suffering from all kinds of privations but by well-planned . . . co-operative efforts she was able to raise herself so quickly." The author shows in detail how Denmark achieved her phenomenal progress to agricultural prosperity and how India can secure the same result by following in her foot-prints in a chapter entitled "India and Denmark." In the last chapter, "Co-operation—the Cure," the author largely builds upon the example of Denmark to show that the way out of poverty for the Indian peasant lies in the organisation of co-operative societies, rural industries and in improving cattle breeding, dairy farming, etc.

The book contains information of great value and the author who speaks on the basis of personal investigation is just sane and practical in the views he expresses. What he says about Denmark's immediate past is highly interesting and the conclusion that he draws that a parallel development will rescue India from the grip of poverty and despair is one to which we have no hesitation in subscribing. We are confident that all practical workers in the field will be benefited by Mr. Maniam's suggestions. His book deserves to be read by all who are interested in the welfare of the peasantry in India.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Ourselfes

[I. The Late Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen.—II. Nomination of Fellows by H.E. the Chancellor.—III. Re-nomination of Fellows.—IV. Donation for Endowment of a Medal.—V. D.P.H. Examination (Part I), September, 1939.—VI. Teachers' Training Certificate (Science) Examination, July, 1939.—VII. Dr. A. Mitra Endowment Fund.—VIII. Bengal Industrial Research Board.—IX. Convention of the Teachers of the Deaf in India.—X. University Grants Aid to Hostel for Women Students.—XI. Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer (in Science) for 1939.—XII. Girishchandra Ghosh Lecturer for 1939.—XIII. Jagattarini Gold Medal for 1939.—XIV. Bhubanmohini Dasi Gold Medal for 1939.]

I. THE LATE DR. DINESH CHANDRA SEN

We deeply regret to announce the death of Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, which occurred at his residence at Behala on the 20th November last. The loss the country has sustained by his death is irreparable.

Dinesh Chandra Sen, son of Iswar Chandra Sen, a literary man of high principles and character and Ruplata Devi, a religious lady who came of a well-to-do family, was born at Bogjuri in Manikganj Subdivision on the 3rd November, 1866.

He lost his parents at the age of eighteen after passing the F.A. Examination of this University, and at that very early age he was compelled to earn a living, the more so as he married at the age of twelve and was the only son of his parents. He found employment as a teacher at the Habiganj High School, from where he passed the B.A. Examination with Honours in English as a private candidate. Soon after he joined the Victoria School, Comilla, as Head Master. It was here that the spirit of research first manifested itself in him and he undertook arduous tours into the interior of the province, collecting materials for a history of Bengali literature. It took seven years of strenuous labour to complete the work, which brought on a nervous break down rendering him invalid for more than three years. The book, which was published under the patronage of the Maharaja of Tipperah, met with an instant recognition and was hailed as an epoch-making contribution to Bengali literature. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee invited him to deliver a series of lectures on Bengali literature as a Reader to the University. This was the origin of his monumental work 'History of Bengali

Language and Literature,' published by the Calcutta University, which has earned him an international reputation. The association thus formed with the University continued and he was made a Member of the Senate. He was again appointed a Reader in 1913 when he delivered a course of lectures on the Vaishnava Literature of Medieval Bengal. From 1913-32 he was connected with the University as Ramtanu Research Fellow and delivered lectures every year on various aspects of Bengali Literature,—Chaitanya and his Age, Chaitanya and his Companions, The Bengali Ramayanas, Folk Literature of Bengal, Bengali Prose Style. It was also in this capacity that he was able to throw a flood of light on Bengal's past by the discovery of the Eastern Bengal Ballads which he compiled, translated and edited with long introductions in eight stately volumes. These ballads, some of which were translated into French by Madame Rolland, sister of Romain Rolland, have been enthusiastically appreciated all over the world by scholars and orientalists. After the organisation of Post-graduate course in the Bengali Language, he was appointed Head of the Bengali Department, a post which he held till his retirement in 1932. Next he wrote 'Brihat Banga', which has been published by the University in two portly volumes,—a work which attempts at offering an interpretation of Bengali culture in all its aspects and has been recognised for its erudition and insight.

Dr. Sen was admitted to the Doctorate in Literature, *honoris causa*, by this University in 1920 and he was a recipient of the Jagattarini Gold Medal in 1932. He was granted a Literary Pension by the Secretary of State for India which he enjoyed for over forty years. The title of Rai Bahadur was also conferred on him by Government in recognition of his contribution to Bengali literature.

Dr. Sen occupied a high and exalted position as writer in Bengali and his original contributions to Bengali Literature were both numerous and voluminous. He had a style of his own which was full of colour, life and warmth. Among his notable publications in Bengali, besides the Bangabhasa O Sahitya, mention may be made of Ramayani Katha, Dinabandhu, Sati, Behula, Phullara, Jarabharat, Dharadrone O Kushadhvaja, Mukta-churi, Rakhaler Rajgi, Raga-Ranga, Nilmanik, Oparer Alo,

Gharer Katha O Yuga Sahitya (autobiographical), Puratani, Baisakhi, Sajherbhog, Asutosh Smritikatha and Grihashri. He also brought out editions of the Ramayana and Mahabharata in Bengali, collating numerous manuscripts, and also prepared for the University two large volumes of typical selections from Old Bengali Manuscripts.

He was an enthusiastic collector of specimens of Bengal Art, and he spent large sums of money on this favourite hobby. Part of this collection was presented by him to the Maharaja of Tipperah and the remaining portion was offered by him to the University shortly before his death.

He has left a complete work entitled 'Banger Puranari', which will shortly appear with a biographical sketch.

Dr. Sen had to pass through great tribulations which he bore with courage and fortitude. He lived a simple and unassuming life, finding joy and happiness in his untiring literary activities. He lost his wife in 1936.

We offer our sincere condolences to the bereaved family.

* * *

II. NOMINATION OF FELLOWS BY H.E. THE CHANCELLOR

His Excellency the Chancellor has been pleased to nominate the undermentioned persons to be Ordinary Fellows of this University:—

Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi in place of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. A. Khondkar (resigned).

Prof. Meghnad Saha, D.Sc., F.R.S., in place of Maharaja Sir Manmathanath Raychaudhuri (deceased).

Miss Sunitibala Gupta, B.A., B.T., M.Ed., in place of Mrs. A. N. Chaudhuri on the expiry of her office as Fellow of the University.

Dr. Henry Thomas, M.A., Ph.D., in place of Mr. A. F. Harvey (resigned).

Mr. Abdul Quasem, M.A., B.L., in place of Mr. R. N. Gilchrist (resigned).

Lt.-Col. A. C. Chatterjee, M.B., D.P.H., I.M.S., in place of Lt.-Col. E. H. Vere Hodge (left India).

Mr. Fazlur Rahman, M.A., B.L., M.L.A., in place of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice L. W. J. Costello (resigned).

III. RE-NOMINATION OF FELLOWS

His Excellency the Chancellor has been pleased to re-nominate the following gentlemen to be Ordinary Fellows of this University :—

Khan Bahadur Tasadduq Ahmad, B.A., B.T., M.ED., whose term of office expired on the 17th July, 1939.

Rai Sir Badridas Goenka, Bahadur, C.I.E., whose term of office expired on the 17th July, 1939.

Major Dabiruddin Ahmad, O.B.E., L.M.S., V.H.S., A.I.R.O., whose term of office expired on the 12th September, 1939.

* * *

IV. DONATION FOR ENDOWMENT OF A MEDAL

Rai Bahadur Sureschandra Basu, retired District Magistrate, Faridabad, Dacca, has placed at the disposal of the University 3½ per cent. G. P. Notes of the face value of Rs. 3,000 so that a gold medal and a prize of books may annually be awarded in memory of his daughter Bhranti Basu out of the interest that will accrue to the fund.

* * *

V. D.P.H. EXAMINATION (Part I), SEPTEMBER, 1939

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 5, of whom 4 passed and 1 failed.

* * *

VI. TEACHERS' TRAINING CERTIFICATE (Science) EXAMINATION, JULY, 1939

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 411, of whom 22 were absent.

The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 389, of whom 372 passed.

The percentage of pass is 95·1.

VII. DR. A. MITRA ENDOWMENT FUND

Our University has agreed to extend its co-operation to the A. Mitra Endowment Fund Committee, which will encourage research by Indians in the School of Tropical Medicine, Calcutta.

* * *

VIII. BENGAL INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH BOARD

The Bengal Industrial Research Board has requested the University to submit schemes for research of industrial value along with details about the laboratory where they may be carried out, the cost they will entail and the measure and importance of the results expected

Two schemes have been forwarded by the University to the Bengal Industrial Research Board, one of which was prepared by Prof. Meghnad Saha and the other by Prof. S. K. Mitra.

The University has proposed that Professors Saha and Mitra may be invited to attend the meeting of the Board where the schemes will be discussed, to enable them to explain their views to the Board.

* * *

IX. CONVENTION OF THE TEACHERS OF THE DEAF IN INDIA

The Third General Conference of the Convention of the Teachers of the Deaf in India will be held in Calcutta during Christmas week. Questions of academic interest relating to the education of the deaf from the point of view of Physical Science and Psychology will be discussed at this Conference.

* * *

X. UNIVERSITY GRANTS AID TO HOSTEL FOR WOMEN STUDENTS

The University has decided to contribute the sum of Rs. 1,800 in monthly instalments of Rs. 150 out of the Vihari Lal Mitra Fund to the All-India Women's Conference in connexion with the expenses of furnishing and maintaining the hostel for women students situated at P 261 Rashbihari Avenue, Ballygunge.

XI. ADHARCHANDRA MOOKERJEE LECTURER (in Science) for 1939

Dr. Nilratan Dhar, D.Sc., F.I.C. (Lond.), Professor of Chemistry, Allahabad University, who has been appointed Adharchandra Lecturer for 1939, will deliver a course of lectures on "Life: A Chemical Process."

* * *

XII. GIRISCHANDRA GHOSH LECTURER FOR 1939

Mr. Mahendranath Dutt, brother of Swami Vivekananda, has been appointed Girischandra Ghosh Lecturer for 1939. The subject of his lectures will be "Girischandra: His Mind and Art."

* * *

XIII. JAGATTARINI GOLD MEDAL FOR 1939

The Jagattarini Gold Medal for 1939 will be awarded to Mr. Hirendranath Datta, M.A., for original contribution to Bengali literature.

* * *

XIV. BHUBANMOHINI DASI GOLD MEDAL FOR 1939

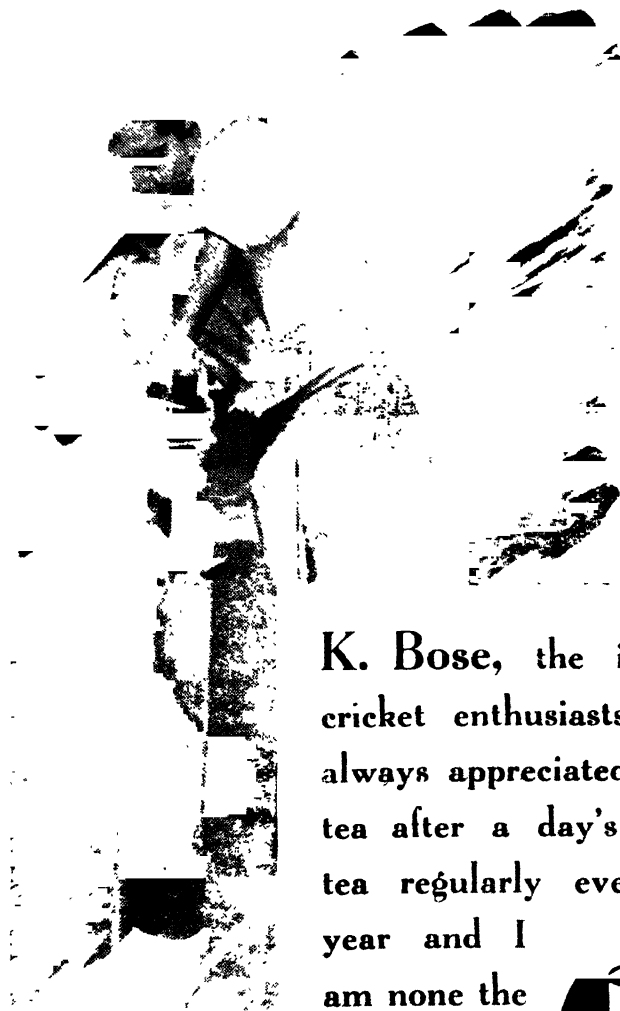
The Bhubanmohini Dasi Gold Medal for 1939 will be awarded to Srimati Nirupama Devi for original contribution to Bengali literature.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

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K. Bose, the idol of Bengal's cricket enthusiasts, says: "I have always appreciated a cup of good tea after a day's cricket. I take tea regularly every day in the year and I am none the worse for it."



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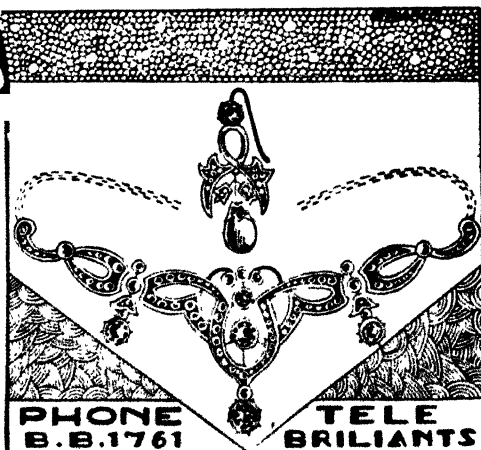
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DECEMBER, 1939

THE SHAKESPEAREAN PUZZLE—ENDEAVOURS AFTER ITS SOLUTION

SIR P. C. RAY

II

PLAYERS AND PLAYWRIGHTS HELD IN CONTEMPT

IN the days of Elizabeth when English literature was just budding forth, the position of those who had to depend mainly on the stage either as players or playwrights was on the whole depressing and discouraging. The general mass of the people, no doubt, appreciated stage-representations but the nobility and the higher classes of the society always looked upon the profession of playwriting and acting as simply humiliating.

The low position of poets and dramatists will be vividly evidenced by the lament of Lyly, Spenser, Dekker and others. John Lyly, who had influential connections at court and whose *Eupheus and his England* had the vogue at one time among fashionable circles, had to dance attendance at the queen's antechamber in vain for a bit of favour and in disgust and despair left London to retire into country-life from where he addressed the following epistle to the queen :

“ Most Gracious and Dread Sovereign. A thousand hopes, but all nothing. A hundred promises, but yet nothing. Thus

casting up an inventory of my friends, hopes, promises and times the sum-total amounteth to just nothing. My last will is shorter than my invention. But three legacies I bequeath, patience to my creditors, melancholy without measure to my friends and beggary without shame to my family."

Pursuit of literature—poetic or dramatic—was no honourable vocation in those days and poets there were many who died poor and unnoticed. Of Peele,¹ who was a noted *litterateur* of the Elizabethan England, Anthony Wood observes: "A most noted poet, 1579, but when or where he died, I cannot tell, for so it is and always hath been that most poets die poor and consequently obscurely, and a hard matter it is to trace them to their grave." Spenser, whose *Fairie Queene* was held in the highest estimation by the most appreciative and critical readers of his time and was assigned a recognised place only next to Chaucer (b. 1328, d. 1400) in the hierarchy of poets, was often forced to complain of his ill-luck :

"To lose good days, that might be better spent;
To waste long nights in pensive discontent;
To speed today, to be put back tomorrow;
To feed on hope, to pine with fear and sorrow
To have thy asking, yet wait many years
To fret thy soul with crossles and with cares
To eat thy heart through comfortless despairs
To fawn, to crouch, to wait, to ride, to run,
To spend, to give, to want to be undone.
Unhappy wight, born to disastrous end,
That both his lift in so long tendance spend."²

The author of *Return from Parnassus* rebukes his country for refusing maintenance to this merited poet and calls her an ungrateful country; Camden, the famous teacher of Ben Jonson, asserts that Spenser died in great poverty in 1598 and is supported in his assertion by two other poets of note who flourished at the same time with

¹ In 1596 Peele after 'long sickness' sent a begging letter by his daughter to Lord Burgheley with a copy of his *Tale of Troy*.—E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, Vol. III, p. 485.

² Spenser, *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, II, 898-909.

Spenser. One is the famous John Weever who notes in an epigram (1598) that

“ Spenser is ruined, of our latest time
The fairest ruin, Faeries foulest want.”

The other is Phineas Fletcher who observed of Spenser in his *Purple Island*:

“ Poorly, poor man, he lived; poorly, poor man, he died ! ”¹

George Brandes appropriately tells us that the poets of that time “ did not live on royalties, but on their dedication ” which, apart from being extremely precarious, could seldom fetch any handsome emoluments from the patrons.

It should not be forgotten, however, that, compared to a dramatist, the social position of a poet was somewhat higher: while a poet could aspire to sit on the same table with the gentry and nobility, the dramatist was never allowed a like privilege. Thus we find the following direction given by a Lord to his servant in *The Taming of the Shrew*:

“ Go, sirrah, take them to the buttery,
And give them friendly welcome, everyone.”

Pope in his preface to his edition of Shakespeare (1725) had evidently the above in his mind when he observed:

“ As then the best playhouses were inns and taverns, so the top of the profession were then mere players, not gentlemen of the stage: they were led into the buttery by the steward; not placed at the lord's table, or lady's toilette.”

Among the Elizabethan dramatists Ben Jonson was, however, the only exception and enjoyed rather a higher position, perhaps due to his erudite scholarship and encyclopædic learning.

Books written in English language, not to speak of English dramas alone, were in those days reckoned as inferior to those written in Latin and Greek. Thus Rev. T. M. Lindsay appropriately holds: “ The enthusiasts of the classical renaissance, who had spent time and

¹ There is a statement in Malone, *Plays and Poems of Shakespeare* (Vol. II, p. 417), that Spenser was granted a pension of £50 a year by the Queen in 1590-91 but in face of the authoritative declarations of Camden, Weever and Phineas Fletcher—all Spenser's contemporaries—we cannot but conclude that even this pension of the sovereign went very little to satisfy his wants, more specially when he was married.

pains in mastering the secrets of style of the literary artists of antiquity, were somewhat disdainful of their mother tongues. They were inclined to believe that cultured thought could only find fit expression in the apt words, deft phrases and rythmical cadences of the revived languages of ancient Rome.”¹ Similarly G. Brandes observes : “ There was all the difference in the world between a ‘ playwright ’ and a real poet. When Sir Thomas Bodley, about the year 1600, extended and remodelled the old University library, and gave it his name, he decreed that no such ‘ riffe-raffes ’ as play books should ever find admittance to it.”²

In his attempts to explain the reasons of the general customs of publishing plays anonymously Steevens in his famous preface puts forth : “ We must remember that very many old plays are anonymous and that playwriting was scarcely yet thought reputable : nay, some authors express for it great horrors of repentance.”

Lodge, born indeed of a high parentage (he was the son of a Lord Mayor), took to playwriting and went so far as to defend it from the pointed strictures of the Puritans.³ But the disgrace which the dramatist of the day was submitted to, for his simply being a dramatist and for no other reason, told heavily upon him and, repentant, he resolved to “ write no more whence shame doth grow.”⁴

Thus leaving dramatic production once for all he took up medicine as his profession. No less significant is the fact that Marston who was a powerful dramatist of his age dedicated all his plays to oblivion and himself quitted the stage for the Church, apparently for the contempt with which he as a dramatist was looked upon.

Instances can be multiplied to show that even the playwrights themselves regarded their profession disreputable. In the early part of Shakespeare’s career neither actors nor dramatists regarded plays as literature. Greene, the celebrated dramatist of his time, usually referred to plays as ‘ vanities,’ considered playwriting as the “ basest efforts of life ” and was surely ashamed of his dependence on “ so mean a stay ” for bare livelihood. Dickinson in his introduction to the

¹ *Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. III.

² *Life of William Shakespeare*, Vol. I, p. 67

³ See *Calcutta Review*, November, 1939, p. 139.

⁴ “ To write no more whence Shame doth grow,
Or tie my pen to penny-knave delight,
But live with fame, and so far fame to write.”

Life and Works of Greene (Mermaid series) holds rightly that "The playwrights abominated the actors even more than they distrusted each other."

Dekker and Nashe's career throws a flood of light on the general 'penuriousness' of their class. With utmost efforts Dekker, Nashe, Peele and Greene could scarcely keep the wolf from the door and both Dekker and Nashe were gaoled for debts and the former spent seven long years in prison.¹ Of course as a class the Elizabethan playwrights were unthrifty and most of them used to lead a Bohemian life. In *A Quip for Upstart Courtier* Greene gives a fine picture of the life a poet of the day would lead, and the present author cannot but quote a few lines from it:

"A poet is a waste good and an unthrift that he was born to make the tavern rich and himself a beggar. If he has forty pounds in his purse together, he puts it not to usury, neither buys land nor merchandisc with it but a month's commodity of wenches and capons.He is a king of his pleasure and counts all other boors and peasants that though they have money at command, yet know not like him how to domineer with it to any purpose as they should. But to speak plainly, I think him an honest man if he would but live within his compass and generally no man's foe but his own."

What a frank confession indeed! "Within the framework of a dream, Dekker records his misery and unhappiness, and even through the intense agony of mind there shines a spirit that refuses to be crushed by the misfortunes of life."² In his *Sun's Darling* (1624) he expresses his sentiment in the following lines:

"Money is trash and he that will spend it
Let him drink merrily, fortune will send it."

And this may well represent the philosophy of life of the majority of Elizabethan dramatists. Their poor and obscure ends were to a great extent due to this Bohemian nature of theirs but on the whole their income out of their profession was by no means enviable and they had ever to remain hungry.

¹ The following entry to be found in Henslowe is given: "Lent unto the Company the 4th February, 1593 to discharge Mr. Dekker out of the Counter in the poultry the sum of 40s. I saydd to Thomas Downton."—*Henslowe's Diary*, Vol. I (W. W. Greg), p. 88.

² W. J. Halliday—Introduction to *Shoemaker's Holiday*.

Phillip Henslowe, the usurer, pawnbroker and keeper of bear-gardens, who could scarcely spell a word correctly, opened theatres and as a theatre-manager engaged the hungry troop of hack-writers, which included no less a person than Ben Jonson. This capitalistic theatrical business of Henslowe saved many a playwright from utter ruin and the dramatists though they were compelled to write for Henslowe practically on starvation-wages found a real friend and patron in him. Henslowe used to keep records of payments made by him and this record now known by the name of *Henslowe's Diary* affords us a most faithful evidence as to the state of the London stage in the latter part of the sixteenth century. One has only to glance through *Henslowe's Diary* to get an idea of the narrow circumstances of the Elizabethan dramatists. Chettle, Dekker, Drayton, Munday, Chapman, Jonson, Heywood, Wilson, Massinger, Middleton and Webster were all among the beneficiaries of Henslowe. Even such a prolific writer as Heywood,¹ who throughout his pretty long career lived, moved and had his being in the stage-atmosphere, bound himself under contract with Henslowe as a mere "Hierling" in consideration of a scanty sum of money.

The original terms of the contract may be found interesting and is reproduced here :

" Mr. That this 25 of march, 1598 Thomas hawwood came and hiered himsealfe wth me as a covenante searvante for ij yeares by the recevge of ij single pence according to the statute of Winchester & to begine at the daye or bone written and not to play any wher publicke a bowt london not whille these ij years be expired but in my howse yf he do then he doth forfeit unto me by the Recevinge of thes ij fortie powndes."

Leaving aside the dramatists, if we turn our attention to the actors who represented what others wanted them to speak, we shall not fail

¹ J. A. Symonds complains (Mermaid series) that " little else is known about his life and though it is certain that he lived to a ripe age we are ignorant of the date of his death." It needs be remembered here that Heywood was a popular playwright of his time but very little interest was taken of his life and career possibly because of his taking up of dramatic profession.

Similarly W. J. Halliday observes of Dekker in the following terms : " Nothing is known of his life after 1632, and it is generally assumed that he died sometime between that year and 1640. . . . If the known facts of Dekker's life are disappointingly few, his works are a treasure-house of the life and character of the man."

Cf. also Anthony Wood's reference to Peele, *ante*, p. 247.

to notice that in Florio's¹ translation of *Montaigne's Essays* (1603) actors have been referred to as 'base-rascals, vagabond abjects and portlerly hirelings,' though Ned Alleyn and later on Richard Burbadge were often compared with Roscius. Indeed, as Ward says of an average actor who used to take up dramatic profession at that time, "A prospect opened of modest gain, unaccompanied however by that of dignified social position; and here too a golden opportunity of displaying the full vigour of conscious genius awaited him who would not shrink from toils and troubles of an inevitable apprenticeship."—*History of Dramatic Literature*, Vol. I.

The greatest poet of human passion could not conceal his own passion and considering his own sad position had to bewail and bemoan his ill-luck in the most pitiful terms:

"When in disgrace with fortune and men's eyes,
I all alone beweepe my outcast state
And troubles deaf heaven with my bootless cries,
And look upon myself and curse my fate
Wishing me like to one more rich in hope,
Featured like him, like him with friend's possess'd,
Desiring this man's art, and that man's scope,
With what I most enjoy contented least;
Yet in those thoughts myself almost despising;"²

and again,

"That did not better for my life provide
Than public means which public manner breeds."³

Hence no wonder that he would rightly exclaim to be "shamed by that which I bring forth."

The respectability and fashionableness or otherwise of the plays may well be judged from altogether a different angle of vision, namely, the status of the people who generally visited the performances at the time of Shakespeare and his predecessors such as Marlowe, Kyd, Peele, Greene and others. Undoubtedly some of the plays were acted at the first instance before a learned and cultured audience in

¹ It is, indeed, noteworthy that Florio, like Shakespeare, was a protégé of the Earl of Southampton and as such he must have come into intimate contact with the latter. How Florio could write so contemptibly of players, knowing full well that Shakespeare was then in the zenith of his fame as a dramatic poet and had not as yet ceased to be a player, it being definitely known that he appeared in Jonson's *Sejanus* played in the Globe Theatre in 1603, is not very clear.

² Sonnet No. XXIX.

³ Sonnet No. CXI.

the universities, the court and in noblemen's apartments but the 'box office' return came mainly from the uneducated and uncultured. In the *Gull's Horne-Booke* (1609) Dekker incidentally remarks of the audience that "your groundlings and gallery-commoner buys his sport by the penny; and like a haggler is glad to utter it again by retailing." Gosson in his *School of Abuse* (1579) accused the theatre¹ as a "general market for bawdry." No wonder, then, that the ladies witnessing a theatrical performance would put on a mask to conceal their identity.' In *Jack Drum's Entertainment* (1603) the following lines occur:

"I like the audience that frequented there
With much applause, a man shall not be chooked
With stench of garlick."²

Shakespeare too records his contempt for the vulgar which constituted in those days the major bulk of the audience. Thus we notice Shakespeare's Hamlet saying to the player:

"O! it offends me to the soul to hear a robustious periwig pated fellow tear a passion to tatters, to very rags, to split the ears of the groundlings, who for the most part, are capable of nothing but inexplicable dumb shows, and noise."³

In *Anthony and Cleopatra* Shakespeare speaks of the masses:

"In their thick breaths
Rank of Gross diet, shall we be enclouded
And forced to drink their vapours.

In *Coriolanus* our poet refers to the masses in a rather contemptible term, e.g., "The breath of garlic eaters," and so forth.

In *Julius Caesar* we come across:

"If the tag-rag people did not clap him and hiss him, according as he pleased or displeased them, as they use to do the players in the theatre, I am no true man."⁴

Then again in the 2nd quarto impression of *Troilus and Cressida* (1608-09) occur the following remark: "Never stal'd with the stage,

¹ "The Theatre," the first public playhouse in London, was opened by James Burbadge in the year 1576.

² Quoted from Malone (1821), Vol. II, pp. 192-98.

³ *Hamlet*. 3. ii. 1-15.

⁴ *Julius Caesar*, I, ii, 260-64.

never clapper-claw'd with the plumes of the vulgur." All these examples go to show that plays in times of Shakespeare were more popular among the lower classes than the higher ones.

Chapman, too, hates the groundlings and in a dedicatory epistle boastfully observes:—

"The profane multitude I hate, and only consecrate my strange poems to those searching spirits, whom learning hath made noble and nobility sacred."

It should be noted, however, that the audience was not entirely composed of the groundlings. As time rolled on drama was gaining popularity among the gentry too and when the sovereign sought solace in theatrical performances the nobility could not but lend its support to them. Thus there was a sprinkling of the cultured youngmen of higher classes or the young gallants among the audience. "It (audience) included, however, Walsinghams and Southamptons, refined and intellectual admirers of the drama, and their numbers must have exceeded those of the Sidneys who scoffed and of the Northbrookes who railed."—*Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. VI, p. 272. In his public apology to Shakespeare, Chettle speaks of "his facetious grace in writing that approves his art." The term 'facetious grace' undoubtedly hints at the better sort of the audience that interested themselves in Shakespeare's productions.¹ Casual references in contemporary records would, however, show that even the nobility resorted to theatres as a favourite recreation. Thus we find the complaint that the Earl of Southampton and his friend Lord Rutland do not "come to court but pass away the time merely in going to plays every day."

It would thus appear from what has been said above that when Shakespeare began his career early in 1590-91, Kyd, Marlowe, Nashe, Peele, Greene and subsequent to them Lyly—all his predecessors—broke the ice and earned for drama a somewhat recognised place in literature. But even at that time drama could not gain universal recognition; the Earl of Leicester's company, of which Shakespeare may already have been a member, was paid to go away from the University.² Shakespeare

¹ In an article "The Elizabethan Shakespeare," J. Dover Wilson remarks: "Indeed facetious grace most happily describes those qualities in Shakespeare's early plays which would especially appeal to the cultured men of high rank, who, as Chettle hints, were interesting themselves in the rising dramatist's fortunes."—*Aspects of Shakespeare*, p. 221.

² Boas, *Shakespeare and the Universities*, p. 41.

did not take much time to realise it, and published his poems *Venus and Adonis* (1593) and *The Rape of Lucrece* (1594), which at once brought him fame as a poet of high merit. Contemporary records contain numerous allusions testifying to the popularity of these poetic ventures of Shakespeare. Burton, author of the *Anatomie of Melancholy*, though a great classical scholar, has several references to Shakespeare both as a poet and as a comedian.

This article goes to show why it is that we know so little about Shakespeare and his predecessors and contemporaries. As the dramatists were not highly thought of and were assigned a low position in society, we naturally get very little information about their lives. It is only when accidentally a dramatist happens to be connected with a scandal, *e.g.*, the tragic end of Marlowe at an early age,¹ also when a dramatist happens to have correspondences with a statesman of note, some authentic account of his is preserved in statepapers.²

¹ Christopher Marlowe was stabbed to death by a rival of his in his 'lewde love.'—S. Lee, article on Marlowe, *Dictionary of National Biography*.

² John Heywood was born towards the close of the fifteenth century in 1497 or 1498. In a letter to Burghley, from Malines (18th April, 1576), he speaks of himself as of seventy-eight years of age.....At an early age he entered the royal service probably as a chorister. On 6th January, 1514-15, he is set down in *The Book of Payments of Henry VIII* as receiving wages 8d per day.....The state papers of the ensuing period contain a number of references to him in his exile.—*Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, Vol. V., pp. 89-90. Some details of Spenser's life have come down to us because of his holding an important office of the Secretary to the Lord Deputy of Ireland.

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES IN CONGRESS PROVINCES

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AT the invitation of the different Provincial Indian Christian Associations I have of late been visiting various parts of India where I have been the grateful recipient of most generous hospitality not only from the members of my own community but, what is a source of very great gratification to me, from our non-Christian brethren—Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, and even Jain. In some places I have been the guest of the exceedingly well-to-do and in other places in order to examine for myself the conditions prevailing in rural areas I have chosen to be the guest, always welcome, of agriculturists—Christian, Muslim, Hindu, and, on one occasion, Sikh. But my largest contacts have naturally been with Indian Christians belonging to the middle classes in all parts of India. It would be invidious to mention names where every one was so kind to me and most cheerfully pressed me to accept the very best of what they had. I, therefore, wish to convey to all of them my gratitude for the graceful hospitality showered on me. I am still more grateful for the very extensive conveniences placed at my disposal for conducting my enquiries into some of the economic problems with which we are faced to-day and the ways in which they are sought to be solved in different parts of India. The problems of finding remunerative spare-time occupation for the agriculturist and of solving unemployment among the less educated were two matters which engaged my attention during my investigations.

My task was rendered comparatively easy as, in all or nearly all the places and the institutions I visited, I found Indian Christians working generally in an honorary capacity. Nor was assistance in my enquiries wanting from my numerous non-Christian hosts and friends. They always made all arrangements which lay in their power to make my investigations as easy and pleasant as possible.

Congressmen from Ministers down to village workers were equally kind to me.

If it is asked why the subject I have chosen for this article possesses such an engrossing interest for me, I would in reply state that out of the 75 lakhs of Indian Christians we have in India to-day, not more than $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 8 lakhs live in urban areas and earn their living by following urban occupations. The problems of the rural Indian Christian are in no way different from the problems of the rural non-Christian. Any measure such as encouragement of cottage industries calculated to benefit the rural non-Christian must of necessity benefit the rural Indian Christian. I have come to feel that the growth of nationalism in my small and humble community to-day is really due to the recognition of this fundamental fact—something often lost sight of in the deplorable communal struggle between the two major communities now going on in our motherland. We appreciate the very important fact that, as our economic and political interests are identical, we too have to share the labour involved in every programme intended for the amelioration of the masses and, as a community, we are prepared to do so cheerfully. But we can hardly thrust ourselves in till our services are requisitioned.

It will be noticed that I have confined myself to a description of what was being done in the Congress provinces and also that I have said nothing about the activities of the Congress Coalition Government of Assam. The reason for dealing with the Congress provinces is that so far as the Indian Christian community is concerned, about 5 lakhs only out of a total population of 60 to 65 lakhs living in British India are to be found in the three non-Congress provinces of Bengal, Punjab and Sind. From the All-India standpoint, the interest of the Indian Christian lies more in the Congress than in the non-Congress provinces. No description of the work done in Assam has been attempted because, though I am familiar with the province various parts of which I visited every year when I was Inspector of Colleges for the Calcutta University, I have not been there for the last three years. As I have no personal knowledge of matters as they stand there at present, I have intentionally refrained from saying anything about the work done in this province. The North-West Frontier Province has also been omitted for a similar reason. In what follows I have tried to make my account descriptive rather than critical which latter would naturally imply the institution of comparisons between the value of the work

done in the different provinces and assessment of the benefits they have conferred on the masses. I have done so because I feel that my knowledge is not sufficiently intimate to enable me to arrive at a fairly accurate estimate of the value of the work.

I consider it necessary that I should make it absolutely clear that the account I am giving makes no claim to be a complete one. Any attempt in this direction would have entailed a thorough study of all types of activities for which I had neither the time nor the opportunity. I have, therefore, tried to touch what may be called the "high lights" only. I have, however, visited practically all the institutions referred to below. Almost all the facts and figures offered were supplied by the ladies and gentlemen connected with this type of activity either in an honorary or a paid capacity but some are taken from official records.

While the account which follows makes no pretension to be a complete and an adequate one, it does claim to be a fairly accurate description of what was attempted in the different provinces referred to below. I should be sorry indeed if the inadequacy of the account should give rise to the impression that these activities are confined to the items referred to below. It is, therefore, that I would once again emphasise the fact that in what follows I have attempted to describe what came under my notice, what my attention was drawn to by my numerous friends who are to-day playing their part in national reconstruction of this type and what possessed special interest for me either on account of my personal predilections or because of their probable utility to the poorer members of my community.

BIHAR

As soon as the Congress Cabinet took charge of administrative work, it turned its attention to the task of encouraging hand-spinning and hand-weaving specially in rural areas. With this end in view, it sanctioned Rs. 30,000, which is being spent through the All-India Spinners' Association to organise the production and distribution of hand-spun and hand-woven cloth on a large scale and also to extend the work to new areas. In addition to this amount, a special grant of a further sum of Rs. 10,000 was made to the Ranchi Weavers' Co-operative Stores in order to enable it to rehabilitate its affairs and to assist the development of the handloom industry in Chota-Nagpur the interests of which, the more progressive among its inhabitants complained, had not been properly looked after previously.

This type of good work has also been introduced in jails. For instance, at the Central Jail, Bhagalpur, carding and spinning by power for manufacturing woollen goods and charka spinning for Khaddar are now in use. The quantity produced is more than sufficient to meet all the requirements of the prisoners confined in this jail. It has supplied a considerable amount of yarn to the Gaya Central Jail to enable it to increase its outturn of Khadi. It is understood that needy prisoners of the Bhagalpur Central Jail at the time of their release are being supplied free with Khaddar clothing. The female prisoners are also being taught charka spinning. In the year ended the 31st March, 1939, the prisoners were able to weave 3,000 yards of Khaddar with thread spun by themselves. In addition to the above, the prisoners are being taught to rear, ere and to spin and weave *eri* silk and *tassar*. Lastly, arrangements have been made to teach the following handicrafts to prisoners: blacksmithy, carpentry, cane work, tailoring, dyeing and tape weaving. They are turning out useful iron and wooden articles for household use and are also manufacturing furniture which is finding ready sale.

The Bihar Cottage Industries Marketing Organisation is giving publicity to the hand-woven textiles of this province in different ways and through many agencies with the result that last year goods worth 1½ lakhs were sold. More than 60 new attractive designs were added to the standard list of patterns and it is expected that next year the sales will be higher still.

In order to encourage the production of Khadi, the Bihar Government has passed orders that the uniforms of peons, orderlies and the police should be of Khaddar. Further, the Khaddar (Name Protection) Act, 1934, has been brought into operation in this province in order to afford protection to the names "Khaddar" and "Khadi" as trade descriptions for "cloth woven on handlooms in India from cotton yarn spun in India."

Finding that the development of the indigenous silk industry was being hindered by the use of cheap imported spun silk, the Congress Government had installed a silk twisting plant at Bhagalpur at a cost of Rs. 15,000 non-recurring and Rs. 3,500 recurring. Two stations, one in Manbhum district and the other in the Santhal Parganas, have been started to supply *tassar* silk eggs to the *tassar* silk rearers residing in villages situated in the interior. Small bonuses have also been given to the mulberry silk rearers of Purnea district.

Attention is being paid to expanding the inland fishery industry which provides a welcome addition to the income of the small agriculturist. Patna and Ranchi are the two centres from which fry is being supplied to every part of the province. Last year, Bihar exported more than 60,000 maunds of fish. It has been found that North Bihar is making rapid progress and that there is a revival of the fish trade in South Bihar. But as Chota-Nagpur has always been backward in this particular direction, a strenuous attempt is being made to introduce pisciculture in it.

The Congress Cabinet was making elaborate arrangements for technical and industrial training. It is outside the scope of this article to mention anything about the facilities created for instruction in medium and large scale industries with which we are not concerned here. But so far as training men for developing cottage industries is concerned, we find that the arrangements include theoretical and practical training for educating young men belonging to the middle classes in technical and what may be called bias schools, practical training only for the less educated boys of the middle classes, general and vocational education for women and industrial training for aboriginals and Harijans.

In addition to the Cottage Industries Institute at Patna, the Congress Government is contemplating the establishment of handicraft schools at Pusa and Purulia and the expansion of the industrial chemistry class in the Science College, Patna. In all these places, both theoretical and practical instructions are and will be given to the educated young men who might be willing to take up cottage industries and to run them on modern lines. Arrangements have also been made for the training of undergraduates in press work and of matriculates in compositors' work at the Central Government Press. For middle class boys who lack the necessary intelligence and brains, special arrangements have been made in the five vocational schools situated in different parts of the province for giving them training in different types of home industries. For this they have been given special grants which last year came up to Rs. 10,000.

In order to train middle class young men in improved methods of tanning and leather work, two demonstration parties have been started at an approximate cost of Rs. 7,000 recurring and Rs. 1,500 non-recurring. These are visiting different areas and teaching new methods to middle class people. It is hoped that they will, in their

turn, start small tanneries and leather works in which they will employ the poor *moochees* and *chamars* who are now without an adequate amount of work. With the same end in view, special classes to teach the manufacture of writing and blotting paper have been opened in Patna where there are arrangements for a six months' course which, last year, was taken advantage of by some young men. It is understood that some of them have already placed their hand-made paper on the market though it cannot be said that it is commanding a sufficiently large sale.

So far as the technical education of women is concerned, some public spirited women have started the Aghore Nari Silpa Pratisthan in which regular courses for teaching different industries have been organised. Here tuition is free. Facilities to enable students to earn while they learn in the shape of the sale proceeds of their work have been provided. At present instruction is being given in weaving, tailoring, auto-knitting and leather work. It is proposed to add toy-making, cane work, wool spinning and weaving and carpet weaving in the near future. The Bihar Government has made grants to this institution in order to encourage the good work that is being done through public initiative.

As for the encouragement of technical and vocational training among the aboriginals, we find that since coming into power the Congress Cabinet has spent regularly every year Rs. 10,000 for stipends and scholarships to students coming from these classes for this particular purpose. As stated elsewhere, Government has also made a special grant of Rs. 10,000 to the Weavers' Co-operative Society of Ranchi in order that it might take its part in the development of handloom industry and thus provide a remunerative employment for those living in rural areas in this part of Bihar. But their concern for the well-being of these people has not ended here. In order to help the women-workers in the Jharia Coal fields who are generally of aboriginal stock and who, as the result of recent legislation, are not permitted to work underground and have thus lost remunerative employment, Government has started two handicrafts institutes where they are being taught weaving and basket making. This has entailed a recurring expenditure of about Rs. 10,000 per year.

So far as the Harijans are concerned, the Bihar Government is spending about Rs. 23,000 per year for special stipends for 'general' education of Harijan young men. These are not showing much

eagerness for industrial training but, none the less, Government has provided Rs. 1,200 for stipends only. Harijans are permitted to join any of the Government or aided institutions where vocational and technical instruction is imparted free of charge. The stipends are meant to cover their other expenses.

Realising that many honest, hard-working and reliable young men are unable to utilise their technical knowledge for want of capital, the Bihar Government is setting apart Rs. 6,000 every year to render them financial aid. It is also making grants averaging Rs. 13,000 per year to the Commercial Museum situated in the capital of the province in order to enlarge its usefulness in developing the commerce and industries of the province.

The Congress Ministry of Bihar as members of the middle classes in daily touch with the masses were aware that Bihar did not produce sufficient food to meet its own requirements and that industrial development was the only practical solution of the problem with which the province is faced. Bihar was fortunate in having a minister of the type of Dr. Syed Mahmud in charge of Development. While it is the duty of every Bihari to trust him and to give him an opportunity of working out the ideas he has put forth in his book on the reconstruction of his province, it is the privilege of every patriotic Indian to wish him all success in the arduous and noble task he has set himself.

UNITED PROVINCES

When the Congress came into power in the U.P., it immediately budgetted Rs. 10,000 for financing an industrial survey of the province. The Industrial policy which has been developed since is based on the data collected in the course of this survey. The first practical step taken consisted of increasing the capital grant of the Industry Department to the extent of Rs. 15,000. By this addition to its resources, the officers were enabled to start enquiries in new and promising fields. These have borne fruit in various directions. Provision was made in the budget for introducing hydro-electric power in order to help not only the urban but also the rural people and with a view to its utilisation for carrying on cottage industries.

In order to encourage cottage industries concerned with supplying domestic needs, the U.P. Government has spent nearly Rs. 40,000 for improving the existing processes of *gur* manufacture and teaching them

to cane-growers so that they might utilise their own sugarcane in a profitable way. It has further spent about Rs. 15,000 for finding out improved methods of extracting oil which can be practised as a cottage industry. These have been taught to the village oilmen with the result that they now get more oil from a given quantity of oil seeds than before. It has been stated that experiments in this direction are being continued with a view to finding out still more efficient methods.

Another cottage industry which can be and is practised in villages is hand-spinning and handloom-weaving for encouraging which the U.P. Government has been spending about Rs. 10,000 every year. Government has also provided a ready market at reasonable rates for Khadi by passing orders that whenever possible the uniforms of Government servants supplied by Government should be made of hand-spun and hand-woven Khaddar. Another cottage industry practised in the countryside, *viz.*, *ghee* making, has been assisted by grant of Rs. 13,000 in order to provide funds for the organisation of co-operative societies for the production and sale of pure *ghee*.

The claims of those who earn their bread by supplying raw or tanned hide to the consideration of Government have not been overlooked. Ever since coming into power, the Congress Cabinet has spent about Rs. 4,000 every year in order to teach butchers, flayers and curers improved methods of flaying dead animals and curing their hide.

Knowing that on account of poverty, the women have taken to the use of glass bangles which are generally imported from foreign countries and with the idea of stopping this drain as well as of providing a new way of relieving unemployment, the Congress Government has spent on the average Rs. 5,000 every year in order to find out and teach improved methods of manufacturing them. In addition to all these which amount to more than one lakh, the U.P. Government has set apart about 30 per cent. of the 11 lakhs which it is spending for rural development for the encouragement and development of cottage industries.

It also saw that many educated young men who had undergone training in industries are unable to find openings for themselves in industry, in business or trade connected with it or to develop and expand their business for want of adequate capital. In order to meet this situation, the U.P. Government has set apart one lakh to be given

as grants under certain conditions. In making these grants, preference is being shown to groups of individuals and co-operative organisations. But as it is not possible for every individual who needs capital to be assisted out of this fund, it has subsidised an Industrial Credit Company to the extent of 1½ lakhs. It is understood that this amount would be contributed regularly for some years to come.

ORISSA

Want of space prevents me from giving statistics which do not possess much interest for the ordinary reader but from the pamphlet issued by the Congress Government of Orissa which gives an account of its activities, it appears that Orissa which has practically the same population as Assam, with more than double the population of the North-West Frontier Province, has the smallest revenue of all the British Indian provinces and yet it too is spending a very large proportion of its resources in developing its industries, and specially its cottage industries.

The help of the All-India Village Industries Association has been availed of in various different directions. About sixty young men have been trained to manufacture *gur* from the juice of the palmyra and date palm and these have been deputed to rural areas to teach villagers how to draw the juice and to make jaggery (*gur*) out of it. An investigation for evolving an economical process for manufacturing sugar and sugar-candy from *gur* with the help of activated charcoal has been started. Preservation of fruits is being encouraged and some young men are now undergoing training in it. The horn industry for which Orissa has been famous for centuries and which is now in a moribund condition is being encouraged with the help of grants. *Eri* culture and *tassar* rearing are also encouraged.

Grants have been made for demonstrating the use of improved *ghani* (oil pressing machines) and paddy husking implements in villages. Peripatetic demonstration to teach villagers satisfactory methods for pisciculture, wool and cotton weaving and dyeing under expert supervision has been undertaken. Attention is being given to improve rural cottage industries such as the slate industry, basket and mat making, coir weaving, smithy and bell-metal casting. Poultry farming is being encouraged by maintaining flocks of leghorns in Government farms in order to distribute their eggs and chickens among villagers. Arrangements have also been made to give demon-

trations in improved methods of flaying, curing and tanning. My information is that this is being very eagerly availed of by the *chamars* and a certain section of the Muslim population.

Orissa has large areas of forest and undeveloped tracts abounding in bamboos, various kinds of grasses and other material suitable for the manufacture of paper. These easily available and cheap raw materials have been sought to be utilised by the present Government which has, at its own expense, trained many young men in making hand-made paper. When I was in Cuttack in July last, I saw cheap and quite satisfactory envelopes and note-papers in the local market of Cuttack and I feel certain that when this particular type of cottage industry has become more popular, it will be used very largely by those desirous of supporting our indigenous industries. I saw at Hyderabad and Secundarabad in the Nizam's Dominions early in March, 1939, that Government there has ordered that wherever possible all its correspondence should be carried on in hand-made note paper which is now being extensively manufactured locally. Perhaps when a larger supply of hand-made paper is available, the Congress Cabinet might consider the desirability of taking a similar step in order to encourage this industry.

The manufacture of Khaddar on a large scale has been greatly encouraged through the agency of the All-India Spinners' Association. Grants have been made to this body for the extension of spinning and the production of Khaddar on an extensive scale. With the assistance of the Government of India, a Textile Marketing Organisation has been set up for the production and distribution of handloom products under the revised scheme. The All-India Spinners' Association is now functioning both as the suppliers of yarn and the agents for the sale of woven fabrics. The Orissa Government has passed orders that first preference is to be given to textiles manufactured in jails, after that to Khadi which will have to be purchased from the All-India Spinners' Association to ensure that genuine Khaddar is being supplied. This has naturally stimulated sales and, to a certain extent, is helping in the solution of the problem of unemployment in the countryside.

Every effort is being made to develop what may be called the industry sense among the young men of the province. Two methods have been followed for the attainment of this end. This Congress Government of Orissa has given financial assistance to the All-India

Spinners' Association in starting the Madhusudan Village Industries Institute at Cuttack. Here students are being trained in hand-spinning and weaving, calico-printing, pottery, paddy-husking, paper-making and oil-pressing. The Congress Government wanted very soon to make arrangements in this institution for the establishment of a demonstration match factory. It is expected that when it has been properly organised and equipped, it will be able to fulfil all the requirements of the province so far as training in these industries is concerned.

The Orissa Government, however, feels that the young men of the province should not confine their energies to the production of these few articles only. In order, therefore, to create facilities for training in other industries also it has, from the time it came into power, been granting a large number of stipends and scholarships available outside Orissa to properly qualified young men. As it would take much valuable space to give a detailed account of every one of these stipends, I propose to mention only the most important among them. Stipends have been granted for training in textile in the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, Bombay, for umbrella making, bell-metal casting and polishing and pottery at the Industrial Research Laboratory, Calcutta, for oil-pressing and paper-making at the Wardha Training Institute, for match manufacture at the Khadi Pratisthan, Sodepur, Bengal and for tanning at Bari. It is also understood that very soon a few other stipends will also be available for training in commercial art at the Calcutta Government School of Art and for soap-making at the Harcourt Butler Technological Institute, Cawnpore. Lastly, some students who have already finished their training in improved methods of fish-curing at the Government fish-curing yards at Tanur are about to start fish-curing yards of their own while still another young man has joined the Madras Fishery Department for general training in fishery work.

Another step in the right direction in order to create an interest in cottage industries has taken the form of a request to the authorities of High and Middle English Schools that they should depute suitable teachers for free training in various handicrafts so that they, in their turn, might introduce them among their pupils thus preparing the ground for at least some of them for the adoption of these industries as a means of earning their bread.

The soil survey has already been made to ascertain the availability of 'sajimati' for the manufacture of soap. Another scheme for a

survey of clay deposits which can be used for the manufacture of pottery is under consideration, while a larger and more ambitious scheme is that of survey of the province in order to explore the industrial possibilities. Further, a Board of Industries has been constituted under the State Aid to Industries Act to advise the Director of Development on the work to be taken up by the Department of Industries. Lastly, a museum of the arts and crafts of Orissa has been started and located in the office of the Development Department.

What has been mentioned in the last paragraph clearly indicates the lines along which the work of developing industries will proceed. As a very poor province Orissa cannot, under present circumstances, expect to launch out into the organisation or development of any large scale industry. The gentlemen at the helm of affairs are, therefore, confining their activities, very wisely I think, to the development of cottage industries. But the three surveys referred to just now as well as the fact that they have set apart the sum of one lakh for, in their language, "encouraging the growth of small scale industries," very clearly indicate that they do not propose that Orissa should permanently remain a province of small industries. One could easily anticipate that if Congress Government had been in office for a longer time the next step would have been in the sphere of medium scale industries carried on with the help of power from which the next step would naturally have been the organisation of one or other of the key industries for which the province may be fitted by an abundant supply of the raw material not to speak of the cheap, skilled labour for which this province is already famous.

CENTRAL PROVINCES

On the 16th January, 1939, a conference to take steps to encourage the development of industries of all types was called by the present Congress Cabinet of C.P. All the Ministers took part in it and it was stated by the Minister in charge of Industries that while cottage, medium and large scale industries would all have their rightful place, he would lay special emphasis on cottage industries in order to relieve unemployment and to secure a balanced rural and urban economy.

The work done up to the end of August, 1939, may be summarised as follows. Two cottage industries institutions for training students

in cotton weaving, carpet and *durrie* weaving, toy-making, lacquer work and cane and basket work manufacture have been opened. A class for the training of aboriginals in basket and bamboo work has been started in Bhandara district.

A scheme for the training of village *chamars* in the use of offal and skin flaying has been introduced. It consists of bone meal propaganda and disposal of the carcasses of the dead animals. A dead cattle institute has also been opened at Nagpur to convert all the different parts of dead animals to commercial use and scientific instruction is given in the art of proper flaying, salting and curing of raw hides, manufacture of flesh and bone manure, extraction of animal fat and preservation of blood, horns, etc., for which there is a demand.

Experiments for introducing and developing mulberry and *tassar* silk industries in the province are being carried out and a number of demonstration centres have been opened. Similarly experiments for the utilization of linseed-stalk fibre have been carried out and articles such as twine and rope door-mats (carpets) have been manufactured.

A grant-in-aid to the All-India Village Industries Association has been given for the training of candidates in village industries such as paper-making, oil-pressing, date-palm *gur*-making and bee-keeping. Another grant-in-aid of Rs. 21,760 has been sanctioned for the encouragement of hand-spinning and hand-weaving in rural areas and the scheme is being continued. Industrial scholarships were awarded to students with a view to starting the umbrella-making industry on the cottage scale.

As a result of the grant from the Government of India for the development of handloom industry, the Central Provinces and Berar Weavers' Co-operative Society, Nagpur, has been formed with seven branches scattered in the province. During 1938-39 raw materials worth Rs. 13,661 were distributed to the affiliated societies. Cloth valued approximately at Rs. 34,000 was manufactured by them. The societies weave various new attractive patterns in sarees and dhoties in finer counts and special varieties such as curtains, bed-spreads, *durries*, etc.

The staff of the textile section has visited several centres inhabited by weavers in the province and has so far introduced 19,364 fly shuttles, *sleys* and 3,159 *dobbies* among weavers. It is hoped that

the handloom industry will eventually be firmly established in the province.

BOMBAY

In spite of the presence of a large scale industry as the cotton mills manufacturing with lakhs of operatives, the Congress Government of Bombay as soon as it assumed the reins of office turned its attention to the encouragement of cottage industries. I shall not refer to the valuable work done by its Industry Department in providing help in various directions to small industries but shall pass on to a survey of what has been done in connection with cottage industries at once.

The Industry Department carried on its propaganda of helping and advancing cotton and silk hand-weaving, which is the premier cottage industry of the province, by means of its weaving schools and demonstrations. The Department also maintained schools for wool weaving and dyeing. Small dye houses in the locality of the dying demonstration centre took keen interest and were benefited by following the improved processes demonstrated. A peripatetic cane and bamboo demonstration party was organised for the first time and training in the manufacture of all kinds of cane and bamboo articles was given to workers. A head lacquerware demonstrator and an assistant demonstrator were selected and deputed for necessary training in superior types of lacquer work. On completion of their training, they will give practical demonstrations to lacquer workers of the province. Two hand weaving masters were deputed to Travancore for necessary training in coir manufacture, on completion of which a coir manufacturing school will be organised for the benefit of local coir workers. An artist designer was appointed to assist hereditary craftsmen to produce saleable goods and also to find markets for the same. Ten hereditary artecraft workers were selected and granted stipends to enable them to join Reay Art Workshop, Bombay, for training.

It is also understood that the services of experts from Orissa are about to be requisitioned in order to improve the standard of manufacture of various articles from horns. A scheme for making experiments in artificial silk and another for exploring the possibilities of developing sericulture as a cottage industry have been approved.

The fact that there is an extensive demand for fish although the supply is inadequate made the Bombay Government turn its attention to this problem. It came to realise that the fishermen

find a ready market not only for fresh fish but also for cured fish. In order that fish might come to the market in as fresh a state as possible, it has been giving loans for the purchase of launches for the rapid transport of fish from the fishing grounds to the town of Bombay.

The fishermen at the ports at which the launches operated realised better prices for their fish and took keener interest in their trade. The success of the experiment is amply borne out by the fact that Government's lead has been followed by a number of private individuals going in for launches. Last year, there were in the field 8 vessels. Between them these vessels brought about 800,000 lbs. of fish to Bombay.

The introduction of power-propelled vessels, apart from successfully fulfilling the primary need of augmenting Bombay City's supply of fish, has attracted capital to the aid of the fishing industry. It was only after the appearance of the launches that two ice factories and cold storage plants had been set up. Another ice factory and cold storage plant are under construction at the site where at present all the launches land their catch.

As the result of unremitting propaganda conducted by the officers of the Fishery Department under orders from the Cabinet, the people concerned were gradually coming to realise the desirability of curing fish in accordance with the principles of sanitation. They were seeking the advice of the department with regard to the ways in which this object could be fulfilled. It has been stated in a recent *communiqué* that improved methods for curing fish are followed in over 30 yards. Last year nearly 2½ lakh maunds of fish were cured according to these methods.

It has to be stated that the culture of local fresh water fishes as well as of others imported from Madras and Patna has been taken in hand. They are breeding satisfactorily and Government contemplates distributing the fingerlings among reliable fishermen in villages in order that they might have yet another method of adding to their income.

Grants have been made in every budget to the All-India Village Industries Association for carrying out approved schemes of development of rural industries. This organisation has already introduced the improved type of oil-ghani designed at Wardha in certain rural areas as well as bullock-driven flour mills in selected urban areas. Centres have been opened specially in places where prohibition has been introduced

for imparting instruction in all the processes involved in the manufacture of *gur* from the sweet juice of various types of palm trees. It is hoped that this will provide remunerative work not only for the ordinary villager but also for those toddy tappers who can no longer follow their former profession.

The Congress Government of Bombay has availed itself of the services of the All-India Spinners' Association to which it has loaned about Rs. 40,000 free of interest. Hand spinning and Khadi-weaving have been encouraged and a marketing organisation created for selling the products. Arrangements have been made for encouraging wool-weaving as a cottage industry as well as for marketing the fabrics woven.

Another very welcome measure initiated by the Congress Government has been to induce the different cotton mills to take in boys as apprentices just after they finish their school career. It is understood that in 1938 about 450 such boys were taken in the cotton mills and other industries. It is gratifying to note that such a large number of boys have come to realise the futility of pursuing the ordinary type of education and are willing to qualify themselves as skilled workmen.

In order that properly qualified, trained and meritorious young men might not be prevented from starting industries either of the cottage or of the small scale type, the present Government has liberalised the rules which govern the giving of loans for such purposes. As the result of these changes, many enterprising people have applied for loans to Government. These applications are dealt with on their merits and one may well hope to see new life and vigour appearing in the cottage industries.

MADRAS

The Congress Government of Madras under the energetic and wise guidance of Sj. Rajagopalachariar was making rapid strides towards industrialising the province. In addition to encouraging and developing cottage industries of different types only some of which will be mentioned hereafter, the Congress Government had taken various steps for encouraging medium and large scale industries. Only a reference to these must suffice for we are here concerned with cottage industries only.

A loyal follower of Mahatma Gandhi, it was natural for S. J. Rajagopalachariar to turn his attention first of all to encouraging Khadi. This has been sought to be done in two ways. Seeing that the public have been induced to purchase as Khadi textiles which are not 100 per cent. hand-spun and hand-woven, the Madras Government had recourse to legislation to put an end to this systematic deception practised by unscrupulous dealers. It enacted the Madras Sale of Cloth Act while the Khadi (Name Protection) Act was extended to this province. In each of the budgets of the Congress Government, a sum of Rs. 2 lakhs had been set apart for rendering special assistance to the Khadi industry. The All-India Spinners' Association has received grants for financing the designing, manufacturing and supplying of labour-saving implements to be used in hand-spinning and hand-weaving. These grants also cover the expenditure involved in training men who work in the villages as instructors in improved methods.

As silk is extensively used in Madras, Government has taken steps to encourage sericulture and ericulture. So far as the former is concerned, arrangements have been made for the production of hardy cross-breed seeds which are in great demand in those areas where silk-rearing is pursued regularly as a cottage industry. Experiments in ericulture are reaching the final stage and a scheme for the installation of a plant to utilise *eri* cocoons is under consideration.

Financial help has also been given to woollen, blanket and jute carpet industries which are at present being carried on in rural areas. It is reported that already there has been a marked improvement in the quality of the stuff produced and also that higher prices are being received for them.

The assistance of the Wardha Training Institute has been availed of by deputing certain young men to learn oil-pressing with the help of improved machinery evolved there. These have returned and are introducing these oil mills in villages. Still others who received training in hand-made paper in the same place are carrying on propaganda for popularising this spare time industry in the rural areas.

As the result of investigations conducted by its officers, the Congress Government had come to know that certain grasses and leaves of plants which were available in very large quantities and which had hitherto been regarded as of little economic value were suitable for the manufacture of paper-pulp and it was confident that when the hand-made paper industry was properly organised and when marketing

facilities were made available, it would prove a very welcome means of adding to the slender income of the cottage industry worker.

While I was at Madras early this year, I was informed that Government had provided funds for the erection and maintenance of a small plant for the preparation of malted foods from sprouted gram and also for conducting experiments to devise a cheap plant for making sand-paper as a cottage industry. I do not, however, know what progress has been made in these two industries.

One of the most helpful contributions in this particular direction consisted in the demonstrations given to ex-toddy tappers in the districts of Salem, Cudappah and Chittoor to train them to manufacture jaggery from palm, palmyra and date juice. As the result of the introduction of prohibition in these three districts about 6,000 of these have been thrown out of work. Only a small percentage among them have migrated to neighbouring districts where they are still working as toddy tappers. Government felt it its duty to provide some alternative employment for them. The Industry Department of Madras conducted a series of experiments and evolved a satisfactory process. My information is that nearly 30 co-operative societies have been formed and the former toddy-tappers have taken quite kindly to their new work which is yielding them practically the same income as before with the difference that, unlike former times, not a pice out of it is wasted on toddy.

With an eye to benefiting the fishermen who form an important section of the population on both Coromandel and Malabar coasts, the Congress Government of Madras has adopted three plans. From certain experiments conducted at Tanur, the experts evolved a cheap and easy process for the extraction of shark liver oil which is used extensively for medicinal purposes. Sharks are found in fairly large numbers and are very frequently caught. Officers appointed by Government for the purpose are demonstrating at all important fish-curing yards this method which can be easily carried on under village conditions. Then again, sardine oil which is the commonest and cheapest fish oil produced in this presidency, has been found to contain vitamin A. It is of great commercial importance as it can be used both for food and for medicinal purposes. But up to the present, the methods used have been wasteful. Government has, therefore, made arrangements to teach fishermen the economical and easy method evolved by its experts. Lastly, in order to teach better methods of

fish-curing, Government has opened four fish-curing yards on the Malabar coast. Instead of importing the salt from Tuticorin on the east coast, it has arranged to manufacture salt on the spot. It is expected that the workers and proprietors of fish-curing yards of which there are large numbers on the sea coast will take advantage of the facilities created and introduce the cheap and efficient methods adopted in the Government yards.

It is interesting to note the different ways in which the present Congress Government of Madras is encouraging the development of industry. In order that the different industries might be manned by qualified men, a Technological Diploma Examination Board has been set up. This conducts the examination of all students studying in technological institutions and grants diplomas only to those who possess the necessary qualifications, it being expected that only these should be employed in factories, etc. Recently courses in ceramics, leather working, casting and metal work have been either enlarged or started. It is hoped that students after completing their training will be able to set up small establishments of their own in or near their own homes.

In order to give financial assistance to persons carrying on cottage and village industries, Government amended the Madras State Aid to Industries Act and has been making liberal grants to various persons. I myself know of loans granted to persons engaged in making toys, buttons, etc. I have also been told that loans have been given for reviving silk spinning and cotton weaving.

Recognising that cottage industries can compete successfully with machine-made products only where the marketing organisation is such as to completely cut out or greatly reduce middlemen's profits and also that commercial museums offer an easy means of putting the producer into touch with the buyer or the consumer, the Madras Government has established a Central Museum at the capital of the province with museums in the different districts. It cannot be said that all the districts have museums or that every one of the district museums has a complete collection of the specimens of all arts and crafts practised in it. What is encouraging is that an earnest effort is being made to organise industry and specially the cottage industry. There does not seem to be much doubt that all these steps will have the effect of opening up a large market for the products.

Lastly, in order that Government might, as far as possible, come to the rescue of these industries, orders have been passed that, as far as

practicable, all its requirements as well as those of local bodies and aided institutions should be met from articles manufactured in India. The purchase of jail-made articles has also been made compulsory for all departments requiring such articles. This policy has been greatly appreciated as it has provided a steady market for some at least of the products of cottage industries.

CONCLUSION

It is an undeniable fact that in certain directions whether we like it or not, we shall have to adopt large scale production methods and start factories for this purpose. But in order to maintain equilibrium between man and machine, we should try to encourage industries which will employ comparatively large numbers of workers. This may not be ideal from the orthodox standpoint but it is sound sense from the point of view of the statesman who thinks it his duty as well as his privilege to look to the greatest good of the greatest number. For this purpose it may be necessary to grant protection to our cottage industries but we should not, I hold, be afraid to take this step in order to safeguard the interests of our poorer brethren. It is admitted that, at least in the initial stages indirect compulsion in the case of products of cottage industries which enjoy protection practically amounts to the imposition of indirect taxation on the consumers of these goods. But this need not necessarily be a permanent feature of our economic life. Cheap power harnessed to cottage industries must ultimately lower the cost of production and their starting in different parts of India must engender competition in our internal market which must inevitably lead to a reduction in their retail prices. Only the other day, Beatrice and Sidney Webb in their work on Soviet Russia pointed out that in spite of the marvellous economic development of that country, more than 50 per cent of its internal needs are met by the products of cottage industries carried on under the cartel or co-operative system. We should remember that human values are very precious and no man who calls himself an Indian and a patriot should grudge paying high prices when he knows that by doing so, he is saving his brothers and sisters from starvation, nakedness, disease and premature death.

CONVOCATION ADDRESS *

SIR NILRATAN SIRCAR

I am thankful to His Excellency the Chancellor of the Andhra University for inviting me to address the Convocation. My mind spontaneously goes back at this moment to the day when the great Bengali religious teacher, Sri Chaitanya, visited this sequestered region more than four centuries ago, to preach the gospel of Vaishnavism and by his intimate association with all classes of people, among whom he worked and lived, he forged a link that binds it to my Province. There are hints in accounts of his southern travel that he met powerful Vaishnava and Buddhist leaders on the Godavari side, which perhaps partially covered the Andhra territory. He also came in contact with many scholars of the Tamil race. Sri Chaitanya met many renowned scholars like Ram Giri, a Buddhist leader, Dhundiram Tirtha of the Tungabhadra region, Mathur Pandit, a Ramayat Vaishnava of Tripadi, Madhavendra Bhuj of the Narsing temple and Bharga Deb of Tripatra. Sri Chaitanya's spiritual ministrations were greatly appreciated over a large tract of country from Puri to Rameswaram, which certainly comprised, among others, parts of the Andhra country. He not only spread his religion there, but coming across two great works, the *Brahma Samhita* and *Kanada*, discovered by him somewhere on the banks of the Krittimala, he got a new impulse in his emotional experiences, and enriched his imported knowledge with his own interpretations.

I desire, at the outset, to refer to the wish for a separate autonomous Province that is uppermost in the minds of the people of Andhradesa. This is, I believe, a genuine and legitimate aspiration. You ask for this constitutional change in order that you may be able to devote your energies whole-heartedly for an adequate development of the part of the country inhabited by Telugu-speaking people. A glimpse into the proud record of the political and cultural achievements of the people of Andhradesa in the past fully justifies your ambition. Although your very just demand has, for the present, been rejected,

* Delivered at the Annual Convocation of the Andhra University on the 7th October, 1939.

it may be hoped that in view of the influential support that the project of an autonomous Andhra Province has already received from different quarters, it will be realized before long, when you will have an opportunity for self-expression to the fullest possible extent.

The establishment of your University may, in fact, be taken to be an earnest of the desire of the people of Andhradesa to take into their own hands the development of the cultural side of their activities and direct them along channels which would be conducive to a proper and adequate growth. It is gratifying to find that within the short space of thirteen years, you have been able to make very substantial progress, and that in addition to the moral and intellectual support that you have received, the Provincial Government, generous and public-spirited citizens and enlightened public bodies have come forward to back up your efforts by suitable financial support. The Maharaja of Jeypore has laid us under a deep debt of gratitude by his princely benefactions. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the present resources of the University are quite incommensurate with its needs, and that if it is to be enabled to fulfil its obligations even to a limited extent, ampler and more liberal resources must be forthcoming.

It is encouraging to find in this connexion some of the local bodies in your area contributing to the funds of the University. The example set by the Madras Government in accepting the principle that local bodies might contribute liberally to the University and that no objection would be raised by them except on grounds of financial inability is worthy of emulation by other Provincial Governments.

I desire to offer you my sincerest congratulations on the emphasis that you have been able to place on the conduct of research. Your record of researches carried on by teachers of the University, both from the points of view of quality and quantity, brings you credit and confers on you distinction. That the teachers have been able to carry on research in such a wide variety of subjects as Economics, Commerce, History, Politics, Philosophy, Telugu Literature, and different branches of Physics, Chemistry, Technology and Medical Sciences, and also to contribute original papers on them, apart from serving as an inspiration to students, is a very hopeful augury for the future development of the University. The results of your experiment of creation of new Chairs for really capable and competent persons, on a modest scale of remuneration, will certainly be watched with very great interest. *If the experiment be successful, it would help the diffusion of higher*

education much faster than might otherwise be expected. The proposal for establishment of new technological courses in various subjects is a step in the right direction. It is gratifying to note that the Technological Department has won the Government of India prize for sugar technology.

I am happy to find that you desire to give to music a recognized place among the subjects of study. This will be widely appreciated because of its value in awakening and developing the æsthetic faculty, which is an important human gift. In fact, a training in music has been found by educationalists to be almost as important as the training of the intellect through languages, science, mathematics. You are extremely fortunate in having a special advantage over others in this matter on account of the exceptional aptitude for music with which people of Andhradesa are endowed. I hope that the wise step taken by you in this matter will be followed in other Provinces.

While dealing with the future lines of development of the University, your last report refers to the question of educational reconstruction. It appears that some time ago the Government of your Province addressed you on the subject of reconstruction of Secondary and University education and that, after due consideration, you communicated to the Government your views on the problems involved. They subsequently informed you that it was their desire to give early effect to the scheme they had formulated on the subject. This involved the elimination of the Intermediate classes and extension of the degree course by a year. The new proposal, no doubt, meant a very important change.

In some of the other Provinces also changes of a similar nature have been advocated. In fact, the need of educational reconstruction in all its stages is being canvassed all over the country, and the question has engaged the attention of a host of educational experts and authorities and been discussed from widely different view-points. There can be no doubt that the time is quite ripe for a thorough overhauling of the entire educational system in India, and with the introduction of provincial autonomy, it should be possible to introduce a well-planned and properly integrated scheme of education from the lowest to the highest stage. In order that any reform that may be introduced in your scheme of studies may be effective, it is of absolute importance that those responsible for primary and secondary education should be induced to take the needed steps for improvement and reform.

along with any measures of reconstruction that may be undertaken in the upper stages.

In order that a modern university may be able to fulfil its purposes in a proper manner and on an adequate scale, it is necessary that there should be a clear understanding of the conception of general liberal education, the university being the chief educational authority responsible for fostering such education in its area of operation. This is needed, in view of the fact that there has been a considerable difference of opinion, even among eminent educationalists, as to what constitutes liberal education, since the days Plato and Aristotle expressed their ideas on the subject. It is contended by certain critics that any education other than purely literary and purely scientific cannot be included in any scheme of general liberal education and that such education is beyond the scope of any university. This has resulted in considerable loose thinking as to the relative importance of purely literary and scientific studies on the one hand and studies of so-called utilitarian or non-cultural subjects on the other. There is also much confusion of thought as to how far the university is the proper authority for imparting technical education.

Prof. A. N. Whitehead, in his work, *The Aims of Education and Other Essays* (1920), refers to the subject at some length. A national system of education, Prof. Whitehead thinks, should make use of three main methods, namely, the literary curriculum, the scientific curriculum and the technical curriculum and that each of these curricula should include the other two. "What I mean is," he adds, "that every form of education should give the pupil a technique, a science, an assortment of general ideas, and æsthetic appreciation, and that each of these sides of his training should be illuminated by the others. Lack of time, even for the most favoured pupil, makes it impossible to develop fully each curriculum. Always there must be a dominant emphasis. The most direct æsthetic training naturally falls in the technical curriculum in those cases when the training is that requisite for some art or artistic craft. But it is of high importance in both a literary and a scientific education."

Explaining further Prof. Whitehead says: "No human being can attain to anything but fragmentary knowledge and a fragmentary training of his capacities. There are, however, three main roads along which we can proceed with good hope of advancing towards the best balance of intellect and character : these are the way of literary culture,

the way of scientific culture, the way of technical culture. No one of these methods can be exclusively followed without grave loss of intellectual activity and of character. But a mere mechanical mixture of the three curricula will produce bad results in the shape of scraps of information never interconnected or utilised. We have already noted as one of the strong points of the traditional literary culture that all its parts are co-ordinated. The problem of education is to retain the dominant emphasis, whether literary, scientific or technical, and without loss of co-ordination to infuse into each way of education something of the other two."

Prof. Whitehead considers that the antithesis between a technical and a liberal education is fallacious. In his opinion, "There can be no adequate technical education which is not liberal, and no liberal education which is not technical: that is, no education which does not impart both technique and intellectual vision. In simpler language, education should turn out the pupil with something he knows well and something he can do well. This intimate union of practice and theory aids both. The intellect does not work best in a vacuum. The stimulation of creative impulse requires, especially in the case of a child, the quick transition to practice. Geometry and mechanics, followed by workshop practice, gain that reality without which mathematics is verbiage."

Your University, I am glad to find, has taken the right course by including technical studies in its curricula. I have taken the liberty of quoting the views of Professor Whitehead at some length, because he has dealt with the subject in a masterly way. This, it may be expected, should give a proper lead to our universities and strengthen the position of those who desire the universities to undertake on a more systematic and extended scale work in the sphere of applied sciences. A reference to the late Thomas H. Huxley's observations on the subject, expressed more than half a century ago, in his remarkably vigorous and lucid language, will be found both interesting and instructive. When discussing the question with reference to the state of technical education in England, in his time, he urged that the preliminary education of the student pursuing technical courses "shall have been such as to have given him command of the common implements of learning and to have created a desire for the things of the understanding"; that he "should devote the precious hours of preliminary education to things of the mind, which have no direct and immediate bearing on his branch

of industry, though they lie at the foundation of all realities"; and that the education that precedes the workshop "should be entirely devoted to the strengthening of the body, the elevation of the moral faculties, and the cultivation of the intelligence, and especially to the imbuing the mind with a broad and clear view of the laws of that natural world with the components of which he will have to deal." Huxley's advice was as valuable as that given by Professor Whitehead now.

Let us turn our attention for a few minutes to medicine and public health on the teaching of which your University has devoted considerable attention.

It is quite possible that in the Middle Ages the systems of medical treatment prevalent in India were, in many respects, more advanced than those in vogue elsewhere at the time. Although remarkable advances were made by the ancient Indian physicians and surgeons, who laid the foundations of medical science in this country, these savants became bound up, in course of time, by traditions, with the result that knowledge, instead of progressing, actually retrogressed in the subsequent ages, and the effect of this was that no important discoveries and no improvements were made since the ancient treatises were written. The ancient systems, however admirable, in many respects, were necessarily undeveloped, in the absence of a solid foundation of the basic sciences of physics, chemistry, bacteriology, biology, physiology, pharmacology, pathology, hygiene, etc., and ran mostly on speculative lines. The treatment of diseases was necessarily empirical, no corresponding improvement of these sciences having taken place in India during the nineteenth century when remarkable scientific progress was being consolidated in the western world.

When the British came to India they brought with them some British Surgeons, who held charge of hospitals for British soldiers, chiefly catering to the needs of the army. The need for training Indians in Western medicine arose out of the necessity of having moderately paid Indian assistants to these surgeons. The first medical school after the Western system had been opened in Calcutta in 1824. Between that year and 1835, when the Medical Colleges of Calcutta and Madras were started, medical teaching was imparted in the vernacular by translating English books as also by assimilating the essential features of the indigenous systems of medicine, by organising teaching through the agency of the Sanskrit and Madrassa Colleges in Calcutta. Although the first two Medical Colleges, established in Calcutta and

Madras, were founded in 1835, they were affiliated to the University in 1857 and 1863 respectively. But it was not until 1906 that the need for the teaching of the higher standard was recognised. There are now ten University grade Medical Colleges in India, including one exclusively for women.

With the passing of the Indian Medical Council Act in 1933, attempts have been made to raise undergraduate medical teaching to a higher and more uniform standard. The medical curricula have undergone many changes since 1892, when direct connection was established between the Indian Medical College and the General Medical Council of the United Kingdom. The Medical Council of India has recently made mathematics a compulsory subject in the premedical science course of studies, and has suggested that the first two years should be occupied in the study of professional scientific subjects, with an introduction to clinical methods, and that no student should be certified as qualified for attending classes in the clinical group of subjects, until he has satisfied the examiners that he has a competent knowledge of the subjects of these two years. The Council has also rightly laid down that throughout the whole period of study the attention of the student should be directed to the importance of the preventive aspects of medicine and of measures for the assessment and maintenance of normal health.

Although the Indian Medical Council has done good work within the short period of its existence, handicap to co-ordinated progress in the teaching of medicine and surgery in India has arisen as a result of the control of this body by the General Medical Council of the United Kingdom.

The special needs of India and of Indian students must be kept in view in framing a medical curriculum and in introducing appropriate courses of training. Indian students and Indian conditions should receive special emphasis from the teachers. A fair amount of research work has been carried out by Indian workers on diseases prevalent in this country within the last four or five decades: hence an Indian orientation to medical teaching can very well be given now by those who are responsible for the same. Research is the sap of the plant of science. Hence every teaching institution must encourage research work among its teachers and students. Researches into the etiology and pathology of unexplained diseases and on therapy, particularly in the domain of indigenous drugs, should receive special attention. With

the excellent natural advantages which India possesses as regards her soil, climate and plant flora, and with proper and adequate training of young students in chemistry and allied subjects for handling these and other relevant matters, it should not be necessary for her to depend wholly on imports. Each time a war blockades the communications between the West and the East we realise our helplessness in the matter of the supply of medicinal preparations and chemicals. I hope the young generation which I see before me here will try to remove these wants in a large measure.

A time has come when we should give a public health orientation to medical teaching, and this should be in consonance with the needs and the environment which a student or a medical practitioner or a public health worker will have to deal with. Every medical student should be made to participate in public health activities as part of his training in medicine and public health. Public health diplomas are now granted to medical graduates in various provincial universities, although most of them at the present moment are post-graduate ; Madras and Bombay are the only two Universities which give the B.Sc. degree in Public Health.

Let us now devote a few moments in assessing the number of qualified medical men and public health workers needed to take care of and to rehabilitate the health of 6,00,000 villages. If we have to supply one qualified doctor and one qualified public health man to a group of three villages, we shall require 2,00,000 workers of each category to put a well-considered scheme into operation. As a result of scientific medical teaching for the last 100 years, we can now supply 35,000 qualified doctors and only a few hundred public health workers for the above purpose. If we go on at this rate, it will take for us another 200 years to raise India to an up-to-date world level. The need for rapid progress in these directions is, therefore, obvious. As in medical relief, so in public health, we should have field demonstration centres in connection with teaching. These supply a student with a proper outlook about his responsibilities to the community without which he is likely to be a misfit.

The Universities have tried to keep in touch with post-graduate training and research since the opening of Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene in 1920 and the All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health in 1932. While these institutes have many individuals as torch-bearers for the rest of India, there is no reason

why every university should not encourage the establishment of provincial institutes for the purpose of a quicker output of the number of workers as well as the volume of work, for every province should need the services of a much larger number of qualified graduates in the near future. It is a happy sign that research work is being carried on in many of the Medical Colleges in India, and your College, I am glad to note, takes a prominent part in this.

With the establishment of provincial autonomy in the provinces, efforts are being made to give official recognition to the Ayurvedic, Unani and Homœopathic systems of medicine. The basic sciences of chemistry, physics, biology, physiology, pharmacology, pathology and bacteriology are the same all over the world. The present tendency to register practitioners of various so-called systems of medicine, lacking systematic scientific training of any sort, is a move in the wrong direction. We do not call a barrister or an advocate now practising in India according to communal denominations. Science is progressive and must be the same throughout the world. The criterion of the right of a doctor to medical practice, or to the privilege of registration, must depend on the basic knowledge he possesses of the fundamental sciences of chemistry, physics, anatomy, physiology, pharmacology, pathology and of medicine, surgery, midwifery and other cognate subjects. No system of medicine—Ayurvedic, Unani, or any other—can get on without the help of modern basic sciences. There should be no spirit of communalism or opportunism or false economy concerning matters of life and death of millions of ignorant and helpless villagers whom we have failed to educate or elevate. The question of prevention of epidemic diseases cannot be successfully solved, unless scientific methods of proved efficiency are adopted. How can we apply all the different systems of medicine towards this end? The proper move should be to have only one medical science which has been worked out by the scientists all over the world, incorporating into it whatever good there may be in the indigenous medical sciences of the country. If this is done, there will be only one medical register in the country, which should facilitate the control of medical relief and sanitation for the entire population. It is for this reason that I am compelled to discourage the teaching of the so-called medical systems, without the help of the basic sciences. If India is to achieve her place among the first rank nations of the world, she must advance with the help of modern sciences and she

must discourage retrograde measures of the sort that are being encouraged in some of the provinces, without forethought and imagination.

Among the problems of reform that await solution, the most pressing is the use of one's own mother-tongue as the medium of instruction in place of the English language. Quite a large proportion of students are now found to be unfit for the University courses. This proportion has increased considerably with the growth in the number of students taking up college courses. This serves as a serious handicap to proper progress and development. Among the causes of this defect, the very unnatural practice of the use of a foreign tongue as the medium of instruction may be considered to be the most important. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore describes in his picturesque and inimitable language the serious evils that have resulted from this arrangement. In the course of his Convocation Address at the Calcutta University delivered two years ago he says: "We know of parasitic creatures in the animal world that live and die in utter dependence on their hosts. They are able to eke out a living, but are for ever crippled in the growth of their limbs and organs. Such has been the case with our modern school and college education. It has from its inception been parasitic on a foreign tongue, so that, though nourishment has not been altogether lacking, it has been obtained at the cost of all-round development—so much so, that it has even ceased to be sensible of its own abortiveness. Accustomed to live by borrowing, it has come to measure attainment by largeness of debt: it has signed a bond of servitude to the thinkers of other lands. Those who receive such education cannot produce what they consume. Brought up to absorb the thoughts of others, their academic success depends on their ability to repeat by rote, and their own faculty of thought, their courage of conviction, their creative inspiration, have all been enfeebled. It goes without saying that the only way of revival from such chronic debility is by the assimilation and application of the subject-matter of education through one's own language, just as, in order to incorporate foodstuffs into the body, they have to be chewed with one's own teeth, saturated with one's own digestive juices." My University has just adopted the use of Bengali as the medium of instruction as also of examination in place of English in many of the courses in the Arts and Science Faculties. Similar action is needed elsewhere also. In this matter the example

of Japan is of classic importance and should give us courage and hope. It is true that there will be difficulties in the beginning, such as preparation of proper text-books, etc., but these, it has been found, are not insurmountable. When medical education for Indians was first introduced by the British, the needed text-books were speedily prepared for the students; judged by the results of similar use of one's own mother-tongue in the study and examination of the medical subjects in the lower standard of medical schools, there can be neither any fear nor any misgiving as to the success of any enterprise in this direction.

I have to address a few words of advice to the recipients of degrees to-day, who are now ready to enter life as responsible citizens. Do not consider that I am presumptuous enough to think that I can say anything new or anything that you do not know. But I should ask you, youths of India, to bear in mind, above everything else, that the chief responsibility for the future progress of the country rests on you. It is true that you will have to work hard to achieve individual competence and advancement, but true social efficiency can never be attained so long as each individual is not prepared to contribute his best gifts to society and to enjoy advantages which society can offer him. In fact, the process of self-realization through social life is the best result of the educative process. What is needed, therefore, is that you should foster a life of social service based upon devotion and a proper spirit of sacrifice.

It must be your aspiration, as it is the desire of every Indian who loves his or her motherland, that India should not lag behind any country in the various spheres of her social or national activity. Take, for instance, the problem of educational advance, the basis of all national progress. If India expects to be treated on a footing of equality by the progressive countries of the world, the first thing needed is that the educational backwardness of her people should be removed within the shortest possible time. Other people have shown that it is possible to achieve this result if proper measures are adopted. Now that responsible ministers of autonomous provinces are empowered to deal with all problems relating to education, our progress in this direction should be rapid. It is possible for you, young graduates of the University, to throw yourselves heart and soul into this noble work and do your bit by helping in various ways the diffusion of enlightenment among the vast masses of your countrymen and countrywomen, who are sunk in

abysmal ignorance and in the grossest illiteracy. Educated young men in some of the Provinces have already shown the way by undertaking such work. But the problem is of such importance and magnitude as to require a properly devised scheme for comprehensive action throughout the entire country. In this connection it is not out of place to state that among the remedial measures for unemployment among educated men and women adopted by some of the foreign countries, the overhauling and reorganization of the system of schools is one.

Another very important sphere in which young medical graduates can undertake similar welfare work is improvement of public health. I have already spoken on the subject at some length. Those who have gone through the recently published report of the Public Health Commissioner of India must have seen how severe is the havoc and how extreme the suffering that is caused by preventible and remediable diseases in India. It is possible to reduce the heavy mortality very considerably, and to give relief to the unparalleled misery and distress that is caused to an incredibly large percentage of the population, by suitable measures. In their Introduction to the recent work, *A Century of Municipal Progress*, the editors, Professor Harold J. Laski, and Messrs. W. Ivor Jennings and William A. Robson, of the University of London, describe how during the past hundred years the death-rate in England has been halved, the infantile mortality reduced by three quarters, and cholera which used to be a periodical menace is now considered to be something 'remote and oriental.' They further observe: "One hundred years ago people expected to have the small-pox as now they expect their dogs to have distemper; to-day, on the average, it is the cause of one in a million deaths. One hundred years ago, the Webbs have told us, nearly every person was either recovering from or sickening for enteric fever; now it causes less than six in a million deaths. The other infectious diseases and such diseases as tuberculosis have been reduced to proportions, which would have been regarded a century ago as almost Utopian. These are facts which can be proved by statistics. We cannot prove in that way the enormous increase in the comfort and convenience of the people. Nor can we prove in the same way that without the development of the educational and related services modern commerce and industry would be impossible. Yet a moment's reflection shows that it must be so. The enormous developments in the technique of industry and of business administration have been possible only because we are not merely a healthy but

also a literate people. Indeed, our whole democratic system rests upon an educated electorate." A small state like Yugoslavia has achieved a splendid record during recent years in the domain of preventive and remedial medical relief to the population and Soviet Russia's efforts in such directions are, perhaps, unequalled by any other country in the world. What others have been able to accomplish, we should also be able to do.

It is imperative that the wealth of the country should be adequately increased by proper measures of industrial and agricultural development. This is needed not only with a view to removing the conditions of abject poverty and indescribable misery in which the vast mass of the people of India pass their days, but also for concerting proper measures of national development. In all this it is, of course, the primary duty of Government to take the initiative. But if you realize your responsibility, you will be able to render suitable help either as future citizens, or as future legislators, or as public servants or leaders of public opinion, or in other ways. Where the people are imbued with a genuine sense of loyalty for their country, have an adequate concern for the commonweal, and are enthusiastic in their regard for the welfare of the general body of citizens, such a country or such a people can alone be expected to prosper.

It is a most tragic circumstance that while India stands in need of the services of a vast army of devoted and selfless workers, who could bring enlightenment to the ignorant and the illiterate, afford relief to the poor and the destitute, allay the sufferings of the sick and the infirm, and develop in a proper manner the agricultural, industrial, mineral and other resources of the country which lie dormant, the energies of numberless educated young men are running to waste as, in the absence of proper opportunities, they are unable to earn a living and to become useful citizens. If the urgency and gravity of the question were fully realised, neither the Government, nor the community would allow things to drift any longer.

The problem is not peculiar to India only. Elsewhere also similar conditions have existed, and in some of the countries, comprehensive action has been taken by the Governments concerned to tackle the problem. The time has come when the Government in this country should also definitely recognise its obligation in this matter. Youths of India, if you are earnest and enterprising, you can play your part in the solution of this difficult problem. Inspired by a high ideal

and by the spirit of devotion and service to the motherland, you can render material help, on the one hand, in the removal of the deficiencies and drawbacks that stand in the way of India's advance, and, on the other, in securing the conditions of progress.

Before I bring my address to a close, I desire to refer very briefly to another matter of vital importance, namely, the need of effective measures for the protection of the people of India against foreign aggression. The sanguinary conflict that is raging since some time past between different nations has brought home to all thoughtful Indians the utter helplessness of her people against any future foreign offensive. For over half a century Indian public men have urged that proper steps be adopted for opening recruitment to the Army to all classes and sections of the population, in place of the present system, which favours certain classes and provinces against others, and that adequate opportunities be given for the appointment of educated Indians in the higher ranks of the Army in sufficiently large numbers in order that India may gradually become self-dependent in the sphere of defence. This just demand has so far met with a very meagre response. No time should now be lost in bringing into being a modern and efficient force manned by Indians, without any distinction of class, creed or province, in order that the people of the country may be enabled to defend themselves effectively against foreign attack. Dr. B. S. Moonje, of Nagpur, is entitled to our gratitude for his ceaseless efforts for the establishment of the Bhonsla Military Academy at Nasik, the first of its kind started, for military training, under non-official auspices. It is desirable that Military Training should be organized in all the University centres, as has been done in Calcutta, so that educated young men could be trained and would be prepared to protect their motherland in case of need. The accounts we have in old Bengali literature show that Bengal was, till the eighteenth century, full of 'Telenga Soldiers,' who were held very formidable in war. It should not be difficult for you to revive your old martial instincts under proper conditions. No autonomy or self-government can be real so long as the people concerned are not able to defend their country and their liberty against hostile assault and encroachment.

THE ÆSTHETIC AND THE SOCIAL IN ART APPRECIATION

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THE Viking Press of New York is to be congratulated on the publication of Sheldon Cheney's *World History of Art* (1937, over 1,000 pages, 500 illustrations, \$ 5). It is a study in the dynamics of art-styles and art-milieux from the most pre-historic ages up to the present day. The data have been pleasantly presented in a manner that indicates the author's intimate acquaintance with the genuine alphabet of art. It is not as an archæologist or culture-antiquarian that Cheney writes. He is interested in art as a thing to be enjoyed, in art for its own sake, and is exhibiting the specimens of art by moving from epoch to epoch and region to region or race to race. The analysis of æsthetic forms—whether in architecture, sculpture and painting or in the decorative and industrial arts—is his chief concern. This is an item generally ignored by those art-historians who write of the ideals or philosophies of culture or are interested chiefly in the borrowings, migrations or origins of styles, *i.e.*, those authors who as a rule are the farthest removed from art as the thing in itself.¹ And yet the culture-historical, philosophical or sociological perspective has not escaped the author.

Anthropological explorations have widened the range of æsthetics. So it is possible to-day to encounter the specimens of man's creativeness at 15,000, 30,000 or 50,000 B.C. There is such a thing as Cro-Magnon art or the art of the troglodytes. The masterpieces of that art are the paintings of the Reindeer Age on the walls of caves in south-western Europe and Africa, and the epoch of palæolithic or old stone age. And yet those artists did not spring full-equipped from the brain of some Cro-Magnon Zeus. Cheney suggests with a good deal of reason that the painters of the bison and reindeer and mammoth on the rock walls in Spain and France represent the culmination of a long apprenticeship, the ripe-fruit at the end of age-long

¹ The distinction between the two methods of art-analysis is the subject-matter of "Viewpoints in Aesthetics" a chapter in the present author's *Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress* (Calcutta, 1939), pp. 116-143.

development. The same is to be postulated or inferred about the Mohenjodarian culture and art, as done by the present author in *Creative India* (Lahore, 1937).

The statement is valid not only in regard to the chronology of evolution, but in regard to æsthetic values as well. It is pointed out that "these earliest pictures have the features considered typical of the true masterpiece: plastic completeness, intense life, monumental proportions. They also often have that incidental virtue which was for the Victorians a basic excellence: extraordinary truth of observation." The worth of this oldest art of mankind is indeed so universal and eternal that, as is well known and as Cheney points out, the "moderns" of 1880-1930 have self-consciously tried but to recapture that strong, youthful spirit, the direct unrealistic statement, the intuitive plastic expression. Sociologically it is important to note that the spirituality of man acquires a phenomenal expansion both in time and space as a result of such liberalism in æsthetic interpretations.

The conventional idea that Oriental art is primarily symbolic is not conceded, and quite justly, by Cheney. In his appraisal it is rather expressionism that is characteristically illustrated in the great body of Asian art. Expressionism fits Eastern art better than it does any large development of Western art before the post-impressionist, says he. The intention of Oriental art is to fix the feeling of the thing rather than to reproduce its dimensions and outlines and material details.

Cheney's treatment and interpretation of Chinese paintings are suggestive and in the main acceptable. But in regard to Hindu art he does not rise above the conventional. In his statement that Brahmanism leads inevitably to asceticism and to denial of the pleasures and facts of sense he accepts without sense the Eur-American tradition and bids adieu as much to contact with the actual specimens of Hindu art as to history, economics and sociology. His fallacy is due to his being rather consciously misled by the silly statements of L. M. Phillipps' *Form and Colour* (New York, 1915) to the effect that "India's only teachers are solitary dreamers, * * * India has built up no edifice of mundane knowledge, * * * India is not interested in the world we live in, * * * India is not interested in man." And yet as art-critic Cheney is conscious that Hindu art is "not austere or gloomy or remote." He admits that it is "man-centred."

Once in a while Cheney hits upon the reality when he observes that Hindu art "holds to the essential dignity of the human soul

without denying sensuous appeal." Again, "almost miraculously the balance is held," says he. "The soul and the senses are addressed in one evocative harmony, in one sculptural creation."

And this leads one to surmise that if and when art-students care to approach the actual specimens of Hindu architecture, sculpture and painting as art-connoisseurs pure and undefiled, *i.e.*, as self-determined researchers in form, and refuse to take a previous grounding in the conclusions of the cycle of orientalists and indologists they will be convinced how mischievously they have been led astray by the alleged specialists in Indian philosophy, theology, metaphysics and view of life. It will then flash upon them as a first postulate that Indian art is "man-centred." The stupidity of declaring in the second decade of the twentieth century that "India is not interested in man" would stand self-condemned. But, such nonsensical notions are likely to obsess the world of sciences and arts for quite a long time still—and for reasons discussed at length in the present author's *Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress* (first edition, Berlin, 1922; second edition, Calcutta, 1939).²

It is a merit of the present work that Java, Cambodia and Champa have been dealt with as regions of Indian art in expansion. The art of Greater India has been placed in the proper sociological and historical perspective. But the absence of any reference to Mohenjodarian art and culture in this otherwise comprehensive work, published as it is in 1937, is to be regretted as a capital defect.

Moslem art's place in East and West has been indicated with due emphasis. A valuable viewpoint for the student of cultural dynamics is the rôle of Iran as envisaged by Cheney. It is brought out that the Persian name turns up casually in the chronicles of every culture from Spain to China, and suggested that Iran will yet be recognized as the mother of the Oriental arts. At any rate, the remark that Persia was the originator and Islam the instrument is quite apposite and would remind us somewhat of captive Greece capturing Rome.

European art of the sixth to the twelfth century is generally known as Romanesque. According to Cheney this is a misnomer. "To continue to define Romanesque as the art of Romanized Europe is, on stylistic and racial grounds, unsound and misleading. In the Dark and the Middle Ages it was rather the barbarian and Eastern art impulses

² See the chapter on "The Futurism of Young Asia"

that dominated and all but submerged the Latin." This is a radical viewpoint and deserves careful historical as well as sociological research.

It is questionable, however, if one is entitled to make, as Cheney does, a statement like the following: "Gothic architecture is an isolated expression, approached in kind only by the late Romanesque." Morphologically, the interior of the Buddhist cave temples as well as the spires (*sikharas*) of the Brahmanical temples are to be counted among the cognates of the Gothic pattern. It is by all means possible to establish an equation in certain particulars between the Indian religious mind and the Gothic mind which has been described as the mind of "mystic realism" and as attempting to "bring a harmony out of the material and the spiritual, the sublime and the grotesque." Indeed, the ideological affinities between Buddhism and Roman Catholic Christianity are too patent to be ignored. The impacts of Hindu-Buddhist religious art on the Gothic architecture which is supposed to be the "clearest flame of the Christian spirit" cannot be entirely ruled out on psychological or historical grounds. From the standpoint of socio-aesthetic patterns the Gothic Cathedral cannot be treated as *sui generis*.

The social milieu of Italian humanism as represented by the Renaissance masters, Botticelli and Da Vinci, has been described with realistic details in the background of Savonarola, the "fanatic preacher who had pointed out that the Pope's court was corrupt and licentious." The treatment here as in other instances is marked by technical analysis which indicates that the author is not a mere antiquarian, archaeologist, historian or anthropologist. Cheney is not bamboozled by orthodox opinions. He is honest enough to declare that "it was the diffusion of Leonardo's energies and inventiveness over so many fields that prevented a surpassing success as painter. The very fact of his extraordinary intellectual powers, moreover, may have precluded exercise of any passionate creative faculty." It is, too true that Da Vinci penetrated toward the spiritual only a very little way and that he made the landscape backgrounds and the expressions in portrayed faces 'mysterious' but that of the truer mystic values there is scarcely a trace." Cheney can very often be depended upon as a sound guide in the principles of pure aesthetics. According to him Da Vinci is "excluded from the rolls of those in whose art the creative values transcend the illustrational ones." This verdict is brutal but sincere and justified. It is by applying this touchstone that we can

justify his enthusiasm for the canvases of El Greco (1542-1614), the Spanish master, somewhat neglected for a long time until rediscovered by moderns, *e.g.*, by Cezanne.

To the directors of museums in East and West Cheney is likely to appear rather too harsh to Murillo (1618-1682), the Spanish artist. "No other painter so long praised as immortal has fallen into eclipse with such rapidity," says he. The transvaluation is not unnatural in view of the fact that the world has adequately assimilated the story and social aspects of the things produced by Murillo. On the other hand, Cheney has high hopes about Cranach (1472-1553), the German master of the sixteenth century. "This somewhat neglected artist seems likely," he believes, "to come into increased rather than lessened favour." "There is nothing quite like his Eves and Venuses in the whole range of Western art." But the author is reasonable enough to admit that Cranach is not a "large" painter. It should be possible to agree in this remark.

It is good to be reminded that Holland affords the "first example of a national art truly democratic, escaped from priestly, kingly and aristocratic domination." Cheney's sociology does not overpower his aesthetics, for he declares at once that the "Dutch exhibit, aside from the work of one genius (Rembrandt), is the most prosaic, unexciting and earthbound." The defects of democracy in regard to the art world are patent on the surface. "Paintings are overproduced and are soon underpriced." The result is that Hals dies a pauper and Rembrandt is buried not as a recognized artist but as an obscure and beggarly Ghetto character. But all the same, an art is born and with it a new way of living for the artist. Cheney's eye sees art and society in the correct perspectives when he asserts that in the Dutch democratic art as created by the unfortunate masters is to be seen the beginning of the story of the artist in the modern capitalist state. This is the commencement also of the modern picturesque and *genre* painting.

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries have been so much dominated by French masters and styles that one almost forgets that France virtually disappeared from the story of art as the Gothic spirit faded. Cheney therefore calls prominent attention to the fact that no great art came out of France in the period 1350 to 1600. We are reminded also that the French masters Poussin (1593-1665) and Claude Lorrain (1600-1682), although somewhat creative, were life-long ex-

patriates, Lorrain being more German than French in all respects. They are rightly to be described as the two "Roman Frenchmen."

In Cheney's analysis British art is literary and intellectual rather than creative. It is pointed out that outside England the name best known in the annals of British art is not that of a painter, a sculptor or an architect but that of a theorist and critic, Ruskin. But in Turner the author observes "England's one major release from literal and earthbound painting." And Blake knew how to "see all things from within, counting imaginative vision the truest reality and the sight of the physical eyes a lesser actuality." He overrode all traditions and touched on forms of expression that are universal and eternal.

The world's aesthetic trend is envisaged by Cheney as follows: From the beginning of the Renaissance to the time of Courbet's (1819-1877) naturalism, says he, there was a steady march of art as surface realism, a gradual refinement of means by which the aspects of nature could be imitated. The great revolution in both aesthetics and practice came when a few radical artists gave up the convention of imitation and reversed the centuries old trend; moved away toward other than representational values.

The nineteenth century is the epoch in which the culmination of realism *par excellence* has been consummated. It is possible to indicate the varieties within this realism. For instance, Davidian classicism or neo-classicism (c 1800) is followed by the romantic (c 1830, e.g., Delacroix). Then comes the so-called realistic (c 1855, Courbet) and this is replaced by the impressionist (c 1875, Monet). All these were but parts of a single phenomenon, the maturing of Renaissance realism. According to Cheney all these movements of 1790-1880 were phases of this secular trend as seen in the light of the post-impressionism (i.e., expressionism) of today (1880-1930). The founder of post-impressionism is Cezanne (1839-1906).

According to Cheney realism cannot be treated as the art of democracy or of the republican age. For, post-impressionism has come in as a revolution in the same countries and societies as fostered the realistic schools. Rather, the rise of nineteenth-century naturalism is to be linked up with the rise of the middle class and the triumph of materialistic philosophies, the correlates of the industrial revolution and the machine age. The bourgeois, the employer, the capitalist is not imaginative enough to appreciate an expression. He

wants pictures that seem unmysterious, in other words, reproductive, anecdotal, *i.e.*, story-telling in print.

Comprehensive as Cheney is, he makes it a point to signalize the rôle of the Orient in the post-impressionist revolution in Eur-American art. This aspect of the relations between East and West was brought in relief in the present author's essay *Hindu Art: Its Humanism and Modernism* (B. W. Huebsch, New York, 1920). "Contemporary artists have been seized by *Wanderlust*," it was observed in that brochure; "Today they draw their inspiration from the Mexicans, the Mayans, and other American-Indians, from the Negro art of the Congo regions, from Karnak and Nineveh, from the Tanagras of Greece and the 'primitives' of Italy. And they roll their eyes from China to Peru. Consequently the Buddhist, Shaiva, Vaishnava, Moghul, and Rajput art of the Hindus could not but have been requisitioned to enlarge the list of the new Ossians and Percy's *Reliques* as whetters of the futuristic imagination of the Western world."

The historic march of realism had led up to impressionism. The epochal nature of the revolution was at first described by connoisseurs temporarily as post-impressionism. But "after a half-century of development it has found a more definitive label, expressionism, a name that seems destined to live because it throws emphasis back upon expression as against imitation." All the major currents of creative painting since 1880 are anti-realistic. The twentieth century artist does not imitate effects discovered in nature. The modern does not illustrate. He avoids the literary or anecdotal approach as well as the documentary or descriptive. We are to understand that in the dynamics of art-culture the oldest—the palæolithic—and the newest (the futurist of today) have met.

The book has come down to Max Weber the modernist of New York and Munch, Kokoschka, Nolde, Pechstein and other expressionists of our own times so far as Eur-America is concerned. A chapter might have been added, therefore, to describe the twentieth-century tendencies in the art creations of Asia in view of the fact that Cheney has sought systematically to show the interactions between East and West. In a study which exhibits the impacts of the Orient upon the latest futurists of the Occident the reader would then have been interested to find that a great deal of what passes for Oriental art in modern and contemporary Asia (including India) is inspired by the

art achievements of the Occident. And this might provide a fine tonic to the artaestheticians as well as art-sociologists, who as a rule think in terms of the East-West polarities even in regard to the present times.

Altogether Cheney has produced a fascinating work which can be conscientiously recommended by every librarian in the world not only to the lay public but also to the higher students or researchers in art-problems. Cheney's interpretations are frankly modernist. But he is objective enough to introduce the reader to the stereotyped views on the specimens or the masters analyzed by him. This should be eminently useful to everybody who wants to get general information about some eight to ten thousand years of aesthetic evolution. The author can be generally trusted as an expert as well as a safe guide.

A RETROSPECTIVE STUDY OF INDIAN WOMANHOOD

TAPONATH CHAKRABARTY, M.A.

[T is usual for Western critics to point out that the greatest drawback of the Indian system of education in the past is that it was a half-way house, the product of one section of the community and that women had practically nothing to contribute to the cultural life of the people. It is not uncommon, therefore, to argue that in this respect at least there is a close affinity between the Indian and the Hellenic system of education.

On the one hand, the Indian system of education, specially the Hindu system of education, is said to have been sacerdotal, that is, the monopoly of a narrow priestly oligarchy; on the other, it is said to have implied the total exclusion of women from the intellectual life of the country.

No impartial student of Indian history, however, can ever disbelieve the simple anecdote of Satyakâma which shows unmistakably that caste prejudice could not at least unman the best cultured men of the time, that caste never appeared to be the be-all and end-all of life, that there were always men who lived above such prejudices and who were catholic enough to drag every one within the fold of their intellectual and spiritual life.

There is evidence to believe that the educational life of the people was never dominated wholly by a narrow sacerdotalism even in the worst days of social and intellectual taboos and ethical restrictions when Smṛti writers had tightened their bonds upon society, and when, as is popularly supposed, there was a narrowing down of the former wider intellectual and spiritual outlook of the people, for, even the puritan legislator, Manu, in his well-known Code (Manu, II, 231-240) lays down the rule that one should acquire knowledge even from the lowly Chaṇḍâla, that in the matter of learning one should not hesitate to learn things even from a boy or an enemy. This shows that learning was not the exclusive monopoly of the Brahmins, that considerations of caste had never blinded men so as to lead them to sacrifice common sense and equity

and neglect the higher call of cultural and intellectual life. The classical examples of King Janaka of Mithilā, who was styled Rājārshi and who was noted alike for his learning as well as sanctity, of the mighty sage Viśvāmītra, who by his merits assumed the rank of a Brāhmin, of the learned Bhīṣma—all show that caste was a flexible term and never indicated a watertight compartment as at present, that there was free passage from one caste to another, that the control of education was never vested in the hands of a priestly oligarchy not only in Vedic age but even later, that men of ability and purity were worth the name of a scholar or of a Brāhmin. The same remark applies in the domain of religion, as we find from the examples of Guhaka Chaṇḍāla of the Rāmāyaṇa and Yavana Haridāsa of Vaiṣṇava literature.

The very fact that Manu in his Code (Manu, II, 241) sanctions that in times of danger even Brāhmin pupils should become disciples of non-Brāhmin teachers and thus continue their education shows that there were lots of non-Brāhmin teachers who were quite competent to impart knowledge to Brāhmin pupils even and who were in no way inferior to the Brāhmin teachers. It is clear from the above statement of Manu further that with a view to the spread of education, alone Manu was compelled to lay down such a rule, for, otherwise, there would be a deadlock in society and every kind of cultural activity would cease to exist. This shows that the Brāhmins were not the only custodians of learning and whatever control they had over the intellectual and educational life of the people was due to their superior knowledge and foresight in the matter.

As to the contributions of women to the cultural life of the people, we must begin by pointing out that in the broad field of knowledge there was no such thing as sex disqualification in India; for, the Indian poet triumphantly asserts the favourite educational motto of the people, "Guṇāḥ pūjāsthānam guṇishu, na cha lingam na cha vayah," that is to say, "merit must ever be appreciated regardless of the sex or the age of its incumbent." The great commentator, Sāyanāchārya, while commenting on the R̥gveda says, "The wife and the husband, being two equal halves of one and the same substance, are equal in every respect and both should join and take part in all kinds of work, religious and secular." The sage, Vātsyāyana, in his well-known work, "Kāmasūtram" (Book I, chapter 3, sūtras 8 to 10), records in a similar way his emphatic

opinion as to why the "Kâmasûtram" should be studied and its practical injunctions properly carried out by every woman. He thus points out that because there is the science of grammar even persons not acquainted with it conform to its demands while offering sacrifices, just as the existence of astronomy is responsible for the performance of holy deeds on auspicious days by persons who have no knowledge of its text. Similarly, as Vâtsyâyana points out, although it is by training and practice that men learn how to ride on a horse or on an elephant, yet in origin even such knowledge is based on some science, the study of which is, therefore, essential. This argument, as Vâtsyâyana points out, holds good not only in the case of Kâma Sâstra but in the case of every other Sâstra or scripture; for, as he points out, when the injunctions of those Sâstras or scriptures are being translated into practice by women, there can be no ground for keeping the literature or texts of those scriptures shut from their view. No better advocate of female education can ever be conceived.

According to the educational philosophy of India culture is the root of all happiness and everyone should be happy on this earth because learning brings in its train modesty which befits a person, from this fitness follows wealth and out of wealth comes virtue which produces bliss.

It is not proper to compare ancient customs with the institutions of modern civilisation; but the historian of India who has studied the literature of the ancient Hindus, can have no hesitation in asserting that never in the most polished days of Egypt, Greece or Rome were women held in such high regard in those countries as in India several thousand years ago. Although Indian women did not mix so freely in the society of men as women do in modern Europe, yet absolute seclusion at home and restraint were unknown in India till the Muhammadan conquest. Athens left her women in seclusion at home and her mighty educational system with all its glory was meant for her male citizens alone. Sparta, although she devised a system of physical education for her women so as to make them mothers of brave and healthy children, left them barren of thought and feeling, of intellect and emotion. The poetess Sappho, considering her age, is, perhaps, the only learned woman of her country and as such formed a notable exception to the general rule. The poetess Alcæus is another remarkable exception. The Nile-dweller was not much in advance of his

time in this respect ; he had as his ideal a delightful home, with a faithful wife, courteous to the family and its gods. In India, however, at that early age there were no unhealthy restrictions against women, nor was there any organised attempt to keep them uneducated. As a learned Indian author remarks, " Considered as the intellectual companions of their husbands, as their affectionate helpers in the journey of life, and as the inseparable partners of their religious duties, Hindu wives received the honour and respect due to their position."

The sage, Vātsyāyana, gives us a picture of Buddhist India which was studded here and there with innumerable nunneries and monastic establishments wherein resided a large number of female ascetics, bhikṣuṇīs, śramaṇās and kṣhapaṇikās and from the pages of his work, " Kāmasūtram," we get a glimpse of the cultural life of Indian women during his days. Thus when Vātsyāyana lays down that every woman should as far as possible make herself acquainted with at least the relevant portions of the " Kāmasūtram " and be adept in the sixty-four allied arts and asserts (Kāmasūtram, I, iii, 12) that there are lots of such accomplished princesses, daughters of rich nobles and officials (mahāmātras) and courtesans, we can well imagine the cultural life of Indian women during his days. It is clear thus that education did not only spread amongst women of gentle birth but amongst the courtesans too. Kauṭilya in his Arthaśāstra speaks of accomplished and cultured courtesans whom the king is to employ for the good of his state. A knowledge of the sixty-four arts (chātuh-ṣaṭikā Kalā), of which Vātsyāyana speaks, meant a kind of learning which no modern woman can ever conceive ; it comprised a world in itself. The mastery of the sixty-four arts thus implied a knowledge of both vocal and instrumental music (gītam vādyam), of dancing and painting (nrityam ālekhyam), of forehead decoration and of the art of ornamenting the floor with unbroken rice or loose flower (viśeshaka-chchhedyam taṇḍulakusumabalivikārāḥ), of the art of making floral beds and of adorning the clothes, the teeth and other limbs (puṣpāstaraṇam daśanavaśanāṅgarāgāḥ), of the art of making the floor cold by setting pearls and other jewels on it and of the art of making different kinds of bed (maṇibhūmikākarma śayana-rachanam), of the art of beating the water with the palm of one's hand and making it sound like a drum and of the art of making the water pass through the palm of one's hand, as if through a pipe

(udakaghātaḥ), of the art of incantation (chitrâśchayogâḥ), of the art of making wreaths of different kinds and of garland decoration (mālya grathanavikalpâḥ śekharaṇīdayojanam), of the art of dressing and of the art of making ear-rings of conch-shell, ivory and so on (nepathyaprayogâḥ karnapatra-bhaṅgâḥ), of the art of setting pearls and other jewels to various ornaments like coronets, necklaces and so on (gandhayuktiḥ bhūṣaṇayojanam), of the arts of magic and jugglery (aindrajâlâḥ hastalâghavam), of the arts of cooking and embroidery, of the art of making artificial sounds resembling the notes of harp and lute (vinâḍamarukavâdyâni), of the art of composing and answering puzzles and rhymes (prahelikâ pratimâlâ), of the art of using difficult and eluding words and expressions (durbâchakayogâḥ), of the art of reading and recitation (pustakavâchanam), of dramatic performances and picturesque representation of tales (nâṭakâkhyâyikâ-darśanam), of the art of developing a stray line into a full-fledged verse (kâvyasamasyâ-pûraṇam), of carpentry (takṣhaṇam), of basket making (vetravân vikalpâḥ), of engineering and architecture (vâstuvidyâ), of the art of examining coins and precious stones (rûpyaratna-parikshâ), of metallurgy, geology and mineralogy (dhâtuvâda maṇirâgâ-karajñânam), of botany and plant treatment (vrikshâyurvedayogâḥ), of rhetoric and prosody (chhandojñânam), of dictionaries and encyclopædias (abhidhânakoshâḥ), of poetics (kriyâkalpa), of philology and of the science of languages (deśabhâṣâvivijñânam), of indoor games like chess play, dice play and so on (âkarshakriddâ), of physical exercises and of the art of conquering enemies (vajjayikīnām vainâyikīnāmcha vidyânām jñânam) and so on. It is clear from the above account that recreative games and physical education formed a vital part of the programme of female education.

Scientific and industrial education of the most advanced kind was also imparted and, as Vâtsyâyana points out, the knowledge of these arts would make courtesans honoured and well-to-do and enable widows to earn a decent living abroad (Kâmasûtram, I, iii, 20-23).

As to the contribution of Indian women to the cultural life of the country, it may be observed that although Indian women never vied with men like women in Modern Europe and abroad for educational franchise and political power yet they always occupied an honourable place in society and the cultural life of India, from the age of the R̥gveda down to the Muhammadan times, is as much indebted to the labours of reputed male scholars as to the silent yet massive contri-

butions of illustrious ladies. Contention with men for co-education and employment had never been the cursed lot of Indian women and with all her culture (*cf.* the case of Khanâ) and physical prowess, she preferred to lead a life of peace and serenity and thus remained true to the traditions of her country, yet with all her milk of maternal tenderness. she was never a weakling, as the tales of Rajput chivalry show, and when occasions demanded, she could and did rise to manly greatness in every sphere of life, intellectual, political and spiritual.

From the very dawn of her history, India has produced lots of scholars and saints among women and their names survive in the literature of the country and the little that we have to-day of the cultural heritage of her past reveals to what a splendid cultural height did Indian women attain during those days. No judicious writer can, therefore, blame the Indians for having made a deliberate attempt from time immemorial to exclude women from every kind of intellectual activity and thus leave them utterly ignorant in the prison cell of their life. The mythology of India is against such a tradition because learning is conceived not as emanating from a male god but from the mother-goddess, Saraswatî.

Lopâmudrâ, the wife of sage Agastya, Vâk, the daughter of Ambhîr and Viśwavârâ of the race of Atri, were all famous composers of some of the well-known hymns of the R̥gveda. Arundhattî, the wife of sage Vaśiṣṭha, is considered as one of the foremost Ṛṣis or saints of the R̥gveda and along with her husband she was given an honourable place in the Saptarshi-Maṇḍala or Circle of Seven Sages of the R̥gveda, which was personified later on by a constellation of stars. There were lots of other female savants and saints during the R̥gvedic age. Women scholars participated freely in the learned discussions of the Upanishads which embody the highest spiritual thoughts and the deepest philosophical speculations of the Hindu mind. Amidst the galaxy of women scholars of that age the names of Gârgî, Maitreyî and Târâ survive down to this day with a peculiar splendour. In the Brihadâraṇyaka Upanishad, Gârgî is described as rising proudly amidst the crowd of learned men in the court of King Janaka and challenging with her questions the mighty sage, Yājñavalkya, who had silenced the storm of questions raised by his opponents. Maitreyî, the learned wife of the sage Yājñavalkya, is spoken of in the Upanishads as being an intellectual partner of her nestor lord. When her husband requested her to live alone with all the wealth of his house-

hold, she made her prophetic utterance, "Yenâham nâmrîtâsyâm, kimaham tena kuryâm," i.e., "What shall I do with things which do not lead to immortal life."

The "therīgâthâs" of the Buddhist period were composed by learned Buddhist nuns and the nunneries were the abodes of a large number of women scholars and saints. The "Vijaganita" is said to be the work of the immortal Lîlâvatî. The astronomical sayings of Khanâ are preserved even now in Bengal. The "Sâmundrik Tattva" of "Phalita Jyotisha" perished with her departure, and though none of her astronomical works is extant to-day, yet the fragments that we have of her sayings bespeak her keenness of intellect and mighty power of observation. It is needless to dwell on the old legend of Ubhaya Bhârâtî, the learned wife of Maṇḍana Miśra, to whom the mighty Saṅkarâchârya had at first to bow down his head.

Tradition affirms that the wife of the celebrated poet, Kâlidâsa, was a highly educated woman and from the fire of her tongue the poetic inspiration of her husband had its birth. Râjyaśrî, the sister of the emperor Harshavardhana, seems to have been a cultured lady and there can be no doubt that queen Diddâ of Kashmir and Rudâmbâ of Telengana were able and accomplished women.

The cultural life of Indian women did not stop with the Muhammadan conquest of India but continued slowly and silently although absolute seclusion of women now became the usual rule. Queen Razia, daughter of Il-tut-mish, seems to have been an accomplished lady. So also were Nurjehan, Mumtaz Mahal, Jahanara and others who had great influence on contemporary politics. Gul-Badan, the daughter of Babar, is said to have written the Humayun Nama or the memoirs of Humayun and a niece of Humayun is said to have composed poems in Persian. The nurse of Akbar, Maham Anga, is said to have been an educated lady. Ghiyas-ud-din, the ruler of Malwa from 1469 to 1500 A.D., is said to have appointed schoolmistresses for the education of the ladies of his harem and Akbar is said to have done similar things and to have kept apart rooms for this purpose in his new capital at Fatehpur Sikri.

Hindu ladies, too, were not steeped in universal darkness. The 'bhajan' songs of Mîrâ Bâi, wife of Râṇâ Kumbha of Chitor, are characterised by a warmth of devotion and a superb spirit of surrender to the will of God. In the history of Vaishṇava literature the names of Râmî, Mâdhavî, and Rasamayî are well known. According to some

scholars Râmi is the first poetess of the Bengali language. Sîtâ, the wife of Advaita, had many disciples and it seems that she was an accomplished lady. Ahalyâ Bâi of Indore, the Maratha queen, Târâ Bâi, Lakshmi Bâi of Jhansi, and Râpi Bhabâni of Natore in North Bengal were all notable ladies who were alike noted for their heroism, intelligence and munificence.

It is evident from the above account that the Indian system of education, with all the rigidity of its external framework in the shape of its emphasis on the social virtues of women and its militant caste exclusiveness, was, nevertheless, a meet product of the conservative genius of the Indian people and the very fact that it long survived the onslaught of ages shows that it proved a flexible and a workable instrument in the hands of the people for whom it was intended. The modern system of education in the United States of America where radicalism prevails and liberalism runs riot may seem to be just the reverse of the Indian system. Yet the latter kept aglow the torch of learning for ages among both sexes while the former is yet in its infancy, ever in the melting pot without any basic tradition or fixed principle.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF HARDY'S DETERMINISM—I

BANSI DHAR

ENGLAND BEFORE THE REFORM BILL OF 1832

ON one occasion the Russian ambassador had ventured to remind Napoleon that man proposes, God disposes. "I am he that proposes," Napoleon thundered back, and "I am he that disposes." Such was the ferment of thought set up by the French Revolution. Neither religion nor social tradition enjoyed any respect in France. England was, however, free from this scepticism till the end of the Napoleonic wars ; the whole nation had to show a united front to the menace to Continental peace and the inveterate enemy of the British. The three emperors of Russia, Austria and Prussia proclaimed at the Congress of Vienna their determination to apply the principles of justice, Christian charity and peace to the external and internal relations. But a contrary deal, in which the cynical Metternich was instrumental in the suppression of liberty, gave rise to the anti-religious feeling of Continental Socialism.¹

Till about 1830 England enjoyed comparative peace. Its commerce prospered, and its aristocracy lived in a sense of religious and social complacency. This was, however, lull before the storm. A large and wealthy class of manufacturers was not likely to acquiesce in the monopoly of power held by the territorial aristocracy ; the workers, in their turn, would not be content to see the middle classes only as partners in that power. Franchise widened with the passing of the Reform Bills of 1832, 1867 and 1884. This political emancipation was part of a general movement for liberty in the various spheres of life. The repeal of the Conventual Act in 1826 and of the Corporation and Test Acts in 1828 led to the emancipation of the Roman Catholics in 1829 and to that of the Jews in 1858-60. By 1880 the Roman Catholics were freed from the liability to be married by a Church of England clergyman for marriage to have legal force and were free to hold their own burial services. The slave trade was abolished in the

¹ The system of those who wish to transform society by the incorporation in the community of the means of production, the return of the property to the collectivity, and the distribution among all of the common labour and the objects of consumption.

British possessions in 1807 and the anti-slavery Bill passed in 1833, emancipating 800,000 men and women.

The workers too benefited by the liberalising spirit of the time. The Combination Acts of 1799 and 1800 were repealed in 1824. Robert Owen, himself an employer of labour, became one of the chief advocates of trade unions. The agitation thus started resulted in the passing of the Factory Act in 1847, prohibiting the employment of women and children in factories for more than ten hours a day. The Elementary Education Act of 1870 and the Free Education Act of 1891 gave the masses opportunities to improve themselves mentally and think, however haltingly, for themselves. The year 1832 is a landmark in the history of England. The need for freedom—political, social and religious—had been recognized and the years that follow saw it broadened in all directions of life. Perhaps the slowest to yield was religion. The father of Dr. Pusey would speak of Whigs and "Atheists" as members of a single class, and opposed for years the marriage of his eldest son to Lady Emily Herbert solely because she was a member of a leading Whig family. This conservatism did not necessarily mean devotion and piety however mistaken. Men like Thomas Arnold, the famous headmaster of Rugby, John Keble and John Henry Newman were deploring "slackness." To them stagnation in morals seemed to promise speedy disease. In the extraordinary Black Book of 1831 the Church, together with the aristocracy, the Bank of England, the East India Company and other established societies, was exposed in all the shame of their many abuses.

The attitude of the bishops to the Reform Bill was reactionary. During the disturbances that followed the rejection of the Bill in 1831 at Bristol the palace of the bishop was burnt down. Among the spectators was Charles Kingsley,² then a schoolboy at Clifton. It was his first lesson in what is called "Social Science." Barring a few ardent souls and still fewer reforming Evangelical bishops like Henry Ryder,³ the Church as a whole was, before the rise of the Oxford Movement, tainted with Erastianism.⁴ The movement itself was a reaction against both Liberalism which appeared to be degenerating into an anarchism of thought in religion and the demoralisation of the

² Alton Locke by Kingsley published in 1850 breathes unrest when all appears so quiet.

³ Others were Charles Sumner, his brother John Bird Sumner.

⁴ Erastianism: The System of Erastus (Thomas Liebler, 16th century) and of his successors which consisted of subordinating the Church to the State.

Anglican Church. Before entering upon the religious and philosophical outburst of 1832-70, we must rapidly survey the literary background of the first three decades of the nineteenth century. For though the Anglo-French tension persists, literary influences imperceptibly travel from France to England. This was the flowering period of the genius of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley and Byron, all born in the eighteenth century, and it was during this period that Newman (1801), Froude (1803), Disraeli (1804), J. S. Mill (1806), Tennyson (1807), Darwin (1809), Thackeray (1811), Dickens (1812), Browning (1812), Emile Brontë (1814), Charles Reade (1814), Charlotte Brontë (1816), George Henry Lewes (1817), George Eliot (1819), Ruskin (1819), Herbert Spencer (1820), Matthew Arnold (1822), Wilkie Collins (1824), T. Henry Huxley (1825), Walter Bagehot (1826), were born. Carlyle, born in 1795, forms a bridge between the Romanticism of the Lake School and the Realism of the mid-Victorian period. His romanticism is rooted in the transcendental philosophy of Germany and his realism, while it does not ignore the Chartist movement, the poor law and the spiritual unrest of his time, looks back for its model and remedies to the mediæval period.⁵

The foreign influences entered England through Coleridge. To Lessing (1729-81), said Saintsbury, the Germans owed Goethe and the English Coleridge. His "Laocoon" on the limits of several arts inspired the English poet. But it was Herder (1744-1803) who, influenced by Rousseau, awakened the latent lyricism of Germany. He announced that poetry is the mother-tongue of mankind. Poetry "is the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings," wrote Wordsworth in the Preface to "Lyrical Ballads." "The more remote heirs of the thought of Lessing and Herder were the great French critics, Sainte-Beuve and Taine, the nearest heirs were Wordsworth and Coleridge."⁶ Both these English poets had the same recognition of the necessity of turning to old songs and ballads. Lessing wanted ordinary life and the ordinary man to be expressed in the drama, Wordsworth wanted him to be expressed in poetry. The former wanted the speech of the drama to be the actual speech of men, the latter wanted to banish the eighteenth century poetic diction. It was Goethe (1749-1832), five years younger to Herder, who shaped the mind of Carlyle who

⁵ See "Past and Present" by Carlyle.

⁶ "From These Roots" by Mary M. Colum, Chap. III, § 2, p. 54.

translated his *Wilhelm Meister* (1824) and wrote a life of Schiller (1825).⁷ His general theory of the world is full of borrowings from Herder, Fichte, Schelling, Novalis, J. B. Richter and Goethe. Modern society in his opinion is diseased and the Romanticists' malady of the soul as in Shelley and Byron the sign of an inner corruption. The Byronic age must be followed by that of Goethe. Self-forgetfulness, renunciation, action—such are the laws which govern the psychological well-being of the soul. In "Past and Present" he harks upon the simplicity and virile sincerity of the mediæval times.

The French influence in the nineteenth century first came through Madame de Staële. Her greatest work "*De L'Allemagne*" (1810-13), in which she introduced to the French the great literary and philosophic movement that had been proceeding in Germany during the previous half century, proved distasteful to Napoleon. The first impression (1810) was destroyed and the work was ultimately published in England in 1813 and the author was exiled. Her theory of literature as an expression of society stimulated many writers both on the Continent and in England. The view she held of Romanticism—sorrowful sentiment of the incompleteness of human destiny—was in effect the realism of the pessimistic writers of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The ideas were on the march and each age and each nation was to effect its own synthesis. Sainte-Beuve (1804-19), following in the footsteps of the Lake Poets, attempted to write of humble life and the humblest things in life. He demonstrated the primacy of the individual and the importance of the personal and the ego in literature. His influence may be traced in the autobiographical novels of the Victorian periods in works like "*David Copperfield*" and "*Pendennis*." But it was Taine (1828-93) that greatly influenced the novelists in England. His "philosophy was a materialistic determinism which, as he worked it out in literature, had points common with the manner in which Marx applied the dialectic of materialism to History."⁸

Determinism in the words of Fowler is the "theory that action is determined by motives themselves determined by causes independent of the will." This implied a denial of free will and was countenanced by the analysis of the external world into laws of motion by Newton

⁷ Coleridge had translated Schiller's "*Wallenstein's Death*" into English verse in 1800 when Carlyle was only five years old.

⁸ See "*From These Roots*" by Mary M. Colum, Chap. V, § 4, p. 118.

(1642-1727), by Diderot's (1713-84) conclusion that matter is instinct with mind, Holbach's (1723-89) systematic attempt to bring man and matter alike into his rigid and logical "system of Nature." These views were further enforced by Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860), the author of "the World as Will and Idea." Will which is self-conscious in man finds its equivalent in the unconscious forces of nature. Will, then, it is that creates the world. The world is not an illusion but a malignant thing, which inveigles us into producing and perpetuating life. This Will-to-Live must be overcome. God, free will and immortality of the soul are illusions. There is an inherent contradiction in this attitude. If there is no free will and our lives are entirely at the mercy of a malignant power there is no point in advising us to overcome the Will-to-Live. However, this shows the philosophical background against which Taine was working. The contributions of Gustav Theodore Fechner (1801-87) and Rudolph Hermann Lotze (1817-81) point also to a deterministic outlook on life, though they import God by the backdoor. Fechner held that, since physics conceives atoms only as loci of force or energy, there is no reason to assume that the ultimate constituents of the physical world are material. His scientific studies supported the view that the physical may be interpreted as inwardly psychical. To him behind the phenomena does not lie a dark unknowable⁹ but a psychical life like our own. The physical and psychical are not, as in the identity theory of Spinoza, two aspects of a third principle, but the psychical is the substance and physical is the aspect. God is the all-inclusive system of nature. The soul of God is related to the soul of man as the ground swell to the waves which it carries. All of nature belongs to God's body, and is the outward manifestation of one psychical continuum, which is God's soul."¹⁰ This again lands us into determinism with the only difference that here God determines and not a dark unknowable. There is however the consolation

God's in His heaven—

All's right with the world.

Another philosopher in the same line is Rudolph Hermann Lotze (1817-81). His metaphysics starts with the mechanical conception of nature, as a system of interacting corporeal units. But they are

⁹ Cf. Hardy's "Immanent Will."

¹⁰ Fechner, "Elements der Psychophysik," Vol. II, p. 529.

all active rather than extended, and there is no plurality in their relations. Their interaction implies that they are in reality only phases of some underlying substance unitary in nature. Concluding his *Microcasmus* which he offers as a "confession of his philosophic faith" he holds that God is a single power and appears to us under a threefold image—first some definite and desired good, then on account of the definiteness of this, a formed and developing Reality, and finally in this activity an unvarying reign of law. So here again the last word is determinism though of a spiritual nature.

Such were the literary and philosophical tendencies which, through translation and increasing contact, were influencing the English thinkers in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) is the earliest representative in England of modern empiricism. He is certainly not the inventor of utility as an ethical principle. This materialistic attitude is the outcome of the English and French enlightenment. The reading of the third volume of Hume's "Treatise of Human Nature" gave him a new insight into the importance of utility for human conduct. Among his contemporaries Godwin (1756-1836), Malthus (1766-1834) and Ricardo (1772-1823) moved along the paths of utilitarian thought. They do not belong to the philosophic movement of which James Mill (1773-1836) and John Stuart Mill (1806-73) were the real inheritors but to that spiritual *milieu* which draws its nourishment from philosophy. Godwin assails the existing social order and regards pleasure and happiness as the motives of human action. Malthus intended to give a rude shock to the belief in the ever-increasing perfectability of man and society and drew attention to the iron law that population increases much faster than the means of support. Ricardo developed the economic aspect of Bentham's theory in his "Principles of Political Economy and Taxation." His views were only surpassed by Adam Smith (1723-90) in his classical work "An Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations" published in 1776 and appearing on the actual date of the 'Declaration of Independence' of the American rebels. He prophesied in Book IV: "They will be one of the foremost nations of the world." In short the movement of thought was towards emphasizing the environment and the psychological impulses as the determinant factors in shaping the life of man and the future of society. After Bentham the main stream of utilitarian thought is continued in James Mill (1773-1836). "He forms a bridge from the refounder of

empiricism to its completer: from Bentham to his own son John Stuart Mill." ¹¹ To J. S. Mill we shall return later.

The metaphysical tendency of utilitarianism and the new economics was towards agnosticism. A similar movement had been started by St. Simon (1760-1825) in France. He sought to reorganize society on a socialistic basis by a better organization of industry and labour. Auguste Comté (1798-1857) came under his influence and developed the Positivist philosophy which excludes metaphysics and revealed religion and substitutes for them the religion of humanity and sociological ethics, based on history and designed for the improvement of human race. According to him there are three stages of knowledge, the theological, the metaphysical, the positive, and hence his avoidance of metaphysical problems and theological entanglements. But towards the end of his life he attempted to frame a positivist religion which is a sort of parody of Roman Catholicism with sacraments, prayers, etc. His principal English disciple was Frederic Harrison (1831-1923). George Henry Lewes (1817-78) in his "Biographical History of Philosophy" (1845-46) is under the influence of Positivistic thought. But Positivism, though it influenced among others J. S. Mill, did not take root in England. The last phase of Comté's thought attempted a pseudo-religious rigidity and to this Mill could not reconcile himself. However, it left its traces in the philosophical systems of Herbert Spencer and Leslie Stephen and in the works of George Eliot.

Lastly, we must analyse the French literary tendencies which were growing in importance and influence in the course of the decade at the end of which was born Thomas Hardy, the subject of this thesis. Taine's method was improved upon by Balzac (1799-1850), who in his "Comedie Humaine" attempted to be the secretary of the French Society and represent faithfully and minutely the whole of its complex system. Yet according to the realists his art was a sort of gigantization of life. "No delineation of character or of surroundings," says Croce, but he exaggerates to the extent of making it altogether marvellous and fantastic." Baudelaire described his characters as more eager for life, more active and wily in combat, more voracious of joy, more angelic in devotion than the human comedy of the real world could show. His influence can be traced in the works of Dickens and Thackeray in England, Flaubert (1821-88)

¹¹ "A Hundred Years of British Philosophy" by Rudolph Metz (pub. 1938), pp. 57-58.

and Zola (1840-1902) in France, Turgenev (1818-83), Dostoevsky (1821-81) and Tolstoy (1828-1910) in Russia and Ibsen (1828-1906) in Norway.

UNREST DEEPENS (1832-70)—INFLUENCES ON HARDY'S MIND

Political awakening, Utilitarian philosophy, realistic outlook of the novel writers like Dickens and Thackeray, the satiric vein of Peacock (1785-1866), the political and social novel of Disraeli, the laxity in morals as witnessed in the regency of George IV and an open trial for adultery of George IV's wife—all portend to a deep unrest, and to a frantic effort for the search for balance. With Carlyle lies the task of voicing the principles which should preside over the national return to a sterner notion of duty. But Carlyle was no churchman. Keble (1792-1866), Froude (1803-36), Pusey (1800-82), Newman (1801-90) and Manning (1808-92) are also actuated by the same motives, but it is through the Tractarian Movement, better known as the Oxford Movement, that they seek to bring the stray sheep into the fold. The beginnings of it date back to 1833 and the climax is reached in 1845 with the secession of Newman. It was in this atmosphere surcharged with dismay and yet brightened up with streaks of hope that Queen Victoria begins her reign. A wide gulf divides the High Victorians from the Late Victorians. From 1837 to 1870 or 1875 a sort of balance is sought to be struck in social ethics, politics and religious observations, and scepticism incidental to scientific research is repressed by meek faith in God, Christ, Eternity and Love. The years that follow the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria's reign are marked with increasing disbelief in conventions, traditional religion and morality. Political unrest again increases and the century closes with an anxious time for the British Government engaged in the prolonged Boer War. The first period is the period of mental assimilation for Hardy and the latter of the expression of his philosophy. We shall now examine the reaction to the influences coming from the early decades of the nineteenth century which produced Tennyson and Browning and sent to quiet meditation Spencer, Leslie Stephen, Darwin and Hardy.

The year 1833 witnessed a stir in the fold of the Anglican Church. It was the revolt against Liberalism in thought of which the Reform Bill of 1832 was a fruit. Keble, Froude, Palmer, Pusey, Newman and

later on Manning took Liberalism to mean not reverent search after truth, but an aggressive and narrow rationalism which tended to prefer intellectual to moral excellence and "in general the anti-dogmatic principle."¹² So they set themselves to attack latitudinarian ideas. Evangelicals, like Colenso,¹³ though trying to reform the church were considered to be too much under the influence of German philosophy and theology. Inside the church there was much to dissatisfy the devoted souls. Fears were entertained that the church was being hitched on to the chariot of the state and the ecclesiastics were budding statesmen rather than pastors of their flock. Devotion, reverence and asceticism of thought were promiscuous by their absence. This degeneracy and decay in morals was shocking. Scientific ideas which promoted rationalistic tendencies were preventing human understanding by obscuring the illative vision which was a sort of religious intuition. Hence it was necessary to retrace the course of Christian belief to the fathers of the primitive Eastern church. In this they were inspired by Herder who had emphasized the need for reviving the past heritage of history to create a new romance of history. To do it effectively for the church Keble started the Tractarian Movement and was joined by a band of devoted workers like Froude, Palmer, Walter Hook, Dr. Pusey and Newman. Their object in the words of one of the Tractarians was to inculcate: "You must search for yourself and God must teach you." It was to save people from the tyranny of rationalistic ideas and to urge them to assert their individuality. Hence the necessity for telling them where to look for inspiration and guidance. Sympathy and fellowship of the mood were the watchwords of this fraternity. The most dominating figure of the Oxford Movement was Newman. Originally he aimed at a re-orientation of the Anglican Church and defended the Anglo-Catholic view till 1837-38. But he soon found himself drifting to Roman Catholicism which was a natural corollary to the revival of the primitive Church institutions. He resigned the living of St. Mary in 1843 and joined the Church of Rome in 1845. In this he was followed by Manning in 1851.

This drastic step raised a storm of opposition. Charles Kingsley accused Newman of deprecating truth, that is, scientific search for truth

¹² "Apologia Pro Vita Sua" by Newman, p. 54.

¹³ Milman's "History of the Jews" published in 1830. Dean Stanley has recorded "the horror created in remote rural districts by the rumour that a book has appeared in which Abraham was described as a 'Sheikh'."

and independence of opinion. To this Newman gave a reply in "Apologia Pro Vita Sua." He did not defend or countenance the evils of the Roman Catholic Church but argued how for the fullness of Christian life it was necessary to recognise Apostolic Succession and the Roman Catholic Church as the only repository of the teaching of Christ. The years from 1832 to 1870 are thus an important epoch in the development of ideas in the nineteenth century. The Oxford Movement provoked satirical comments from Carlyle, Kingsley repudiated it, Ruskin declared himself violently opposed to the Tractarians. But literature was not altogether uninfluenced by it. Pre-Raphaelitism and still later æsthetic renaissance owe much to the sensuous appeal of the rituals the Oxford Movement revived. It also exerted influence over the imagination of Tennyson. Novels such as those of Miss Youge,¹⁴ and later, of Shorthouse,¹⁵ reflect it to the full. But more than all this is the importance of the Oxford Movement as a quiescent force from 1850 to 1870 when all was quiet on the front. In 1870 we see the beginning of what has been called the Neo-Romantic movement, one element of which was to be a renaissance of religious fervour so characteristic of the Oxford Movement. And by a process as if it were of Hegelian dialectic, the other element gave rise to moral anguish and to the suffering born of unbelief. The revival and deepening of religion came through Moody and Sankey and their followers and disciples. Even Canon Liddon, who cannot be suspected of undue favour, publicly testifies to the good done by these apostles of faith in their mission to Oxford in 1875. Hort in a letter to Westcott describes a service in Great St. Mary's and ends up: "Assuredly the springs of life are strangely breaking forth anew."¹⁶ The second component finds its representatives in James Thomson (1834-82), in his chief poem "The City of Dreadful Night," in Swinburne (1837-1909),¹⁷ Hardy (1840-1928), Gissing (1857-1903) and A. E. Housman (1859-1936).

In the realm of philosophy new tendencies were in the course of formation. Writing in 1835, John Stuart Mill complained that philosophy was falling more and more into disrepute and that great events had ceased to inspire great ideas. About the same time similar views concerning the low estate of English philosophy had been expressed

¹⁴ "The Heir of Redclyffe" (1853).

¹⁵ "John Inglessant" (1881).

¹⁶ Quoted in "Religion in the Victorian Era" by L. E. Elliott-Sinns, pub. 1926, p. 212.

¹⁷ "Songs before Sunrise" (1871).

by Sir William Hamilton and by Thomas Carlyle. A foreign observer, Hegel, had spoken with scorn of the usage of the word 'Philosophy,' in the English language. Carlyle focussed the attention of the reading public on the ultimate meaning and value of life. But Hamilton and James Mill were the leaders of a marked revival of interest in speculative topics. James Mill's chief philosophical work was his "Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind" (1829). He follows Hume and Hartley and reduces the mental phenomena into their simplest elements and the association of these into groups and succession by the law of contiguity and inseparable association. His son, John Stuart Mill, accepted the Happiness Principle of Bentham and the Association Psychology of his father. Thus while on the religious side the emphasis was on the illative sense, Mill shifted the emphasis on to Empiricism which was the social and political creed of all sorts and manners of liberals from 1832 to 1860 or even 1870. His "System of Logic" (1843) is, in its inductive portion, an epitome of empiricism applied to the explanation of the genesis of human knowledge. But more important than his logic is his ethical system known as Utilitarianism which first appeared in *Fraser's Magazine* in 1861. Like his predecessors Mill postulated certain forces as determining human conduct: especially self-interest and mental association. Mill died in 1873. After his death were published "Three Essays on Religion: Nature, the Utility of Religion and Theism," (1874). These were written between 1850 and 1870. In his works he had always maintained the attitude afterwards called agnosticism, for which he was willing to adopt Comté's term 'positivism.' His book "Auguste Comté and Positivism" (1865) accepted the view that the essential nature and the ultimate cause of things are inscrutable. But he held that this "positive mood of thought is not necessarily a denial of the Supernatural." It only throws it back beyond the limits of science. In his last essay he expounded a tentative and limited form of theism—the doctrine of a finite God. However the nature of the beyond remained a baffling problem.

The fifties and sixties were also remarkable for an outburst of passion for the study of and propaganda for the positive philosophy of Comté. Harriet Martineau issued a condensed translation of his "Positive Philosophy" in 1853. The catechism of "Positive Religion" was translated by Richard Congreve in 1858. In 1865 appeared "Comté's General View of Positivism" by John Henry Bridges and

"System of Positive Polity" by Bridges and Frederic Harrison in 1875. The criticism of J. S. Mill of the latter-day views of Comté was replied to by Bridges in "The Unity of Comté's Life and Doctrine" (1866).

These empirical system had two reactions or rather one reaction and a scientific line of advancement. The reaction came from a disciple of Hamilton¹⁸ (Reid's School), Henry L. Mansel (1820-71). He tried to defend Hamilton and himself from Mill's attack. His Bampton Lectures on "The Limits of Religious Thoughts" (1858) tried to show that all our efforts to discover by means of thought anything about the absolute divine nature were doomed to failure. The absolute and infinite are completely inaccessible to man's finite understanding. In matters of faith thought is completely impotent and must in the end confess its bankruptcy. How near to Mansel did Mill come in his last essay! But the issues raised by this controversy were too fundamental to be shelved by the later thinkers. Henry Calderwood (1830-97) wanted to bury the ghost of agnosticism inherent in the philosophy of Hamilton and Mill. He refuted Hamilton's argument that the human mind as being finite cannot know the infinite. To the agnostic relativism which was inherent in Hamilton but was first made into a basic philosophic principle by Spencer, he opposed the genuine intuitionism of Reid. We are immediately conscious of God. This was the thesis developed by him in "Handbook of Moral Philosophy" (1872). This Scottish doctrine, which in the middle of the century had been the focus of philosophic life in England, was driven more and more from its commanding position by the pressure of Darwinism and idealism represented by Green (1836-82), Bradley (1846-1924) and Bosanquet (1848-1923).

Another reaction was an intensification of human efforts to penetrate the mystery of the unknown. It deepened the agnostic tendencies of Mill's empiricism and positivism which had "flowed together in one wide channel"¹⁹ in Mill. Comté's conception of

¹⁸ Reid (1710-96), Dugald Stewart (1753-1828)—School of Intuition.

Thomas Brown (1778-1820). Compromise between the associationist tendencies of the older Empiricism and the Intuitionist views of Reid. He forms a bridge from the philosophy of common sense to the later empiricism of two Mills, Bain and Spencer.

Sir William Hamilton (1788-1856). His principle of relativity leads to Agnosticism from which it is saved by his theology. J. S. Mill had criticized his philosophy in "An Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy," 1865, which gave it a set-back. But the most damaging criticism came from John Hutchison Sterling.

¹⁹ "A Hundred Years of British Philosophy" by Metz, p. 68.

society as an organism evolving to perfection was adopted by Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) and Leslie Stephen (1832-1904). The metaphysical principle underlying this was borrowed by Spencer from the relativity of knowledge set forth by Hamilton and Mansel but was adapted to suit his own speculation. Hamilton held that whatever lay beyond the sphere of exact knowledge was in the sphere of belief; Spencer held that we have an indefinite consciousness of what he nevertheless calls the unknowable. He asserted that this unknowable is "growing clearer." It is constantly referred to as a power and is even believed to make for the happiness of mankind and for growing perfection. Religion and Science can be reconciled by assigning to the latter the region of knowable and restricting the former to the unknowable. The unknowable consists of manifestations of the inscrutable power behind the phenomena and these manifestations depend ultimately upon the persistence of force. This is the proverbial new compromise of 1830-70. The mathematicians and physicists who come later considered this interpretation of the principle of the persistence of force as loose and unscientific. But to him it is a law of progress which will issue in a highest state establishing "the extremest multiformity and most complete moving equilibrium." However there is nothing permanent about this equilibrium, for Spencer contemplates the history of the universe as a succession of cycles—"alternate eras of evolution and dissolution." As for the standard for right conduct he finds it in "absolute ethics" by which he means a description of the conduct of fully-evolved man in fully-evolving surroundings. In this complete adaptation between the individual and his environment no choice of better or worse will remain. This individualistic note in the philosophy of Spencer deserves attention, for it is discovered that the hoped for adaptation is not easy to achieve and the optimistic outlook gives place to pessimism in Thomson, Hardy and Housman.

Leslie Stephen, unlike Spencer but like Comté, identifies morality with the claims of society upon the individual in contrast with the individual claims or wishes. But he prefers the indefinite phrase 'social tissue' for the 'social organism' of Comté. Individualism lurks in the background in his discussions. Comté says: "You are members one of another, be loyal members of the social whole." Stephen would seem to suggest: "You are very dependent on the social tissue; still you have a centre of being in yourself and there

" We, the Government of India, cannot shut our eyes to present conditions. The political atmosphere is full of change ; questions are before us which we cannot afford to ignore, and which we must attempt to answer ; and to me it would appear all-important that the initiative should emanate from us, that the Government of India should not be put in the position of appearing to have its hands forced by agitation in this country or by pressure from Home, that we should be the first to recognise surrounding conditions to place before His Majesty's Government the opinions which personal experience and a close touch with the every-day life of India entitle us to hold " (M.C. Report, p. 47).

From a perusal of Montagu-Chelmsford Report and especially of Lord Minto's own words, it seems that the motive which influenced Lord Minto and the Government of India in making the reform proposals of 1906-09 was an anxiety to recognise the justice of Indian political and national aspirations. But a close study of the correspondence between Morley and Minto as published in Lord Morley's *Recollections* (1917), and Lady Minto's *Diary* (Macmillan & Co , 1935) gives a rather different impression and leads to other conclusions. From his letters to the Secretary of State, Mr. John Morley, it appears that one main object of Lord Minto in suggesting reforms was to bring into political activity those forces of Indian opinion which could not be supposed to lean towards the political views of the Indian National Congress. George V made a tour of India as Prince of Wales in the winter of 1905-06, and returned to England in the spring of 1906. In a letter to the Viceroy, dated 11th May, 1906, Morley says : " Yesterday I had a long conversation with the Prince of Wales, in which he gave me an immensely interesting account of his impressions in India. . . . His key-word is that we should get on better if our administrators showed *wider sympathy*. . . . He talked of the National Congress rapidly becoming a great power. My own impression formed long ago, and confirmed since I came to this office, is that it will mainly depend upon ourselves whether the Congress is a power for good or for evil. There it is, whether we like it or not " (Morley's *Recollections*, Vol. II, pp. 170-71). To this letter Minto replied on May 28, 1906 : " As to *Congress* . . . there is much that is absolutely disloyal in the movement and that there is danger for the future. I have no doubt you see extracts from the vernacular press ; the great bulk of the tone of it can only be termed

disloyal, and the Bengali editor is spreading his influence throughout India I have been thinking a good deal lately of a possible *counterpoise to Congress aims*. I think we may find a solution in the Council of Princes, or in an elaboration of that idea ; a Privy Council not only of Native Rulers, but of a few other big men to meet, say once a year, for a week or a fortnight at Delhi for instance. Subjects for discussion and procedure would have to be very carefully thought out, but we should get different ideas from those of Congress, emanating from men already possessing great interest in the good government of India.

* * * *

" I cannot say how much I am with you as to '*sympathy*.' But with all one's desire for ' sympathy ' one must not lose sight of hard facts. We are here a small British garrison, surrounded by millions composed of factors of an inflammability unknown to the western world, unsuited to western forms of Government, and we must be physically strong or go to the wall " (Lady Minto's Diary, pp. 23-29).

It is perhaps idle now to speculate in what spirit and with what object the words of the Prince of Wales were uttered to Morley, and with what purpose in view they were subsequently communicated by the Secretary of State to the Governor-General of India. But it is clear that on the Governor-General, Lord Minto, they had a decided effect. To the plea for " wider sympathy " put forward by the Prince of Wales, Minto rejoined by the argument of " the British garrison " and " hard facts." The power of the Indian National Congress which was noticed by the Prince of Wales and which was also recognised by Morley in his letter of the 11th May, was to be countered by Minto by some of his cleverly conceived constitutional contrivances. We shall presently see how he was going to use the Princes, the landlords, the mercantile classes, the municipalities, the district boards, and the Mussalmans so that they might constitute a " counterpoise to Congress aims."

In the meantime a number of distinguished Anglo-Indians such as Sir Walter Lawrence, Private Secretary to Lord Curzon, 1898-1903, Sir Valentine Chirol, *Times* Correspondent, and Sir Sidney Low, Special Correspondent, during the Royal visit to India, 1905-06, were incessantly urging upon the Secretary of State, Mr. Morley, the need

for combating the Congress. In a letter of Morley to Minto dated June 6, 1906, Morley writes: "Everybody warns us that a new spirit is growing and spreading over India: Lawrence, Chirol, Sidney Low, all sing the same song: 'You cannot go on governing in the same spirit; you have got to deal with the Congress party and Congress principles whatever you may think of them. Be sure that before long the Mahomedans will throw in their lot with the Congressmen against you' and so on and so forth. I don't know how true this may be or may not be" (Lady Minto's Diary, p. 30). Minto was not blind to this danger. In his reply on June 27, he recognised the Congress party as a power with which he had to deal and with whose leaders he had to reckon (Lady Minto's Diary, p. 31).

Strangely enough, in the course of a few months the Mahomedans with the Aga Khan at their head decided to bring an Address before the Viceroy mentioning their grievances and stating their aspirations. Lord Minto received the Mahomedan Deputation at Simla on October 1, 1906. In his reply to the Address of the Mussalmans, Lord Minto made certain important pronouncements. To the claim of the Deputation, that "the Mahomedan community should be represented as a community," and to the claim that the position of the Mahomedans should be estimated not merely on their numerical strength but in respect to the political importance of the community and the service it rendered to the Empire, Minto replied: "I am entirely in accord with you. . . . I am as firmly convinced as I believe you to be, that any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement, regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of this continent. The great mass of the people of India have no knowledge of representative institutions. In the meantime I can only say to you that the Mahomedan community may rest assured that their political rights and interests as a community will be safeguarded by any administrative re-organisation with which I am concerned." Thus Minto in one breath sacrificed the ideal of personal enfranchisement and thereby rendered the realisation of a common citizenship difficult, if not impossible.

Lady Minto in her *Journal* considers October 1, 1906, as "a very eventful day," "an epoch in Indian History." That evening she received the following letter from an official whose name and identity she does not disclose:

"I must send your Excellency a line to say that a very big thing has happened to-day. A work of statesmanship that will affect India and Indian history for many a long year. It is nothing less than the pulling back of sixty-two millions of people from joining the ranks of the seditious opposition." The letter speaks for itself and needs no comment. It shows with what end in view the Deputation of October 1, 1906, was humoured and encouraged.¹ It appears that very much the same view was taken at Whitehall. Mr. Morley after receiving an account of the proceedings of October 1, wrote to Minto on October 26, as follows: "All that you tell me of your Mahomedans is full of interest, and I only regret that I could not have moved about unseen at your garden party. The whole thing has been as good as it could be and it stamps your position and personal authority decisively" (Lady Minto's Diary, pp. 47-48). For anybody it is rather difficult to understand the reasons for this glee. We do not know whether Morley's words were words of levity or of genuine appreciation. For we know that Morley, who took pride in describing himself as "a pure Sophist," wrote in a somewhat different strain about the Mahomedans in a letter to Minto on August 6, 1909: "I note all you say about the dangerous question of the Mahomedans. R. and others are pretty sure to say we have broken our pledges, whatever you do. Though I am not less scrupulous than my neighbours, I incline to rebel against the word 'pledge' in our case. We declared our view and our intention at a certain stage. But we did this independently, and not in return for any 'consideration' to be given to us by the M.s as the price of our intentions. This is assuredly not a 'pledge' in the ordinary sense" (Morley's Recollections, Vol. II, p. 314). But in spite of Morley's protestation and equivocation the declaration of 1906 was regarded as a "pledge" both by the Mahomedans and the British Government. In 1918 the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, after having condemned communal electorates in clear and unambiguous terms, failed to recommend their abolition on account of "a pledge which they had to honour until they were released from it" (M.C. Report, paras. 227-31).

¹ Lady Minto, in her Journal on October 3, 1906, expresses her great grief at the passing away of the great Mahomedan leader Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, who had just died in Simla. Of the many good points in his character, Lady Minto mentions prominently that "he it was who engineered the recent Mahomedan Deputation" (Lady Minto's Diary, pp. 55-56).

In going through the letters of Morley to Minto, one notices further that the Secretary of State was guided in his Reforms not so much by the strength and justice of the Muslim claims as by expediency or opportunism. After having interviewed "the sons of the Crescent" (the expression is Lord Morley's), Morley in his letter of January 28, 1909, writes: "How could I satisfy them by straight declaration off my own bat? We have to take care that in picking up the Mussulman, we don't drop our Hindu parcels, and this makes it impossible to blurt out the full length to which we are or may be ready to go in the Moslem direction" (Morley's Recollections, Vol. II, p. 293). It appears that the whole policy was one of balancing the Mussalmans against the Hindus and the Hindus against the Mussalmans. In a further letter of February 18, 1909, Morley expresses himself still more clearly. For the time being he posed as a great and sincere friend of the Mussalmans, but at the same time he was writing to the Viceroy that the whole thing was merely a pose and nothing else. He writes: "I begged the Aga Khan to dismiss from his mind, what I had seen stated, that, like all other English Radicals, I had a hatred of Islam. What other Liberals thought about Islam, I did not know; but for myself, if I were to have a label, I should be called a Positivist, and in the Positivist Calendar, framed by Comte after the manner of the Catholics, Mahomet is one of the great leading saints, and has the high honour of giving his name to a Week!! This will soon be expanded into a paragraph in the *Daily Mail*, that the Indian S.S. has turned Mahometan. That, at any rate, would tend to soften Mahometan alienation from our plans? Forgive all this nonsense. Like many another man of grave (or dull) temperament, I seek snatches of relief from boredom by clapping on a fool's cap at odd moments" (Morley's Recollections, Vol. II, pp. 296-97).

One might ask if this outpouring was worthy of the intellectual child of John Stuart Mill at whose feet he sat and upon whose wisdom he fed. One might also question if this was the language either of statesmanship or of genuine conviction. For Mill, the saint of rationalism, proclaimed it in no uncertain terms that "one person with a belief is a social power equal to ninety-nine who have only interests." We know that Morley never missed an opportunity of paying his tribute to Mill, and yet he had not the courage of taking the fullest advantage of Mill's wisdom and humanity. "In such ideas

as I have about political principles," he said in his Indian Budget Speech of 1907, "the leader of my Federation was Mr. Mill. There he was, a great and benignant lamp of wisdom and humanity, and I and others kindled our modest rush-lights at that lamp." We pause and ask: Did Morley really learn his political principles as applied to India from John Stuart Mill? Was the disciple of Mill thus "bent on making the most of life as a sacred instrument for good purposes?" To speak plainly, the whole thing seems Machiavellian, although Morley so recently and so eloquently condemned the political principles of the great Florentine in his Romanes Lecture delivered in the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford. Did he not there whole-heartedly endorse Diderot's description of some of the chapters of the *Prince* as "the circumstances under which it is right for a Prince to become a Scoundrel?"

It is, however, fair to recognise that the disciple of Mill occasionally searched his heart and returned to his innermost self. He felt that in framing the Regulations under the Indian Councils Act, 1909, the Government of India had already gone far enough in the Moslem direction and that it was necessary to cry a halt. The India Council, especially Sir Theodore Morison, was anxious to favour the Muslim claims. To this Morley would not yield. On August 6, 1909, he writes to Minto in a mood of exasperation:—

"Morison is pertinacious up to the eleventh hour about his M. friends; insists on our pledges, and predicts a storm of M.'s reproach and dissatisfaction. It may be so. On the other hand, G. predicts that departure from the lines we agree upon in your dispatch, would provoke at least as much reproach and dissatisfaction among the Hindus. We shall therefore have a stubborn talk in Council, to which I shall not contribute more than two or three stubborn sentences. I am the least in the world of a Cromwellian, but I am beginning to understand in a way never understood before, how impatience at the delays and cavillings and mistaking of very small points for very big ones at last drove Oliver to send his counsellors packing" (Recollections, Vol. II, p. 315). On August 26 next, Morley became still more emphatic and rather dictatorial. He expressed himself to Minto in the following terms: "Morison tells me that a Mahometan is coming over here on purpose to see me, and will appear on Monday next. Whatever happens, I am quite sure that it was high time to put our foot definitely down and to let them know that the process of haggling has gone on long enough, come what come may. I am only sorry

that we could not do it earlier " (Recollections, Vol. II. p. 317). A tone of doubt runs through the letters that follow, which tends to modify substantially the views expressed in the earlier letters. In a final letter to Minto on December 6, 1909, Morley clearly and unmistakably shows his disapproval of the Muslim claims in the Reforms of 1909: " I wont follow you again into our Mahometan dispute. Only I respectfully remind you once more that it was *your* early speech about their extra claims that first started the M. hare. I am convinced my decision was best " (Recollections, Vol. II, p. 325). Morley now felt the pangs of conscience, but the thing was past redress. He was disillusioned and saw daylight ; but it was too late.

It is now perhaps proper to recognise that the Minto-Morley Reforms as they finally took shape, were not based on personal enfranchisement or territorial constituencies, but they gave, on the other hand, as the Government of India said, the widest representation to classes, communities, races, and interests. The predominant consideration behind these Reforms, as we have already observed, was to introduce a counterpoise to the influence of the Indian National Congress. In this business, Minto's was the propelling force, and Morley was gradually dragged into an untenable position. But the disciple of Mill never felt happy over the transaction though he allowed himself to become an accomplice.

Minto's plan of countering the influence of the Congress through a Council of Princes or an Indian Privy Council not only of Native Rulers but of a few other big men, did not make much progress. Minto, no doubt, wrote to Morley on May 28, 1906 : " We should get different ideas from those of Congress, emanating from men already possessing a great interest in the good government of India." But Morley in his reply of August 6, 1906, positively discouraged the idea. He wrote : " The Council of Princes has never struck me as promising. Curzon, I believe, thought of it as a device for countering the Congress. My puzzle is to know what they would do when you had got them together " (Lady Minto's Diary, p. 100). As an alternative an Advisory Council of Notables was suggested, but as Minto disliked it, it was dropped by common consent. So the constant anxiety of the British Government to find " a counterpoise to the Congress party " (Recollections, II, p. 176) was relieved by another constitutional device—the creation of the typical and well-known Minto-Morley Councils.

In one direction, however, Morley and to some extent Minto, took an immense step forward. This was the appointment of a "Native Member," Mr. S. P. Sinha to the Viceroy's Executive Council in March, 1909. This was in a sense the most significant step that had been taken since the assumption of government by the Crown. It was, in Morley's words, "a far-reaching and deep-reaching move." When Morley opened it to the Cabinet, he said, "No more important topic has ever been brought before a Cabinet."

The proposal of a Native Member on the Viceroy's Executive Council met with serious opposition both in India and in England. Morley suggested the appointment as early as June 15, 1906 (*Recollections*, II, p. 174). But Minto in his reply of July 5, 1906, thought that "it would be premature to say anything about it." His objection was based on the ground that "such a colleague would necessarily become acquainted with all our State secrets, both interior and foreign" (*Lady Minto's Diary*, p. 97). On July 11, in another letter to Morley, Minto further says: "I cannot disguise from myself the doubts which naturally arise as to committing State secrets to a Native colleague" (*Diary*, p. 98). Some time after, Minto's objection was gone, but the suggestion was stoutly opposed by the Viceroy's Executive Council with the exception of one member, Baker. Lord Kitchener was the most influential of those who were against (*Recollections*, Vol. II, p. 176). Minto gradually recognised the necessity of a Native Member on the Viceroy's Council. On January 2, 1907, he writes to Morley: "The question of a Native Member on the Viceroy's Council is fraught with weighty considerations . . . it is all important to do something at once . . . and, as I have said in my memorandum to Council, a Native Member is much the best answer that can be made to present demands" (*Lady Minto's Diary*, p. 102). Towards the end of February, Minto emphasised his decision. On February 27, 1907, he writes to Morley: "I have determined to advise the appointment of a Native Member to my Council. . . . The reasons against it stated by Members of Council are generally narrow, based almost entirely on the assumption that it is impossible to trust a Native in a position of great responsibility, and that the appointment of a Native Member is simply a concession to Congress agitation." On March 6, 1907, Minto further informs Morley as follows: "We had our Council Meeting to-day. I wish you could have been concealed behind

the door, you would have been amused I am sure. . . . Baker and I alone support the Native Member, . . . Lord Kitchener is my strongest opponent he looked upon the appointment as an entire subversal of the old order of things " (Lady Minto's Diary, p. 104).

The proposal of the Native Member in the Reforms Dispatch of 1907 was opposed, in England, at first in the India Council and then in the Cabinet. On May 3, 1907, Morley informs Minto of the Cabinet opposition in the following terms: " Ripon, whom nobody will suspect of want of sympathy with Indian hopes and claims, was hostile to the proposal on the merits—mainly on the secrecy argument—that the Member would have to know military and foreign secrets, etc., etc. this sort of thing is reason the more for keeping the Native Member—back for a while at any rate. I wish it did not prevail. But Cabinets and Ministers have to take the world as they find it " (Recollections, Vol. II, p. 211).

It was in these circumstances as a sort of second best, that Morley contented himself with appointing two Indians, Mr. K. G. Gupta and Mr. S. H. Bilgrami to his own Council, on August 26, 1907 (Recollections, Vol. II, p. 228).

When the question of the Native Member on the Viceroy's Council was re-opened again in the early months of 1909, Morley had to encounter the stubborn opposition of King Edward VII. The Royal watchword, as Morley observes, " like Stafford's *Thorough*, was *Firm*—to be reiterated with much emphasis and in capital letters " On 24th February, 1909, Morley had a long audience with the King in which Morley became acquainted with the " earnest remonstrance " of the King against the proposal of the Native Member (Recollections, Vol. II, p. 299).

On 10th March Morley took the decisive step of proposing Mr. S. P. Sinha as the Law Member of the Viceroy's Council and fortified himself by a unanimous Cabinet decision. The same day he wrote a pretty full letter to King Edward VII, telling him of the unanimity of the Cabinet and of the qualifications of Sinha for the post. " Lord Morley begs your Majesty to believe how fully alive he is to the moral responsibility incurred by him in advising a step of this sort. It is an act of high policy. Nothing but a strong conviction of its expediency—almost amounting to necessity—for the contentment and stability of your Majesty's Indian Dominion would have induced Lord Morley so earnestly to ask for an assent which your Majesty on grounds most

easily understood by him, may hesitate to give " (Sir Sidney Lee's *Biography of Edward VII*, Vol. II, p. 385).

To Morley the thing had really become a question of "moral responsibility." On 1st November, 1908, the fiftieth anniversary of the assumption by the Crown of the direct government of India, the King-Emperor issued a masterly message to the Princes and peoples of India which was read by the Viceroy, Lord Minto, in a Durbar held at Jodhpur on 2nd November. In that message, so recently given, it was said: "Steps are being continuously taken towards obliterating distinction of race as the test for access to posts of public authority and power. In this path I confidently expect and intend the progress henceforward to be steadfast and sure, as education spreads, experience ripens, and the lessons of responsibility are well learned by the keen intelligence and apt capabilities of India." The message was undoubtedly, a worthy successor to Lord Derby's proclamation of 1858, and we do well to bear in mind that the original draft was Morley's—a draft that for noble sentiments, for lucidity and terseness of exposition and for pregnant and eloquent words would rank with the ablest State papers penned in English history.

The next day, *i.e.*, on the 11th March, at a second meeting of the Cabinet it was unanimously resolved to recommend Sinha's appointment. Morley wrote again to the King enclosing with his letter the formal submission. To the first of these two letters the King replied from Biarritz on 12th March: "The King regrets that he cannot change his views on this subject. . . . He remains, however, of opinion that this proposed step is fraught with the greatest danger to the maintenance of the Indian Empire under British rule. . . . As at the last meeting of the Cabinet Council the Government were unanimous on the subject, the King has no other alternative but to give way much against his will. He, however, wishes it to be clearly understood that he protests most strongly at this new departure. God grant that the Government in India may not suffer from it " (Sir Sidney Lee's *Biography of Edward VII*, Vol. II, p. 385). Morley still endeavoured in his letter of 17th March to soothe the feelings of the King by mentioning the "historic promise" in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 and the memorable message of His Majesty in last November. To this use of Queen Victoria's name the King rejoined on March 20: "This is the answer to my letter! Why he should bring in the name of

Queen Victoria I cannot see, nor how it bears on the question. I myself do not think she would have approved of the new departure. I have had to sign the objectionable paper" (Lee's Biography of Edward VII, Vol. II, p. 386).

Meanwhile the King had opened direct correspondence with his Viceroy, Lord Minto, on the subject. On March 22, 1909, he wrote to Minto: " I hold very strong and possibly old-fashioned views on the subject, which my son, who has so recently been in India, entirely shares.

" During the unrest in India at the present time and the intrigues of the Natives it would, I think, be fraught with the greatest danger to the Indian Empire if a Native were to take part in the Councils of the Viceroy, as so many subjects would be likely to be discussed in which it would not be desirable that a Native could take part. . . . The Indian Princes, who are ready to be governed by the Viceroy and his Council, would greatly object to a Native, who would be very inferior in caste to themselves, taking part in the government of the country. However clever the Native might be, and however loyal you and your Council might consider him to be, you never could be certain that he might not prove to be a very dangerous element in your Councils and impart information to his countrymen which it would be very undesirable should go further than your Council Chamber. . . . I unwillingly assent, but wish that my protest should remain on record, as I cannot bring myself to change my views on this subject."

To the suggestion of the King that secrecy would not be maintained at a Council meeting, the Viceroy replied that the most secret correspondence with the Secretary of State was handled by Natives, " and it is reasonable to suppose that information could much more easily be obtained from them than from an Indian in the high and responsible position of a Member of Council." The reply of the King on May 21, 1909, to this statement of the Viceroy was couched in firm and deliberate language. " There is one point you mention which greatly surprises me, which is that secret correspondence with the Secretary of State is seen by Natives, and that secret papers are copied in your office by Natives. This appears to me to be a most dangerous and objectionable practice and I am astonished that it should exist.

" Now that it has been decided to have an Indian Member on the

Executive Council, the Government of India will in future be always obliged, practically though not perhaps theoretically, to replace him by another Indian. I am afraid it is the 'thin end of the wedge,' and it will require a most resolute Viceroy to avoid being forced to nominate one if not two Native Members of his Council."

Thus the first appointment of an Indian, in Lord Morley's words, "one of the King's equal subjects," to the Viceroy's Executive Council had to encounter so much stubborn opposition both in this country and in England. In one respect, however, King Edward's apprehension about the Indian Member proved absolutely groundless. The King said that the appointment would be disliked by the Native Princes, but there was no such opposition or dislike. On November 19, 1909, Minto writes to Morley about the popularity and wisdom of Sinha's appointment: "The great Chiefs, who, we were told, would be disgusted at Sinha's appointment have called upon him: the greatest Chief in India, the Mahomedan Nizam, has written to me congratulating you and me on the appointment, and Sinha himself has won everyone's respect by his own personality, and in the official life has proved his absolute fairness and good judgment" (Lady Minto's Diary, p. 359). The truth perhaps is that the fiction of the Princes' opposition to the Indian Member proceeded from the same spirit which now maintains or rather attempts to make out that the superintendence and control of the Indian States cannot be transferred to the future Federal Government of India without the consent of the Princes themselves. The new-fashioned doctrine of Paramountcy so assiduously and laboriously bolstered up is perhaps an attempted escape from a position which the logic of events has rendered almost inevitable.

In bringing this chapter of the story of the Reforms of 1909 to a close, we may further observe that the suggestion for relegating the first Indian Member of the Viceroy's Council to the rather unimportant and neglected portfolio of Law proceeded from Minto. On September 24, 1908, Minto in a letter to Morley explained the reasons for suggesting an Indian as Legal Member: "My reason for suggesting an Indian as Legal Member is largely because he would not be at the head of a great administrative department in which he might meet with many difficulties, and might suffer from a want of knowledge of administrative control. . . . No one recognises more strongly than I do the necessity of maintaining, under present conditions, and under future conditions too, if India is to be

preserved from chaos, the strength of British Executive Authority, and probably with the growth of Indian representation on the Executive Council, the Viceroy's powers might have to be strengthened" (Lady Minto's Diary, p. 219).

It is reasonable to suppose that Morley had other aims and other views. His object, as he tells Minto in his letter of September 10, 1908, was to change "that system of government of which the bureaucrat is the rather arrogant oracle." He was, therefore, very much in favour of placing the Indian Member in charge of the Department of Finance, or Commerce, or Home. As early as September 3, 1908, he clearly expressed his own views to Minto: "I have been thinking a good deal of what you say about making an Indian Legal Member. One advantage would plainly be that such an appointment would not be taking the bread out of the mouths of the Civil Service. On the other hand there are disadvantages. If I were an Indian patriot or Congressman, for example, I should be disposed to say that my representative on the Executive Council should not be limited to Law, but should be equally eligible for Finance, or Commerce, or Home" (Lady Minto's Diary, p. 216). In the end, however, Minto's view prevailed and Mr. S. P. Sinha got the portfolio of Law in 1909.

In this connection it is also interesting to notice that as early as July 1, 1908, Minto was considering the claims and qualifications of two eminent Bengali gentlemen for the post of the Law Member. One of them was Mr. S. P. Sinha, then Advocate-General of the Calcutta High Court, and the other was Dr. Asutosh Mookerjee, Judge, Calcutta High Court, and Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University. On July 21 next, Minto seemed to favour the claims of Sinha, and wrote in that strain to Morley: "I have been pondering a great deal over our Council Reforms and the matter of the Native Member. . . . My inclinations have wavered between Mookerjee and Sinha. I have a sincere admiration for Mookerjee and have thought that perhaps his Hindu orthodoxy might be a valuable qualification in the eyes of his fellow countrymen. On the other hand, Sinha is a Congressman, although a Moderate, and religious orthodoxy, as Risley recently pointed out to me, plays no part in the tenets of Indian reformers" (Lady Minto's Diary, p. 213). One feels inclined to ask if Minto ultimately put aside the claims of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee for the Law Membership mainly on the advice of Risley.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

All-India Educational Conference

Arrangements for reception of delegates to the All-India Educational Conference to be held at Lucknow during the ensuing Christmas holidays from 26th to 31st December are being completed under the direction of Dr. Rai Rajeshwari Bali, B.A., O.B.E., D.Litt., Ex-Minister of Education, Chairman of the Reception Committee and Dr. L. K. Shah, M.A., Ph.D., its General Secretary. Dr. Sir Radhakrishnan, George V Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, Calcutta University and Vice-Chancellor, Hindu University, Benares, has kindly consented to preside. Printed brochures giving complete detailed information about the Conference can be had from Dr. L. K. Shah, Lucknow Christian Training College, Lucknow, U.P.

All-Universities' Cultural Conference

The meetings of different sections of the All-Universities' Cultural Conference, which were held under the auspices of the Allahabad University Union, were held recently.

The meeting of the Philosophy section was presided over by Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, who in the course of his address emphasised that cultural philosophy should be connected with life. He also held that the study of Sanskrit was essential for the development of Indian Philosophy.

Dr. M. H. Syed, Mr. M. U. Ahmed and Prof. Humayun Kabir next delivered lectures on diverse subjects.

At the meeting of the Arts section Mr. R. S. Pandit emphasised, in his presidential address, the need of the development of fine arts. Mr. R. C. Tandon of the Hindustani Academy and others read many interesting papers.

The business of the Literary section of the Conference was conducted under the presidency of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

The Social Sciences section meeting was presided over by Prof. Gyan Chand of Patna, who spoke on 'Culture in Crisis.'

Mountaineering Club

The National Mountaineering Club of India, Lahore, decided at a general meeting to send an expedition to the unexplored regions of Tibet. The report of the last expedition to the Peak of Gepungoh, in Lahaul Valley, was read at the meeting.

Education during War Time

The Government has under consideration the question of providing facilities for education of boys and girls requiring pre-University education who, but for the war, would have been receiving such education in England but find themselves now in India—states a Press Note issued by the Department of Public Instruction, Bengal.

It is believed that there are a considerable number of such children, British, Indian and Anglo-Indian, and in the event of there being a reasonable demand for the provision of facilities in India, the Government will attempt to initiate a scheme which will provide as satisfactory substitute education as possible.

The following schemes are under consideration :

To establish in India, at some centre such as Ootacamund, Public Schools staffed and controlled as nearly as possible on the lines of similar institutions in England.

To establish tutorial centres at places where the demand is greatest, having due regard to climatic conditions, and attached, where possible, to existing schools of repute for such purposes as laboratory work, games, etc.

It is believed that fees, from Rs. 1,500 to 1,800 a year, would cover expenses.

Parents resident in Bengal who desire that educational facilities should be provided for their children, either boys or girls, are advised to communicate with the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal.

It is emphasised that the scheme is not one for the provision of better education for children in India on the lines of the Public School already started but is definitely a war-time measure for providing education for children who have been stranded in India and are unable to return to England, or have been brought out from England to reside with their parents for various reasons or who would have proceeded to England for education in English Schools but for the war.

The scheme is an All-India one and whichever alternative is adopted, preparation for the School Certificate Examinations, possibly Higher as well as Lower, will be provided.

The scheme will also probably be sufficiently elastic to allow of preparation for other special examinations.—*The Statesman*.

All-India Adult Educational Conference

The Secretary, All-India Adult Educational Conference, writes :—

“ The second session of the All-India Adult Educational Conference will be held at Bhagalpur as already notified. All lovers of the mass literacy work are requested to attend. I shall be glad to arrange accommodation for those who will be pleased to inform me at least two days earlier. Sir Shah Md. Sulaiman is expected to preside. Dr. Syed Mahmud has kindly consented to open the Conference.”

Board of Psychological Studies in U.P.

A Board of Psychological Studies will shortly be constituted in U.P.

It will be recalled that the U.P. Primary and Secondary Education Reorganization Committee recommended the establishment of such a body.

The Government have appointed a Committee of six members with Mr. J. C. Powell-Price, Director of Public Instruction, as Chairman, to advise them regarding the constitution of the Board and the scope of its work.

The Committee will hold its sittings at Allahabad.

Patna University Convocation

Amidst deafening shouts of "Inquilab Zindabad" and "Long Live Revolution" His Excellency the Chancellor with the Vice-Chancellor Dr. Sinha, the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Azizul Huque, members of the Syndicate and the Senate entered the Wheeler Senate Hall to open the Convocation of the Patna University last month. At the outset Dr. Sinha welcoming the Chancellor on behalf of the Senators paid eloquent tributes to the manifold qualities of His Excellency and drew his attention to the fact that the Bengal Government spent more than Rs. 10 lakhs to maintain two Universities in that province whereas the Bihar Government was content with the grant of a few thousand to maintain the only University of the Province.

After his speech new graduates were awarded diplomas and medals. Amongst the recipients there were a few ladies also. The Chancellor in a neat little speech advised the new graduates to be up and doing in life to bring prosperity to the country. His Excellency was followed by the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Azizul Huque, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, whose speech left a deep impression in the mind of students who heard it with deep attention punctuated with occasional applause.

The function ended with shouts of "Inquilab Zindabad," "Long Live Revolution" and "Bande Mataram."

Fellowship of a U.S.A. University

Dr. T. N. Mazumdar of Lucknow University has been offered a Fellowship by the North Western University of the United States of America to carry on investigation of the problem of occultation in collaboration with Prof. Melville Herskovitz.

Primary Education at Patna

The Patna City Municipality have decided to introduce compulsory primary education within the municipal limits with effect from January 2, 1940, according to a notification issued by the Municipality.

Miscellany

THE NEW ECONOMIC ORDER IN THE FAR EAST

In Y. Yagi's paper on "The Agricultural Interrelation of Japan, Manchoukuo and China" published in the *Economic Review* (Kyoto University) for July, 1939, we are told that the Sino-Japanese conflict has now entered on a new phase in which Japan is faced with the necessity of making strenuous efforts to create a new order in East Asia which will ultimately provide the basis of permanent peace in the Far East. In other words, all East Asian political and economic problems now centre on the efforts to bring the extensive areas of North, Central and South China into the Japan-Manchoukuoan economic unit, which is already in existence, in such a manner that the three countries, Japan, Manchoukuo and China, may form a closely-knit economic organisation for mutual aid and effective interdependence, thus establishing and consolidating a new economic structure, in both a qualitative and quantitative sense.

Seeing that bloc economy of this kind demands the establishment of an autarchy or the practical application of the doctrine of national self-sufficiency, to a greater or lesser degree, it may be regarded as a merely temporary and abnormal economic phenomenon by those advocates of free trade and commerce, who believe in the unrestricted circulation of goods between nations. The fact remains, however, that bloc economy, regardless of its merits or demerits, has now become a world-wide tendency, and Japan, like other countries, is merely shaping her course in accordance with a new world trend. It remains to be pointed out, however, that there are two different types of bloc economy. One consists of economic blocs formed by countries which are popularly known as the "Haves." The bloc organisation of the British Empire is a typical example of this type of bloc economy. The British Empire, which has suffered most extensively from the economic panic arising from the chaotic condition in world markets in post-war days and from the rivalry of new-fledged industrial countries, has formed an Imperial economic bloc with a view to retaining the dominant position which it has hitherto held. This bloc is essentially conservative and defensive in that it aims primarily at self-sufficiency within the bloc by guarding itself against the encroachments of rising industrial countries, on the one hand, and by holding the Dominions and other possessions together, in close unity on the other. In contrast, economic blocs formed by the so-called "Have-nots" do not aim solely at self-sufficiency. It is true that they are striving to develop all the resources within their economic areas and that they are endeavouring to attain self-sufficiency in respect of basic raw materials. But they are not aiming at placing the entire national economy on a basis of self-sufficiency. They aim at preparing the ground for the future development of bloc countries in the extra-bloc areas. The Japan-Manchoukuo-China bloc belongs in the latter category. While striving to provide an adequate supply of the basic raw materials within the bloc, it seeks to open the way for the development of Japanese economy in the wider sphere of world markets.

Through a well-integrated establishment of a Japan-Manchoukuo-China bloc economy, Japan's efficient scientific knowledge and capital must be

linked with the rich material resources and the development of the extensive arable areas of Manchoukuo and China, so as to develop the natural resources of these extensive areas as effectively as possible. In this way, Japan will be able to secure the material resources which she lacks, and at the same time contribute to the welfare of the Manchoukuoan and Chinese peoples. With this object in view, a five-year industrial development programme was launched in Manchoukuo the year before last, while in North and Central China, the work of developing material resources has been taken in hand—in North China, chiefly by the North China Exploitation Company and, in Central China, by the Central China Development Company.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE DEFEAT OF POVERTY

According to H. Withers in *The Defeat of Poverty* (London, 1939) the conversion of consumer's needs into effective demands would be conducive to general business prosperity. This conversion can only be secured through an increase in production and distribution. According to Withers the so-called trade cycle has no regularity in time or extent that justifies its being thus misnamed. Belief in it, spread by forecasters and working through stock market fluctuations, has a seriously depressing effect on business confidence. Confidence in the prospect of future profit is the only effective stimulus to trade expansion in countries working under private enterprise. Increased purchasing power in the hands of consumers is the best foundation for this confidence in the profit prospect.

The launching of public works is recommended by Withers as a potent means of placing the purchasing power in the hands of consumers. This method of defeating depression was advocated by Sidney Webb as a cure for unemployment long before the war (1914-18). It used to be condemned in those days as militating against *laissez-faire*. "Of late, however, public works, like so many other measures once suspected as 'socialistic,' have received a good deal of pontifical blessing from some of our leading economists" (e.g., Keynes in *The General Theory of Employment*).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

A HUNGARIAN ECONOMIST

The Hungarian economist, Zoltan Magyary, says in *The Industrial State* (New York, 1939), that economic transactions have ceased in numerous instances to be private affairs and are being undertaken by the Governments. The public services have, therefore, grown enormously in the technical branches. In regard to the industrial departments of government service the influence lies not so much in the legislature as in the executive, the administration, or virtually the staff of experts. Under these conditions the premier's powers and privileges ought to be extended along the lines of totalitarian efficiency, i.e., autocratic planning and control.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

SAVING IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Under the Soviet system, says L. E. Hubbard in *Soviet Money and Finance* (London, 1936), private ownership of capital being impossible and all production being directed from the centre, a holding of cash has no use except to purchase current output; whereas in capitalist countries cash may be held for future investment. It follows that under the Soviet system the decisions determining saving and investment are taken by the same people and not by two different sets of people influenced by different motives and not paying much attention to each other. For this reason the fluctuations in employment, production and prices which are caused in capitalist society by the disequilibrium between saving and investment should not in theory happen in Soviet Union. If, nevertheless, fluctuations in the volume of economic activity occur, Russian experience may throw a new light upon the general problem of unemployment.

In Hubbard's treatment of the Soviet economy the contrasted economy is the capitalist, which is taken to be an "economy based on private enterprise, open markets, and prices fixed by supply and demand."

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

REVOLUTIONS AND DICTATORSHIPS

As the author of *A History of Nationalism in the East* (London, 1929), *Nationalism and Imperialism in the Hither East* (London, 1932) and *Western Civilization in the Near East* (New York, 1936) Hans Kohn has made an objective and analytical survey of the modern world with special reference to the relations between East and West. The treatment is in most instances marked by an historico-philosophical or sociological interpretation, much of which is eminently acceptable. In certain instances the data are derived from personal experience and in others the studies are well documented. As an historian of contemporary world-forces—moral, intellectual and political—Kohn can, therefore, be taken very often as a dependable guide.

This equipment and experience have gone substantially into the making of his recent work, *Revolutions and Dictatorships* (Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass, 1939, 450 pages, \$3.50). It may be described as a bird's-eye view, although, philosophical in its orientations of the world-situation since the Versailles Complex of 1919. In this work Kohn has maintained intact the liberalism of his previous works and succeeded in offering suggestive viewpoints on the isms, pacts, and anti-pacts of the world down to March, 1939.

An unconventional approach to political problems is to be found in Kohn's recognition of the fact that contemporary dictatorships—communist and fascist—are not revivals of traditional despotism and autocracy. They are broad-based on the people and are fundamentally democratic in origin and structure.

In Kohn's analysis one is forcefully rendered conscious of the chances which have been rendered normally available for the self-assertion of the non-Russian ethnic and linguistic units in the constitution of Soviet Russia. These opportunities constitute new humanistic forces generated by the Bolsheviks. Solicitude for the diverse nationalities of Russia was conspicuous by its absence under the Czars, impregnated as they were with

Russian chauvinism. In attaching due importance to the nationality problem Lenin and Stalin have succeeded in advancing the frontiers of communistic philosophy beyond the hide-bound Marxism of two generations which was utterly indifferent to this question.

That until very recent times the socialists belonging to more progressive or oppressive nations "always found some justification for the disregard of the claims of more backward or oppressed nationalities" is admitted by Kohn and ascribed to the fallacy of Marx who in his simplistic economic interpretation failed to recognize nationalism as a force. "Lenin was the first socialist leader," says Kohn, "to proclaim and carry through the socialist principle of complete equality of all racial and ethnic groups." This distinction between the traditional socialists and Lenin has been made out by the present author in his *Futurism of Young Asia* (1922).

The judgment of Kohn in regard to the prospects of communism in western Europe can be endorsed by students of comparative industrialism and culture-history "To the western nations," says he, "which have benefited directly from the French revolution and its forerunners in Anglo-Saxon countries, whose economies are industrialized and whose standards of living and culture are very high, the example of the Russian revolution had little to offer."

What Kohn thinks of idealism in the historic announcements is embodied in the following lines describing the ideologies of the victors about 1918-19: "It seemed as if Americans, Englishmen, Frenchmen, felt a secret shame at having allowed themselves to be swayed for a short time by a lofty idealistic vision. A period of 'debunking' set in, the ideals of liberalism and democracy were 'unmasked' as pretentious and hollow, as rhetorical pretexts for national egotism and economic interests."

Kohn cannot be bamboozled into believing that war-time announcements of ideals and promises are to be depended on. King Hussein of Hejaz is, therefore, described as a person with an imagination which "led him to believe the vague promises of his war-time allies (1914-18) to whom the Arab army rendered conspicuous services by conquering Trans-Jordan and Syria." He was, therefore, disillusioned and did not care to sign the peace treaty of Versailles and join the League of Nations although he was invited to do so. That he was merely a tool exploited in order to "remove the Turkish power from Arabia and establish British control or influence over the land route to India," could not be conceived by him because of his "rich imagination which mistakes rhetoric and dreams for reality." The Versailles Treaty, says Kohn, "left Arab hopes unfulfilled and crippled." "The British were glad to get rid of an ally (Hussein) who had become importunate in his insistence upon their showing good faith."

The rôle of Soviet Russia in the progress of Young Asia has been well envisaged by Kohn. He is positive that "it was the attitude of the Soviet Union which during the difficult years between the Peace of Sevres (1919) and the Peace of Lausanne (1923) made it possible for Turkey to show Europe a bold front; and it was the Soviet Union's action in renouncing the old Russian capitulations and concessions in Turkey which prepared the way for the country's political and economic regeneration." The Soviet Union felt, says he, that its fight against western imperialism was being furthered by the national revolutions in the Near East, which were supplanting antiquated and corrupt monarchies, dependent on western imperialism, with young and emancipated regimes. This no way implied any community of ideas nor is to be taken as showing that communistic doctrines have made any headway in Turkey. According to Kohn it is interesting to note that

a country like Turkey co-operating most closely in the field of foreign policy with the Soviet Union, remained of all countries the freest from any communist propaganda or any attempt at communistic interference with her internal affairs. This is a point of view that is generally lost sight of in communistic and anti-communistic debates and publications.

Among the pious wishes of Kohn, exponent of liberalism, democracy and international good will as he is, we encounter the sentiment that the covenant of the League of Nations "would have allowed the gradual working out of peaceful changes." He believes that the "League would eventually have remedied the grievances of weaker or less-endowed states." But he is too much of a realist to ignore the factual "lack of a definite legal process to implement the adjustments to be made in the international field." As an idealist he thinks that Lithuanians and Bulgarians, Chinese and Indians, Koreans and Arabs, Mexicans and Negroes are the real have-nots. He does not plead for the maintenance of the *status quo*. And yet as *Realpolitiker* he admits that "liberal imperialism very rarely lived up to its own fundamental faith, "namely, the equality of all men and races." According to Kohn the "problem before us is to lessen imperialism, not to increase it. The effort should be towards more self-government, towards more equality in the colonies, not towards less."

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

DEMOCRATIC FUTURISM

In R. Muir's *Future for Democracy* (London, 1939) the genuinely free and democratic society is one in which nobody shall be over-rich, and nobody shall be too poor to live the life of a poor man; in which the ownership of property, that necessary safeguard of liberty, will not be limited to a few, or monopolized by the state; but will be within the reach of all; in which the physical conditions of healthy and decent living will be universal; in which every citizen will be sufficiently educated to have discovered his own powers and have been given the means of becoming master of them; in which industry will be organized as the common interest of all who are engaged in it, and the state will see that the power of those who direct it is not abused in which it will be the duty of the state to ensure that the material resources of the nation, and especially its land, are intelligently utilised and there will be no danger that power over these resources will be unfairly used by private persons to the detriment of the community; in which through freedom of trade with the rest of the world everybody will have access to the abundance which the world offers to us, and the wealth of the nation available for distribution among the citizens will thereby be immensely increased, in which there will be the amplest opportunity for everybody to display all the energy and ability he possesses, for his own advantage and that of the community.

In this futurism of Muir's we encounter the highest flights of the liberal and humanist attitude towards interhuman relations and societal reconstruction such as come within the scope of a state. The ideals adumbrated may be considered to constitute the maximum of concessions to the poor which neo-capitalism has been able to suggest under the pressure of bolshevistic experiments or achievements since Leninism No. I announced the new world-order in and through Soviet Russia (1918-22).

All the same, Muir's idealism has served to furnish the non-communistic and non-socialistic world with a utopia of large dimensions.

In order that democracy may be saved it must show itself to be a dynamic and progressive creed, says Muir. In the first place, it must reconstruct the collective system of defence, which its leaders have allowed to fall into disrepair, and at the same time allow its readiness to establish justice as the only means of banishing the menace of war. Secondly, it must strengthen and improve its own methods of government, so as to refute the charge of inefficiency which has been levelled against it. And finally, it must make progress in social justice, so far as the terrors and the vast demands of the time permit.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

BRITISH VIEWS ON CURRENT POLITICS

Last year was published R. W. Seton-Watson's *Britain and the Dictators* (London, 1938). In the judgment of this British scholar the covenant of the League of Nations should be detached from the peace treaties. He goes so far as to suggest that the economic clauses of the Versailles complex should be declared inoperative. He would like to have the war-guilt clause re-defined. Nay, the assertion that Germany is unfit to administer the colonies should be withdrawn. Altogether, Seton-Watson's views are in agreement with those of the British economists, historians and statesmen who have since the publication of Keynes's *Economic Consequences of the Peace* (1919) been gradually forced to feel that Germany is more sinned against than sinning. These are the logical and moral foundations of the appeasement policy followed by Chamberlain with so much popular approval *vis à-vis* Germany. While the case for Germany has been made out by Seton-Watson he is, however, anti-Italian to the core. Italy's ambition to dominate the Mediterranean, the Middle East and Africa is his bugbear.

The anti-German tendencies of British public life may be seen in L. S. Amery's *German Colonial Claim* (London, 1939) and F. S. Joelson's *Germany's Claim to Colonies* (London, 1939). In order to comprehend the pluralistic strands of British thought it would be worth while to come into contact with the anti-Chamberlain ideology of W. S. Churchill's *While England Slept* (New York, 1938). In *Munich and the Dictators*, (London, 1939), be it observed, Seton-Watson changes his pro-appeasement attitude.

Since September, 1939 (the declaration of Anglo-French War against Germany) the British ideologies have naturally been once more in the melting point.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

Causality and Science—By Dr. Nalinikanta Brahma, M.A., Ph.D.
Published by George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. Pp. 120. Price 6s.

The success of modern science in our practical life has led many contemporary Western thinkers to make science the guiding principle for all the spheres of man's life. They have applied the logical-analytic method of science to the study of the problems of philosophy including those of morality and religion. As a consequence, many of the mechanical concepts of science have, without sufficient criticism, been taken to solve the ultimate problems of philosophy. One particular instance of this is to be found in the acceptance of the scientific concept of cause as ultimate. The book under review challenges the ultimate validity of the scientific principle of mechanical causation. It clearly shows how the scientific conception of the cause suffers from certain limitations and involves some assumptions. For science the cause is the sum-total of the antecedent physical conditions, which is followed by the effect. This, however, cannot explain the emergence of new qualities in the effect from the combination of conditions which do not severally possess them. A second theory of causation discussed by the author is that the cause is the primal energy out of which all effects evolve in time. It is here held that the cause is the material ground which fully contains the effect in an unmanifested form and that the production of the effect means only its manifestation. But this view, although more adequate than the first, is rejected by the author on the ground that it fails to explain the transition from an unmanifested to a manifested form of the effect without the help of the efficient and the final cause. By such arguments we are led to the third and final view of the cause as the absolute in which the material, efficient and final causes coincide. As such, the ultimate cause is said to be the absolute spirit which freely creates the world of effects ruled by the law of causality, but is not itself governed by that law. Between the absolute and the world there is no temporal or real distinction. The absolute only appears as the world of effects, but is really the free, eternal and perfect spirit. The world is but an illusory appearance of Brahman or the absolute. There is thus "the complete mergence of the effect in the cause or rather the transcendence of the causal category in the apprehension of Absolute Being" (p. 120).

It will appear from a close study of the book that it is a critical and comparative study of some important theories of causality in Indian and Western philosophy. In particular it is a vigorous defence of the Advaita Vedānta view of causation as illusory appearance of an effect in a real cause. But in the account of the Indian views given in the book there seem to be some confusions which call for notice here. When the author says that 'in India we have only two causes, the Upādāna and the Nimitta Kāraṇa or the Anuyāyi and the Ananuyāyi Kāraṇa,' he makes a statement which is not borne out by authoritative works on Indian philosophy. In these works causes have been generally classified into the three kinds of samavāyi, asamavāyi and nimitta. In some works we find a classification of causes into more than the four kinds recognised by Aristotle. Further, the Vedānta view of the absolute has been somewhat confused

with the Hegelian view. The author suggests more than once that "the absolute *expresses* itself differently at different stages, and this infinite variety of *expression* proves the infinitude of the Absolute" (p. 21). Whatever may be value of this Hegelian idea, it does not accord very well with the Vedānta view which is more correctly presented when we are told that "from the standpoint of this Absolute all growth, all creation, all change, all manifestation, all process, must be regarded as unreal" (pp. 105-06), or, that "from the standpoint of absolute knowledge there is neither any cause nor any effect, but there is only one Absolute, the self-revealed and self-revealing Brahman, and the rest are unreal or illusory appearances, not *manifestations*" (p. 119). Still we should welcome this small book as a valuable contribution to philosophy and congratulate the author on his successfully tackling some difficult problems of philosophy.

S. C. CHATTERJEE

Syphilis—By George M. Katainos, M.D. "Privately Printed" at Athens, Greece. Pp. 576. 1939

The book gives an admirable survey of the disease from the earliest times as also its propagation into the different countries. Observations of different authors in different countries are also referred to in proper places within the volume; thus the book becomes more valuable from historical than from medical point of view. Consequently it can be read with profit not only by the medical profession but by all who are interested in the subject in order to increase their knowledge from social and ethnological aspects.

The introductory chapter somewhat elaborate is full of informations and possesses high literary merit. The *Ætiology*, *Transmission* of the disease, its relation with heredity, etc., are dealt with in great details.

In part *one* the author has described the different stages of the disease with their manifestations. Part *two* deals with the treatment with full details of its evolution up to date.

Each chapter is followed by a "Conclusion" which sums up within a short compass the essential matter discussed in the chapter. The work, no doubt, proves the phenomenal knowledge and the thorough grasp that the author possesses of the subject. The author is of opinion that the disease is incurable and that we know but very little of the disease itself. In conclusion he sounds a pessimistic note declaring that we would never know anything with certainty about its cure.

D. P. BANERJI.

Ourselfes

[I. *Our New Chancellor.*—II. *Professor Harendra Coomar Mookerjee*—III. *Election of Fellows.*—IV. *A New Fellow.*—V. *The Next Annual Convocation.*—VI. *The Indian Statistical Conference.*—VII. *Bengal Provincial Agricultural and Research Committee.*—VIII. *Imperial Council of Agricultural Research: Constitution of ad hoc Committees.*—IX. *Imperial Council of Agricultural Research.*—X. *Indian Association for Cultivation of Science, Calcutta.*—XI. *Griffith Memorial Prize in Science for the Year 1938.*—XII. *The Fifteenth Annual Report of the Calcutta University Co-operative Credit Society, Ltd.*—XIII. *D.P.H. Examination, Part II, September, 1939.*]

I. OUR NEW CHANCELLOR

We accord a hearty welcome to our new Chancellor, His Excellency Sir John Arthur Herbert, G.C.I.E., and to the Lady Mary Herbert, who made their public arrival in Calcutta in November last, and fervently hope that His Excellency will take the same interest in the affairs of the University as his worthy predecessors did.

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II. PROFESSOR HARENDRA COOMAR MOOKERJEE

We announced some months ago in the pages of this journal that Dr. Harendra Coomar Mookerjee, Head of the Department of English of our University had been granted extension of service by the Senate for one year, that is to say, until the 31st May 1940. On the question of confirming Dr. Mookerjee's reappointment Government held a long correspondence with the University chiefly on certain technical grounds. Government has, however, sanctioned the reappointment and we are glad that what might have been a misunderstanding has thus happily been brought to an end.

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III. ELECTION OF FELLOWS

Two Ordinary Fellows will be elected by the Registered Graduates from among themselves, one Ordinary Fellow by the Faculty of Medicine and one by the Faculty of Law. The election by the Registered Graduates will take place on the 13th January, 1940 and that by the Faculties on the 9th January, 1940.

IV. A NEW FELLOW

His Excellency the Chancellor has been pleased to nominate Khan Bahadur Mohammed Ali, M.L.A., to be an Ordinary Fellow of this University, in place of Lt.-Col. Sir Hasan Suhrawardy, Kt., O.B.E., V.H.S. D.Sc., M.D., F.R.C.S.I., D.P.H., F.S.M.F. (Bengal,) whose term of Fellowship expired on the 1st October, 1939.

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V. THE NEXT ANNUAL CONVOCATION

The date of the next Annual Convocation has been provisionally fixed as March 2, 1940, at 9-30 A.M.

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VI. THE INDIAN STATISTICAL CONFERENCE

The Indian Statistical Conference will be held in Madras in the first week of January, 1940. The Executive Committee of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts will shortly elect a University representative to the Conference.

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VII. BENGAL PROVINCIAL AGRICULTURAL AND RESEARCH COMMITTEE

Prof. Jnanendranath Mukerjee, D.Sc., who was the University representative on the Bengal Provincial Agricultural and Research Committee for three years, has been reappointed to serve in the same capacity for a further term.

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VIII. IMPERIAL COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH:
CONSTITUTION OF *ad hoc* COMMITTEES

A number of *ad hoc* committees have been constituted by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research with some University teachers as members. Prof. J. N. Mukherjee has been appointed to serve on the Dry-Farming Sub-Committee, Prof. S. P. Agharkar on the Fruit Sub-Committee and Mr. P. C. Mahalanobis on the Botanical and Physiological Committee and the Entomological and Pathological Committee. The University has conveyed to the Imperial Council of

Agricultural Research its willingness to allow the University teachers to co-operate with the work of the Council by serving on the various committees appointed by it.

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IX. IMPERIAL COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH

Prof. H. K. Mookerjee, Head of the Department of Zoology of this University, has been appointed a member of the Animal Breeding Committee under the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research with the approval of our University.

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X. INDIAN ASSOCIATION FOR CULTIVATION OF SCIENCE, CALCUTTA

Dr. Meghnad Saha, D.Sc., F.R.S., has been appointed a representative of the University on the Editorial Board of the "Indian Journal of Physics and Proceedings of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science." Dr. D. M. Bose was the University nominee on this Board in 1934.

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XI. GRIFFITH MEMORIAL PRIZE IN SCIENCE FOR THE YEAR 1938

The Griffith Memorial Prize in Science for the year 1938 will be equally divided between Mr. Sasankasekhar Sarkar, M.Sc. and Dr. Bishnupada Mukherjee, M.B. (Cal.), M.D., D.Sc. (U.S.A.). The former submitted a thesis entitled "Blood Grouping Investigations in India with special reference to Santal Parganas, Bihar," and the latter a thesis entitled "The Ergot Problem in India with special reference to the quality of its Pharmaceutical preparations," both of which were approved by the Board of Examiners appointed for the award of the Griffith Memorial Prize.

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XII. THE FIFTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT SOCIETY, LTD.

The annual report of the University Co-operative Credit Society, Ltd., for this year shows an increase of membership as against that of

the previous year and an improved position with regard to its paid-up share capital and profits. Mr. P. N. Banerjee, M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.A., has acted as the Chairman of the Society since 1935. Mr. Kiran Chandra Sen of the Registrar's Department was its Secretary for the year 1938-39.

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XIII. D.P.H. EXAMINATION, PART II, SEPTEMBER, 1939

The following is the report submitted by the Board of Examiners on the above Examination :—

“ The number of candidates registered for the examination was 27, of whom 16 passed, 10 failed and 1 was absent.

None is recommended for Gold Medal.”

